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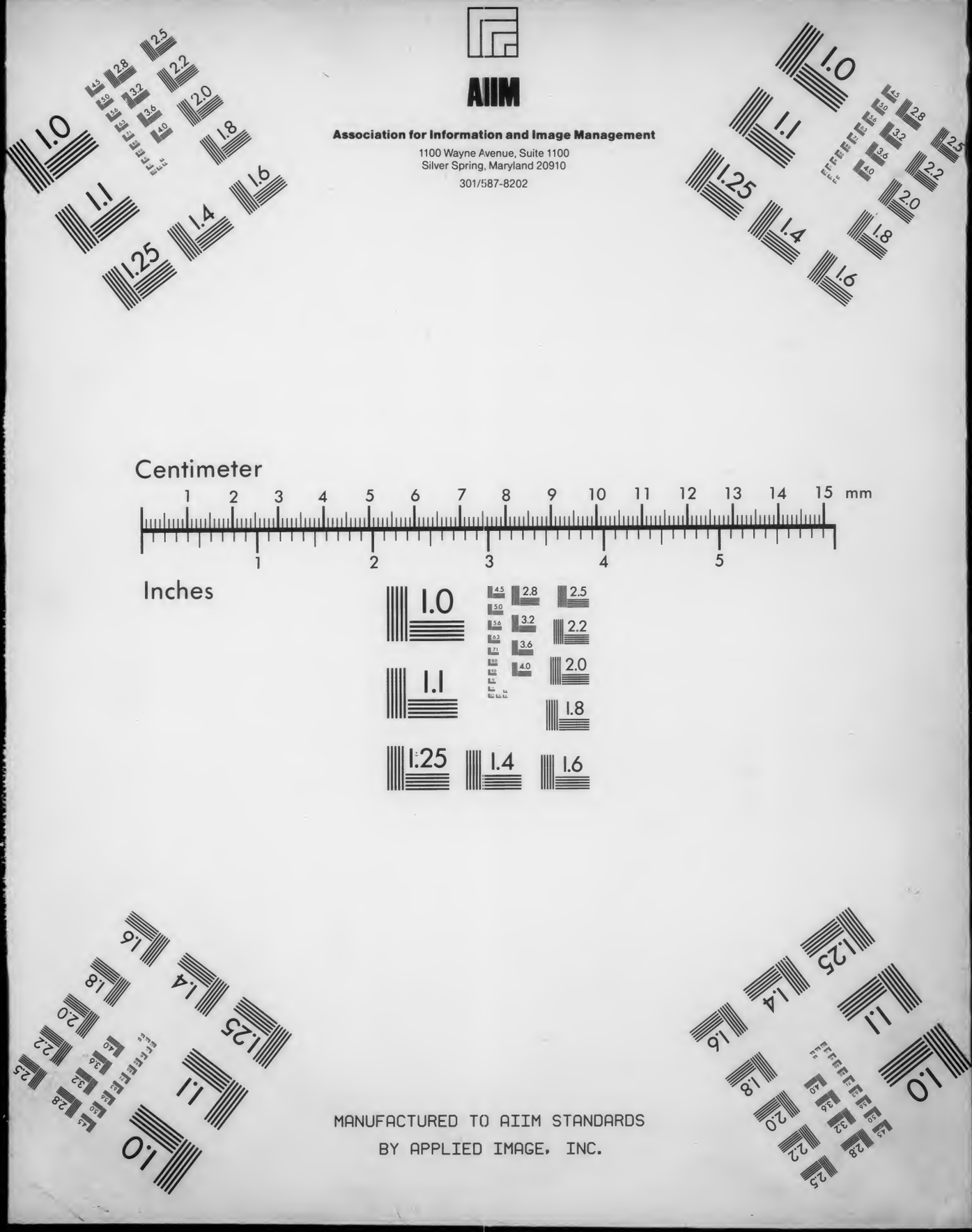
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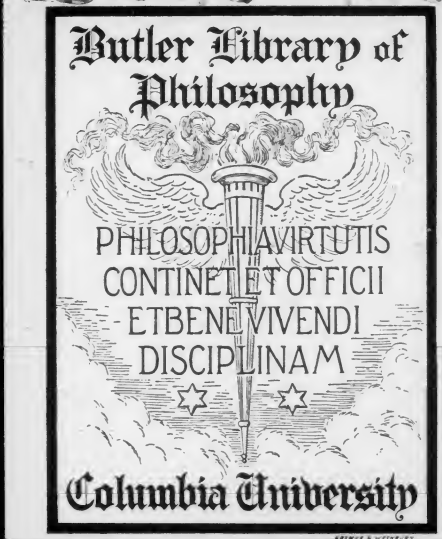
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EUROPEAN THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Τοιοῦτος οὖν μοι ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἔστω, . . .
ξένος ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις καὶ ἄπολις.

—LUCIAN.

A HISTORY

OF

EUROPEAN THOUGHT

IN THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY

JOHN THEODORE MERZ

VOL. III.

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PREFACE.

I HAD originally intended to publish the two volumes which should form the second section of this work, dealing with the History of Philosophical Thought during the Nineteenth Century, together. With this intention I wrote the text of both volumes, with the exception of a closing chapter. When, however, after the lapse of many years I returned to the revision and the working up of the notes and references, I found that in the meantime the whole subject had in my own mind acquired a somewhat altered aspect, and that to give expression to this I had to introduce important changes and additions. As to carry these out much more time was required than I had expected, I have given way to the wish of some of my friends, as also to my own growing conviction, that it would be better to publish the third volume by itself and let the fourth follow as soon as possible. I cannot help feeling that this is somewhat unfair to my readers and critics, as the whole subject cannot so easily be divided into separate tolerably independent parts as seemed possible in the first section. I have, however, missed no

opportunity which offered to point incidentally to the leading ideas which have guided me in this review of the Philosophical Thought of the Century, and which should come out more clearly and be brought to a final expression in a following volume. I have also, to facilitate the study of the subject, added a preliminary index which, when the fourth volume appears, will be cancelled to make place for a more comprehensive index covering both volumes.

As in the earlier volumes, I have again been assisted by the advice and encouragement of many friends. To the names given before I wish to add that of Prof. W. R. Sorley of King's College, Cambridge, to whose valuable suggestions I have, as will be seen, referred in several instances. I must again express my deep sense of obligation to Mr Thos. Whittaker, B.A., whose assistance has in this section exceeded in importance, if possible, even that which he had so fully given me in the earlier volumes.

The fourth volume will continue the plan described in the Introduction to this volume by adding chapters, Of the Beautiful, Of the Good, Of the Spirit, Of Society, Of Systems of Philosophy, and will close with a summary on the general outcome of Philosophical Thought during the Nineteenth Century.

J. THEO. MERZ.

THE QUARRIES,
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, *November* 1912.

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A HISTORY OF EUROPEAN THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

PART II.

PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ συνοπτικὸς διαλεκτικός, ὁ δὲ μὴ οὔ.

—PLATO.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

I.

1. Common-sense and speculation.

COMMON-SENSE, in spite of the obloquy cast upon it in certain schools of philosophy, still asserts its position as the ultimate tribunal before which all speculation has to justify itself. It does so by certain distinctions which it makes and which every school of philosophy has been obliged to recognise: it may be by affirming or denying, but in any case by explaining them.

2. Language the instrument of common-sense.

These distinctions are crystallised and perpetuated in and by that great instrument of common-sense called language.[1] From the words and terms of language we

[1] With this statement I revert to a position distinctly taken up in modern philosophy by Thos. Reid in the second half of the eighteenth century. This position is fully explained by Prof. Pringle-Pattison in his 'Balfour Lectures on Scottish Philosophy'—see especially 3rd ed., p. 122. "Reid's favourite appeal is to common-sense . . . 'the consent of ages and nations of the learned and unlearned.' . . . Reid, however, does not leave his authority so vague; he provides his scattered and inarticulate multitude with an accredited spokesman and interpreter; 'we shall frequently have occasion,' he says in the beginning of the Essays, 'to argue from the sense of mankind expressed in the structure of language.'" The common-sense philosophy of Reid has been unduly depreciated by German philosophers such as Kant and Hegel, partly owing to the fact that the German equivalents for "common-sense" are apt to lay stress upon the adjective "common" instead of the noun "sense"; mainly, however, because

have to start if we desire to make our thoughts accessible and intelligible to our fellowmen, and, although we can put these words and terms together in a more or less original manner, we have always to accommodate ourselves to the established usage, from which we can deviate only to a very small extent. In this way language exerts a control over the free movements of our thoughts and reflections which is not infrequently felt to be severe and irksome, and which is more than ever experienced in that great department of literature which is the embodiment of the philosophical thought of an age. More even than in science, we may say that in philosophy progress consists in finding an appropriate verbal expression, or, having found it, in conveying to our readers the clear definition of the meaning we desire to attach to it.

3. New terms in philosophy.

Looking broadly at the philosophical literature of any period, we may divide its main representatives into two classes—viz., those who have introduced into the existing language new terms, the bearers of thoughts and ideas constituting a new message, and those others who, taking up these newly imported terms, have tried to define them more closely, to prescribe their exact usage,

neither of them—Kant even less than Hegel—seems to have had a sufficient acquaintance either with Reid's own writings or with the principal work of Hume which he criticised. This is fully brought out in Henry Sidgwick's Address on "The Philosophy of Common-sense" (1895), see 'Mind,' N.S., vol. iv. p. 145, &c. He there suggests that Kant was influenced by Priestley, who classes Reid along with Oswald and Beattie, writers of quite an inferior order of merit. When Hegel delivered his Lectures on 'The History of Philosophy' (1817-30), Reid's writings were principally known on the Continent through the influence they had acquired on French thinkers such as Royer Collard and Jouffroy, and are accordingly treated with more respect. With Hegel the contempt for British philosophy seems to have been directed mainly against English as distinguished from Scottish thinkers; see 'Werke,' vol. xv. p. 501: "Of English philosophy there can no more be any mention."

and, by doing so, to bring home to the common understanding a sense of the deeper meaning or ideal content which is embodied in them.

During the period which covers roughly ninety years, from 1780 to 1870, the languages of the western European nations have been enriched by a long list of new terms.[1] Around these, separate philosophical schools have grown up which have made them their watchwords. These terms have not always been the outcome of abstract philosophical reasoning; they have often been suggested by practical demands or borne in the wake of political and social movements. Thus the French Revolution in its shibboleths of liberty, equality, and fraternity has furnished an inexhaustible material not only for political agitation but also for philosophical speculation ever since. In the more restricted province of philosophical literature itself the names of Adam Smith, Bentham, and Mill in this country, of Comte in France, of Kant and his successors in Germany, are connected with well-known words and phrases, each of which has enriched common language and made whole regions of thought accessible to the general understanding which were unknown or unexplored before. "Free trade" and the "wealth of nations," the "greatest happiness of the greatest number," the "categorical imperative," "intellectual intuition," "positivism," the "world as will and intellect," the "ob-

[1] The 'Critique of Pure Reason' appeared in 1781 and gave to the world the larger portion of the vocabulary of the Kantian system, which has played such a great part in subsequent German, English, and French philosophy. About the year 1870 I believe the larger part of the vocabulary of evolution had been formulated. Probably no philosophical treatise of any importance could now be written without making free use of these two vocabularies.

jective mind," and the "absolute" are only a few examples of the many now familiar words which have been introduced by philosophical thinkers into our every-day speech. Among the latest creations of the philosophical genius we may count the terms "unconscious" and "unknowable," and more than all "natural selection," the "survival of the fittest," and many other terms which are peculiar to the doctrine of "Evolution."

4. Creative and critical eras.

The representatives of the creative era of philosophical thought which terminated with the second third of the nineteenth century have been succeeded by a large class of thinkers whose principal task seems to be not so much to put forward new ideas and brilliant generalisations as to survey critically and impartially the inheritance of the past, to put into order the abundant supply of new words and terms which it contains, to reduce each to its legitimate meaning, defining the limits of its usage, and by so doing to promote that unity of thought and harmony of expression of which the loss was frequently threatened by the extreme emphasis, not to say the vehemence, with which many of those new ideas were put forth at the moments of their birth. A foremost representative of this later form of philosophical thought is Hermann Lotze,[1] who, in a manner following Herbart

[1] As I shall, for various reasons which will become evident in the sequel, refer to Lotze's philosophy as a kind of central point of reference for the movement of philosophical thought during the century, I give here a list of his more important works. Lotze was born in 1817 and died in 1881. His activity as a teacher is connected with the University of Göttingen, and his name will always be associated with some of the most illustrious professors at that University. See, *inter alia*, Mr Haldane's Address, "Universities and National Life". (1910), p. 24, &c.

'Metaphysik' (1841).
'Allgemeine Pathologie und Therapie als mechanische Naturwissenschaften' (1842).
'Logik' (1843).
Articles — "Leben," "Lebensstraft," "Instinkt," "Seele und Seelenleben," in Wagner's 'Handwörterbuch der Physiologie' (1843-46).
'Ueber den Begriff der Schönheit' (1845), and 'Ueber Bedingungen der Kunstschönheit' (1847).
'Allgemeine Physiologie des Körperlichen Lebens' (1851).
'Medicinische Psychologie oder Physiologie der Seele' (1852).
'Microcosmus,' 3 vols. (1856-64).
'Streitschriften' (1857).
'Geschichte der Aesthetik in Deutschland' (1868).
'System der Philosophie' (2 vols. 'Logik,' 'Metaphysik,' 1874-79).

The dictated Notes of his Lectures were published after his death in eight parts, and his 'Kleinere Schriften' have been collected in four volumes and edited by Peipers (1885 - 91). English translations have appeared of the 'Microcosmus,' the 'System,' and the 'Dictate.'

and inspired by Leibniz, seems to me to have impressed upon many of the prominent thinkers in Germany, England, and France of to-day the tone of their thought, and suggested the attitude they have taken up to the great philosophical problems.

From the foregoing it might appear as if the process of philosophical thought were similar to that which I have had occasion to point to in many passages in the earlier volumes of this work. I there showed how various terms handed down from earlier ages with a vague and undefined meaning have been raised to the rank of leading ideas by the scientific thought of recent times. Such terms were, *e.g.*, "attraction," "repulsion," "atom," "mass" and "motion," "energy," "form," "development," &c. By being clearly defined—*i.e.*, by having a fixed meaning attached to them—they have become centres around which the scientific thought of the century has gathered, and which have guided us in that survey which this History has undertaken.

It would appear as if an analogous process might guide us in our survey of the philosophical thought of the

century,[1] enabling us to bring some order into the tangled maze of speculative writing and to construct a road through the labyrinth of philosophical opinions. The sequel will show that, to a large extent, I shall avail myself of this method. For the moment I wish to dwell on this point with the object of giving to my readers a preliminary idea of the difference between philosophical and scientific thought. The full appreciation of this difference can, of course, only be reached during the course of the second portion of this History itself.

5. Contrast between philosophical and scientific thought.

Science for long ages has lived, as much as philosophy still lives, under the control, not to say the tyranny, of language and of words.[2] It is well known that science for a long time formed merely a branch of philosophy,

[1] In fact, such a process has been suggested by a well-known authority: "a history of the language . . . in which the introduction of every new word should be noted . . . in which such words as have become obsolete should be followed down to their final extinction, in which all the most remarkable words should be traced through their successive phases of meaning, and in which, moreover, the causes and occasions of these changes should be explained,—such a work would not only abound in entertainment, but would throw more light on the development of the human mind than all the brain-spun systems of metaphysics that ever were written" (Archdeacon Hare, quoted by Trench, 'English Past and Present,' p. 2). "When the function of language in producing and maintaining community of knowledge among men is once considered, its philosophical import is seen to be of the most profound and far-reaching character; and Reid with his 'common-sense' is to be blamed only for allowing the more important use of the word 'common' to be overshadowed by its other implication of 'ordinary' (as having relation to everyday experience and practice). In making what reference he did to language, he shadowed forth a surer method of philosophical analysis than Kant, with all his more laboured art, was able to devise." See G. Croom Robertson, in 'Mind,' O.S., vol. xi. p. 270; also 'Philosophical Remains,' p. 421.

[2] It was one of the idols which Bacon desired to destroy under the title of "Idols of the Market-place": "For it is by discourse that men associate; and words are imposed according to the apprehension of the vulgar. And therefore the ill and unfit choice of words wonderfully obstructs the understanding. . . . Words plainly force and overrule the understanding and throw all into confusion, and lead men away into numberless empty controversies and idle fancies" ('Novum Organum,' book i., Aphorism xliii.)

and that only latterly has it established its independent position under the terms "Natural Philosophy" and "Natural Science." This process of emancipation has been carried out mainly through those clear and concise definitions referred to above. They have enabled it to abandon purely verbal discussions for actual description of facts. Now it will be interesting to note that the manner in which these definitions have been gained, the method of this clearing up, are not in general or to a large extent available in that domain of thought which still retains the name of philosophy proper. In order to rise, as science has effectually done, from merely verbal discussions to the consideration of realities—*i.e.*, to emancipate itself from the tyranny of words—philosophy proper will have to look out for a different method from that which is peculiar to science. Whenever the latter method is applicable we may say that science has established itself, and wrenched a new province from the common parent-land of philosophy.

Moreover, the method by which the different sciences have succeeded in defining the ideas with which they deal must have become abundantly clear in the course of our historical exposition. Scientific thought has always progressed by looking outside for definite things or processes in and through which the abstract terms it makes use of are exemplified in the external world—*i.e.*, in Nature. Wherever any doubt, vagueness, or ambiguity has shown itself, it has been dispelled by resorting to observations of special instances, by multiplying these, and thus attaining to generality, by experiments through which complicated cases have been analysed

into simpler elemental processes, by dealing with samples or examples where the existing material was huge and overwhelming, and by many similar devices. The student of science has, in the course of the last hundred years, learnt to apply these devices in numberless ways, and to combine them with an astounding and ever-growing ingenuity and resourcefulness which is the wonder of the age. The scientific student has learnt to go from words to things, from books to nature, and nature herself has revealed to him her phenomena in ever-increasing wealth and abundance. If nowadays any of the many problems of science have to be attacked, the foremost precept will be: *circumspice*, look around you. The road of scientific inquiry is the way that leads outside.

6. Seen especially in language.

But starting, as we did, with language—*i.e.*, with words and terms—we very soon find that language contains a vast number of expressions for which no outer image can be readily found. Such words refer to what are generally called abstract ideas or ideas *par excellence*. If we try to define them—*i.e.*, to assign to them a definite meaning—we have, in many cases, not to look outside but to resort to contemplation, to retire into the solitude of thought, to shut out as much as possible the disturbing influence of things around us, and to concentrate our attention as much as ever we can upon the images which arise within us. We have to look within, not outside, if we wish to find and fix the exact meaning of the words we employ.

This difference which exists between the words in our common speech has been noted by all philosophical writers and urged with more or less clearness. To

mention only one or two instances, I refer first to the treatment of the subject in the writings of Locke, with whom one of the principal lines of modern philosophical thought originated.

But I prefer, for the sake of general interest, to quote what Edmund Burke says at the close of his 'Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful,' which was published in the middle of the eighteenth century. The fifth part of this treatise deals with Words, and in the fourth section, "On the Effect of Words," he says: "If words have all their possible extent of power, three effects arise in the mind of the hearer. The first is, the sound; the second, the picture, or representation of the thing signified by the sound; the third is, the affection of the soul produced by one or by both of the foregoing. Compounded abstract words of which we have been speaking (honour, justice, liberty, and the like) produce the first and the last of these effects, but not the second. Simple abstracts are useful to signify some one simple idea without much adverting to others which may chance to attend it, as blue, green, hot, cold, and the like; these are capable of affecting all three of the purposes of words; as the aggregate words, man, castle, horse, &c., are in a yet higher degree."

In recent years, when the study of philosophy has again brought into the foreground the problem of language, Prof. Stout has fully discussed this passage of Burke, and in connection with it reviewed the opinions of other eminent thinkers.[1]

[1] G. F. Stout, 'Analytic Psychology,' 1902, vol. i. p. 80.

For my present purpose it is sufficient to say that, starting with language and words, two roads are open for our reflection—*i.e.*, for finding their underlying meaning: the one leads outside, the other inside; the precept of the first was, as we have seen, *circumspice*, look around you; the precept of the other is *introspice*, look inside you. Broadly speaking, the former is the precept of science, the principle of scientific thought and progress; the latter is the precept of philosophy, the principle of philosophical thought and insight.

7. The precept of science and that of philosophy.

This distinction between the two ways, which are those of scientific thought on the one side and of philosophical thought on the other, also helps us to realise the great difficulty which besets all philosophical reasoning. The way outside leads us into the world of the many things that exist not only for ourselves but also for our fellow-men whom we address. The scientific thinker, in appealing to the things and phenomena of nature, can invite the student or the reader to follow him into the observatory, the laboratory, the museum, the dissecting-room, or the world of nature herself, there to seek and find the same things as he describes, to repeat the observations which he has made, or to go through the experiments which he has instituted. Even the mathematical formula furnishes the same starting-point for him who first wrote it down as for him who follows. Thus the scientific thinker appeals to something that under certain conditions is accessible to others, being the common object of thought and investigation.

8. External object com-

It will at once be seen that this is not the case if we turn our thoughts inside, if we have to look for the meaning of words and phrases not outside but within our own minds. To each of us his own mind is only accessible to himself. For every one the object of internal reflection and observation is different. If the philosophical thinker addresses his hearers or his readers in terms of language, he invites them to do what he has done—*i.e.*, he desires that each of them, for himself alone, should retire into the depths of his own consciousness, into his own inner world. He expects that they will there find something analogous to that which he has seen and found within himself. But the objects are not identical, and that they are, in a greater or smaller degree, similar, rests upon an assumption which practice has taught us to make and which experience has shown to be justified and useful. Nevertheless the many misunderstandings, the endless controversies, the wearisome discussions which fill philosophical books, show sufficiently that this assumption is only very partially correct.

mon to all; internal, peculiar to the observing subject.

If the fact that the object of philosophical inquiry, viz., the inner world, is not the same for all of us, explains one of the great difficulties of philosophical thought, another feature which establishes an important difference between scientific and philosophical reasoning will at once be seen to give to the former an enormous advantage over the latter. This difference can be defined by saying that the outer world exists in space, whereas the inner world presents only succession in time. We have learnt to apply to things in space the methods of measurement, of exact definition, and of subsequent calculation. The history of scientific thought has shown that science has progressed in the same degree as the

9. Outer world in space; inner world in time.

observation of things has taken the place of discussion of words, and further, as these things have been located in space, geometrically defined and subjected to mathematical calculation. As the conceptions of space, of location, and of definition in space are at the bottom of all processes of measurement, it is at once clear that philosophical thought is deprived of the benefit of that great instrument by which scientific thought has progressed.

But, though it can in general be admitted that the difference between the outer world and the inner, as well as the arrangement in space of the former, points to the radical difference which must exist between the study of nature and the study of mind, and that the former is placed in a much more advantageous position than the latter,—it would be a mistake to rest satisfied with this distinction, or to attach to it more importance than belongs to a merely preliminary statement or a first approximation. The outer and the inner worlds are not separated by a rigid line of demarcation; the one flows into the other, and there exists a large borderland which belongs to both in common and neither to the one nor the other exclusively. This is evident from the nature and structure of language itself; for this not only employs in close conjunction words the meaning of which is to be found in opposite directions, but also contains a great number of terms of which it would be difficult to say to which of the two great realms they apply, or that have a double meaning, being promiscuously and alternately used to denote the one or the other. This

was already expressed in the above-quoted passage of Burke, who divided words not into two but into three classes. Language thus forms a common ground where our images or conceptions of the outer and the inner meet and have mutually to be accommodated to each other. There is another common meeting-ground between the outer and the inner worlds, and that is to be found in our bodily sensations. Many of these, though by no means all, have as it were two sides, and can be referred to either as things outside of us or as perceptions of ourselves. Such is notably the case with the sensations of colour or other visual and tactile sensations. Our bodies are for each of us just as much the meeting-ground of the outer and the inner world as are the language and the words we make use of.

10. Distinction, however, not hard and fast.

I might in fact have introduced my readers to the great difference which exists between the outer and the inner worlds of thought just as easily by starting with a psychological analysis of our bodily sensations, of that physical envelope which encloses the inner and shuts out the outer world. This is usually done in treatises on psychology. The reason why I have preferred to start with language is mainly this, that I am writing a history of thought, and that the great body of human thought is to be found in the written literatures of the different nations. The other means which we possess for expressing our thoughts, such as the various processes employed in the fine arts or in music, can, as we may have occasion to see later on, only be introduced into a history of thought to the extent that we are able to find an

11. Either language or bodily sensation can furnish a point of union.

analogue in words for that which they attempt to express by other signs or symbols.[1]

But, whether we start with language or with our bodily sensations—which according to a now generally accepted view furnish all the material of our thoughts,—it is clear that two roads present themselves, by following which we may hope to bring some order into our discussions: these are the way outside into what we call nature in the largest sense of the word, and the way inside into what common language calls the mind. And accordingly we can distinguish two great currents of thought which govern all modern science and philosophy: the course of scientific thought with which we have become acquainted in the first part of this history, and the way of philosophical thought which will form the subject of the second part. The fact, however, that neither an analysis of our sensations nor language itself is able to draw a definite line of demarcation has given rise to hopes on both sides that, starting on either course, both regions, the outer and the inner, can be ultimately reached and understood. We have seen, notably in the eleventh chapter of the first part of this work, how scientific thought has, within the last fifty years, made great advances into the region of the inner, mental, phenomena; how special devices have been introduced by which these phenomena can be subjected to the same exact scrutiny which has proved so successful

[1] A recent Italian philosopher, Signor Benedetto Croce, has made this view the foundation of his treatise on 'Æsthetics,' which he considers to be "Science of Expression and General Linguistic." According to this view language is an art, and the arts are special forms of general language. See B. Croce, 'Esthétique.' French translation by H. Bigot (1904).

in the abstract and the applied sciences of nature, and which even make it possible to employ those methods of measurement and calculation by which not only have natural phenomena and processes been more clearly described, but many have been discovered which otherwise would have remained for ever unknown. We there saw how these attempts, which I comprised under the title of the "psycho-physical view of nature," have caused the elaboration of two theories which, like all fruitful theories, have been domiciled in scientific literature by novel terms that have become widely current, and are being largely used with a more or less clear understanding of their meaning. The first of these is the theory of "psycho-physical parallelism," which—to put it briefly—maintains that every inner, psychical, phenomenon or process is accompanied by some outer physical phenomenon or process in the human body, and that the former can, to a great extent, be studied and understood through the latter, which is its counterpart; and this by the same methods as those by which other physical phenomena have been attacked. It is admitted that these phenomena are extremely intricate, not to say puzzling and mysterious; but, it is said, not more so than those exhibited in every other region of nature. A second term which characterises and popularises this view is the term "epi-phenomenon."[1] It has been introduced to give expression to the conception that there really exist only physical or bodily phenomena and processes, that what we call the inner states only intermittently and transiently accompany the physical processes which

12. Psycho-physical view of nature.

[1] In German, Begleiterscheinung,—a less illogical term.

correspond to them, and which form the only real basis by which definite location in time and space and continuity of existence are secured.

In the sequel we shall see that about sixty years before the psycho-physical methods were invented an opposite view had been introduced into German philosophy mainly through the influence of Kant. Admitting the correctness of the position taken up by Locke and his followers, viz., that all the material for our thinking is furnished by the senses, he nevertheless pointed out, following a suggestion forcibly put by Leibniz, that in addition to the material supplied by the senses there must be the mind or intellect itself, which forms the centre and point of reference and effects the synthesis of all this material. The emphasis with which he urged this latter point suggested to his followers the possibility that it might be quite as legitimate and perhaps more promising to start from the centre than it would be to study and analyse the peripheral world of sensations themselves. The latter had been undertaken with considerable success by the contemporary school of philosophers in this country. To place oneself at once at the centre and point of reference of all our thinking, and to work from this outward, seemed a promising and novel way of proceeding. It was supported and greatly favoured by the circumstance that, about the same time, German literature, poetry, and art had taken an unexpected and unexampled development through which an ideal force was launched into the world which had the greatest practical influence not only in literature but also in education, legislation, and the political life of the

13. Kantian Idealism the antithesis to this.

nation. It does not seem unnatural that a movement so sudden and rapid, which resulted in such momentous changes and even formed an important factor in the great anti-Napoleonic revolution of Europe,[1] should find its counterpart in an idealistic school of philosophy which started in a lordly manner from the inner world of thought and the supposed data of consciousness, and looked down with a certain amount of contempt upon the opposite school of philosophy which dealt more exclusively with the problems of wealth, industry, and the interests of the masses.

14. Both methods overreach their limit.

The history of this movement, which may be called the idealistic movement of thought, and which will occupy us more in detail in the course of this work, has shown, quite as much as the history of the later or psycho-physical movement, that any exclusive method soon exhausts its resources. In trying to find the way outside into nature and life it very soon arrived at an impassable limit, just as I have had occasion to show that the psycho-physical methods by themselves lead to an impassable limit beyond which lies the inner experience or introspective view which alone reveals to us the specific nature of our mind.

15. Their permanent value.

Both methods, the one that works from inside out and the other that works from outside in, have been of great value. Perhaps one of the most important gains has been the conviction to which both lines of reasoning have led, that beyond the region from which each started separ-

[1] The history of this movement has been written in a masterly manner by the late Sir J. R. Seeley in his 'Life and Times of Stein,' a work which largely, as it seems to me, in consequence of its title, has not gained that popularity in this country which it richly deserves.

ately, there lies another region equally important though not equally accessible by one and the same approach. It is also interesting to see that both roads have met in that common region to which I referred above, and in which language forms the central and dominating feature. The same spirit which lives in the philosophical systems of the great idealistic movement in Germany, and which went hand in hand with the revival of German literature, lived also in the minds of the founders of that great movement to which we owe the sciences of philology, comparative and classical, of jurisprudence, of biblical theology, of history in its many branches. Many of these were indeed pupils of Kant or his successors, and notably the last and greatest exponent of this line of thought, Hegel, can count among his followers a great array of names of the leaders in the various branches of historical research. On the other side, the school which calls itself pre-eminently scientific, and which is represented in Germany and France by the psycho-physical, in England by the evolutionist schools of thought, has found it not only necessary to study the phenomena of mind in their physical and physiological foundations, but also to attack and explore that region in which the human mind has become, as it were, an external and tangible thing, viz., human society with its primitive or more advanced institutions. It is needless to say that here again language presents itself as the central creation. In and through it—in the spoken and still more in the written word,—as also through the creations of the fine and useful arts and of music, external material and lifeless things have become

16. Transition to the social point of view.

the bearers of ideas; while, on the other side, ideas, the work of the mind, have become, as it were, externalised and deposited for all time in tangible objects. What was once the creation and the hidden property of only one or of the few has, through this process of externalisation, become the common possession of the many, in whom, through it, a new life has been awakened which does not end within the narrow limits of our corporeal existence, but is itself capable of continuous growth and development.

Considering, then, the extreme difficulty which exists if we try, by the methods of introspection, to get hold of our inner life, it is no wonder that the study of mental phenomena should more and more take the direction of a study of their external manifestation in the institutions of society in its primitive and more advanced forms, of languages living and dead, of art, religion, science, and industry; further, that this study, after having for a long time lingered over the more developed forms, should latterly have been directed more especially to the origins, the supposed primitive or elemental forms out of which the more advanced institutions and more finished productions have historically developed. This characteristic tendency of nineteenth century thought was not only favoured by the extreme difficulty of all purely introspective or subjective attempts, but quite as much by a kind of reaction against the sceptical attitude which found an extreme expression in the writings of David Hume. He had himself pointed out the path, when, after arriving at a deadlock in his purely logical and psychological writings, he gradually

17 A characteristic tendency of recent thought.

led the way, through his ethical and political essays, to the study of history.[1]

18. Biology and the history of origins.

We have met with a similar tendency towards historical treatment and the study of origins in that great region of scientific thought comprised under the term Biology: the science of life. After the futility of all attempts to grasp the essence of life itself by a direct analysis had become apparent, the more extensive description and observation of living things themselves, of their forms, their habits, and their environment, infused new hope into the sciences of nature; and, latterly, all these studies have converged in the direction of the study of origins,[2] whether these be found in the embryological beginnings of individual life (ontogenesis), or in the historical beginnings of genera and species (phylogenesis). Instead of trying to grasp the meaning of life through philosophical definitions, natural science has taken the more promising course of studying life in the great world of living things and their properties. Similarly the study of mind, after having met with much discouragement from the side of philosophical sceptics, as well as through the endless controversies peculiar to the introspective schools, has latterly gained new hope by turning to the external manifestations of mental life in the phenomena of society, religion, language, &c. The reality of mental life, which had gradually evaporated under the hands of

[1] See *supra*, vol. i. p. 47, and the passages there quoted from Leslie Stephen's 'English Thought in the Eighteenth Century.'

[2] I am indebted to Prof. J. Arthur Thomson, in his Review of the first part of this History (see 'Hibbert Journal,' vol. iii. p. 395), for the remark that it is not so much a study of genesis and origins as of genealogies and descent that the Darwinian view has introduced into biology.

the psycho-physicist or been reduced to a mere semblance, to a discontinuous epi-phenomenon, asserted itself in full force when philosophers looked around at the great structures of human history and civilisation, at the fabric of language, the institutions of society, the monuments of literature, art, and industry. Compared with the amount of external matter and energy which Nature even only on this small globe of ours works with, the actual material and energy, the substances employed, in all the literatures, the monuments of art, the compositions of music, or even the products of industry, are infinitesimal, a vanishing quantity; yet they are the greatest reality that surrounds us, being of more importance to us than all the rest of the world put together. How has this small assemblage of matter and energy, which is the bearer and preserver, the repository of all mental life and interest, acquired that additional reality? This is the philosophical question which a study of history forces upon us.

> "Oh, the little more, and how much it is,
> And the little less, and what worlds away!"

It is this little more or less that makes all the difference. It gives to the small piece of canvas the increasing value which all the bales of canvas in the world do not equal; it gives to the small block of marble, hewn out of the quarries of Pentelicon or Carrara, an importance as a unique object of art; it gives to the slab of stone, or the sheet of paper, valueless in themselves, the position of priceless monuments, to the score of music a meaning which could not otherwise be expressed; it dis-

tinguishes between the pile of bricks and mortar and the heap of rubbish into which any earthquake might convert it, and which would not be worth removing were it not for the fragments of the destroyed edifice which it contains. What was it that converted the Rosetta Stone, through the discovery of Thomas Young, from a simple piece of building material into the corner-stone of the great edifice of the science of Hieroglyphics? Surely something has been added to all these small and insignificant objects to raise them to the position of interest, not to say veneration, which they occupy in our estimate. We feel that they have got a reality which they did not possess in themselves; they have, in some mysterious manner, become the repository of human thought, of the very essence of the human mind! Is it not important to ask the question: Whence came this added reality and what is its nature?

19. Reality added by thought to natural things.

We come thus upon another definition of the object and aim of philosophy as distinguished from science. This definition is suggested by the twofold meaning of the words "real" and "reality." It furnishes one, and perhaps the most remarkable, instance of the twofold aspect which many words of language present to us. It is evident that, to find the meaning of the word "real," we have to look not only outside but likewise inside our own selves. No external examination, by all the methods of science, would reveal to us anything but the most unimportant side or portion of the reality which belongs to any of the objects just referred to. In order to get hold of the much more important side of this reality, we have to resort to a variety of mental processes, of inner

contemplation, for which science gives us little or no help. To define and demonstrate, so as to produce general conviction, is to a large extent quite impossible. To gain understanding here is a task which each thinking and contemplating mind is bound to perform for itself alone.

An awakening to the consciousness that there are two realities in and around us which language and common-sense unconsciously recognise, but continually intermingle, marks probably the first important stage in the history of philosophy, and accordingly we find already with the great philosophers of Greece, notably with Plato, due recognition of this twofold aspect of the real, and a continued striving to find an appropriate expression for it.

20. Twofold aspect of the Real first recognised by Plato.

We owe to Plato the greater part of the terms by which this central problem of philosophy is put before us in the writings of ancient and modern thinkers. He created at least one half of the vocabulary of mental philosophy; he first put prominently forward and expressed in words the conception that there is a world of ideas which has a definite existence not only in but above and outside of the world of material things. In speaking of that which is real or exists (*τὸ ὂν*) he puts forward the notion of that which is really (not only apparently) real (*τὸ ὄντως ὂν*), and likewise the complementary notion that, besides the real, there exists something which is not real (*τὸ μὴ ὂν*), and which, by its admixture with the truly real, deprives the latter of a portion of its true or pure reality, reducing it to an appearance or semblance. He also tries to answer the question: What is the nature or essence of the truly real? All these reflections, put forward in the Platonic

dialogues in endless variety and illustrated from many sides, embodying many ideas contained in the writings of his predecessors or suggested by the conversations of Socrates, have formed the text for the discussions of more than one half of the great thinkers of ancient and modern times. Attempts have indeed been made, ever since the time of Descartes and Bacon, to escape from the influence of Plato's idealism; the fact, however, that hardly any philosopher who has attacked the highest problems of philosophy has succeeded in liberating himself from the use of Plato's terminology, or consequently from the influence of his ideas, proves to us how important a part the great problem of the twofold aspect of reality plays in all our most serious reflections. Of modern languages the German has certainly assimilated more than any other the wealth of expressions which Greek philosophers, notably Plato and Aristotle, have bequeathed to posterity. Other languages, especially the English, have only tardily followed; but during the latter part of the nineteenth century, when the British mind turned again to those "deeper" problems which, after the original and isolated treatment contained in the writings of Bishop Berkeley, had been pushed aside and neglected, the necessity was felt to enrich the English language by a variety of terms, most of which are directly or indirectly imported from ancient philosophy, or at least, through their German equivalents, suggested by it.[1] It is especi-

[1] The translation of Plato's 'Dialogues' by some of the foremost thinkers in the three countries during the nineteenth century has done much to promote idealism. Thus we have in Germany Schleiermacher's Translations (1804-28), in France Victor Cousin's Translations (1822-40), and in England Jowett's Translations (1871, &c.) Nor is it unimportant to note that one prominent representative of modern, positive and evolutionary, thought, M. Fouillée in France, started on his philosophic career with a study of Plato. In each of the three countries the prominence given to Platonic studies through these translations was followed by a reaction more or less associated with the study of Aristotle, in Germany by Trendelenburg ('Elementa Logices Aristot.,' 1836, 'Logische Untersuchungen,' 1840), in France by Barthélemy-Saint Hilaire (1844, &c.), in England by the recent Aristotelian studies at the University of Oxford.

ally interesting to see how in the writings of one of the latest representatives of the ideal school of philosophy in this country, and one who has had a very marked influence, we find a continual striving to find an expression for the twofold aspect of reality and for the essence of the truly real, similar to that which we meet with in the writings of Plato.[1]

21. Mediæval philosophy and the modern break with it.

The patristic and scholastic philosophies are full of a recognition of the twofold aspect of reality; but they find a solution of the question as to the truly real in the Christian doctrine of a higher life. Modern philosophy started in England in the teaching of Bacon, and on the Continent in that of Descartes, with a reaction against the neglect with which mediæval philosophy had treated the problems of this world. It led, though in very different ways, to the culture of those branches of knowledge which have to do with the outer world—*i.e.*, with Nature in the largest sense of the term. This interest, as well as the fact that Plato's writings are wanting in due appreciation of the importance of the exact and natural sciences,—with the sole exception of mathematics,—was probably the reason why, for a long time, Plato's works remained little known to philosophical students. With a deeper recognition, however, that the question as to the truly real was not only of re-

[1] See Mr F. H. Bradley's 'Appearance and Reality,' 1st ed., 1893.

ligious but likewise of supreme philosophical interest, a revival of the study of Plato went hand in hand; Leibniz being probably one of the first of the great philosophers of modern times to appreciate the Platonic idealism. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the old problem which was before the mind of Plato received a new expression in the philosophy of Kant, and this expression has dominated most of the great systems of nineteenth century philosophy. Even the positive philosophy in France and the philosophy of Evolution in England which, in their great representatives, professed to break with the historical traditions of philosophy, as Descartes and Bacon had done before them, have led, through the reaction which they provoked, to a profound appreciation of the form in which this central problem of philosophy presented itself to Plato and Kant.[1] Philosophical thought in the nineteenth century indeed not only started from, but, as we shall see, continually reverts to, Kant's statement of the great problem.

22. Community between Kant and Plato.

[1] This view of Kant's philosophy as belonging to the Platonic tradition is strongly brought out by Fr. Paulsen. "Kant's metaphysical conceptions through all their changes remained essentially the same: they consist of an idealism under the directing influence of Leibniz (and Plato)." Paulsen, 'Immanuel Kant,' 4th ed., p. 83; cf. also pp. xi, 97. This view has been attacked by some of Paulsen's critics.

One of the leaders of what is termed in Germany Neokantianism, a revival of the study of Kant's Works, following upon the publication of Kuno Fischer's 'Exposition of Kant's System,' in the 3rd and 4th volumes of his 'History of Modern Philosophy' (1860), F. A. Lange, has fully entered upon the influence of Platonism upon subsequent ancient and modern philosophy, and has in his 'History of Materialism' (Engl. transl. by E. C. Thomas, in 3 vols., 1877, 1880, 1881) denounced it as one of the great errors in philosophic thought. At the same time he recognises its great historical importance and its abiding value from a different point of view, which he places in opposition to the methodical treatment that belongs to science and philosophy. Of this important distinction, which is independently upheld by other thinkers besides Lange, I shall treat in a later chapter.

It is influenced throughout by the conviction that finds its most eloquent expression in the words which Kant placed at the end of his work on Ethics: "Two things fill my mind with ever new and ever growing wonder and reverence, the more often and continuously my thoughts are occupied with them: the starry heavens above me, and the moral law within me. Neither of these ought I to seek for or merely to assume, as if they lay outside my horizon, clothed in darkness and the unreachable. I see them both before me and connect them directly with the consciousness of my existence. The first begins with the place which I occupy in the outer world of the senses and expands the connections in which I stand into the invisibly great, with worlds upon worlds and systems upon systems, moreover, into limitless ages of their periodic motion, its origin and duration. The second begins with my invisible Self, my personality, and represents me as standing in a world which has true Infinity, but is accessible only to Reason, and with which I stand not only—as is the case with the outer world—in accidental, but in a general and necessary relation."[1]

We shall see in the sequel how the ideas contained or suggested in this remarkable passage, in which Kant sums up the final result of his teaching, have governed consciously or unconsciously the various directions which philosophical thought has taken during the nineteenth century. We shall also see how Kant replied, in no uncertain manner, to the question which of the two worlds is the truly real one.

[1] See Kant, 'Kritik der praktischen Vernunft,' 1st ed., 1788, conclusion.

II.

23. Evolution and the power of words.

No better instance of the control—not to say the tyranny—which language exerts over our thoughts can be found than the modern use of the word Evolution. In every department of literature, scientific, philosophical, or general, systematic or unsystematic, the word occurs again and again; it seems to satisfy authors as well as their readers. By it they seem to have found the right position from which to treat or comprehend almost any subject, to have gained the right attitude of contemplation.[1] In most cases, when the word is used on the title-pages of books, in introductions, reviews, or leading articles in the daily papers, it would be needless to ask the question what is really meant by the term; every-

[1] This refers mainly to English literature, where the term has been appropriated by Herbert Spencer to characterise his synthetic philosophy, and has since been generally used to signify development, physical or mental, much on the lines indicated by Schelling and Hegel in Germany at an earlier period. Latterly the term has also been largely used in French literature in a similar sense, though it had been current there already in the eighteenth century. In Germany the word has never become current in philosophical literature, and remains identified with the philosophy of Spencer, although isolated instances of its use are already to be found in the writings of Herder. On the history and the older meaning of the word, see Huxley's 'Science and Culture' (1888). "In the former half of the eighteenth century the term 'Evolution' was introduced into biological writings in order to denote the mode in which some of the most eminent physiologists of that time conceived that the generation of living things took place, in opposition to the hypothesis advocated in the preceding century by Harvey, &c." (p. 274).

"Evolution, or development, is at present employed in biology as a general name for the history of the steps by which any living being has acquired the morphological and the physiological characters which distinguish it" (p. 282).

"The terms 'Development,' 'Entwickelung,' and 'Evolutio,' are now indiscriminately used . . . by writers who would emphatically deny . . . the sense in which these words were usually employed by Bonnet or by Haller" (Ibid.)

body is supposed to understand it; to every one it seems to suggest a useful meaning.

In the scientific portion of this history we have seen how the word has been introduced, notably through cosmology and geology, to denote gradual succession of slow developments and changes; how it was then taken up by biology, and how, in these three fields of research, it marks a contrast to two other views, the uniformitarian and catastrophic views, of which the former emphasised the fixity, the latter, the suddenness of change in natural things and processes. From this more restricted and well-defined use the word has been introduced into other regions of science, history, and thought with less well-defined meanings.

To historians and philosophers the word recommends itself for yet other reasons, which seem to stand in no immediate connection with the movements of scientific thought to which I just referred.

24. The social point of view in history.

A great change has come over the writing of history in the course of the nineteenth century. History, even if it be only political history, no longer consists solely of a record of wars, battles, invasions, and revolutions, nor in the biography of kings, rulers, warriors, and statesmen. An account of the manners and customs of different peoples in different ages is not relegated to isolated chapters, or to the meagre appendix of a political history.[1] The idea, which was already expressed by

[1] As it was by David Hume, who nevertheless emphasises the importance of these subjects. "Where a just notion is not formed of these particulars (viz., government, manners, finances, arms, trade, learning), history can be little instructive and often will not be intelligible" ('History of England,' Appendix to chap. xlix.)

older historians, that the progress of culture and civilisation, that laws, art, science, and industry and the life of the people form by far the most interesting side of history, has been realised in some of the later historical works which the nineteenth century has produced. We have now, at least, the beginnings of a history of the popular masses,[1] of their occupations, habits, and interests. The result of this has been that historians now deal more with the continuous, not so much with the discontinuous, forces of historical life; with the properties of the masses, rather than with the characters of individuals. One of the principal properties of masses is this, that they possess inertia and move slowly. Like the changes in Nature, their changes are gradual and imperceptible, not sudden and catastrophic. Accordingly historians deal now more with those phenomena which are analogous to the slow-moving processes of Nature, and the term Evolution has come in appropriately to define the nature of the things and changes which they

[1] It is needless to refer English readers to the constitutional histories of Hallam, Stubbs, and others, or to J. R. Green's 'History of the English People.' In countries like France and Germany, where, within recent times, constitutional history hardly existed before the French Revolution, the transition from political history to the social history of the people did not take place through the writing of constitutional histories; but in the course of the nineteenth century important works, dealing with popular interests, have appeared, such as H. Taine's 'Origines de la France Contemporaine.' In Germany Gustav Freitag in his 'Bilder aus der Deutschen Vergangenheit' (1859-62), and notably W. H. Riehl, 'Naturgeschichte des Volkes' (1853-69), 'Die Deutsche Arbeit' (1861), 'Land und Leute,' and many other books, made a beginning of a history of the German people, and at the end of the century we have Karl Lamprecht's 'Deutsche Geschichte,' in twelve volumes (1891, &c.), written mainly from an economic point of view. The real historians of the people are, however, the great novelists, and it is interesting to note that the modern social and historical novel made its first appearance simultaneously with the rise of modern historiography, and this in all the three countries alike.

are attempting to record. They deal, not so much with persons and events, as with the gradual development of constitutions, the growth of nationalities and societies,—in fact, with the life and interests of the masses.

25. Application to the history of thought.

The history of thought seems similarly to lend itself very readily to such treatment. It is easy to fix upon one or several leading ideas or movements of thought, and to trace their slow growth and gradual diffusion and influence. Important historical works, comprising sometimes many volumes, have been written or planned from this point of view. It is seldom, however, that we do not rise from the perusal of such works with the feeling that they have only taken notice of one side, and that there are other sides which must also be taken into account if we wish to arrive at a fair judgment or a comprehensive view.[1]

Thus, although it is the object of this history to dwell

[1] The prominent examples of this manner of treating the History of Thought are Comte's 'Philosophie Positive,' Thos. Buckle's 'History of Civilisation,' and Hegel's 'Philosophy of History.' With these I shall be largely occupied in future chapters. Of smaller Works we have Guizot's Lectures on 'History of Civilisation in Europe' and 'History of Civilisation in France' (1828); Lecky's 'History of the Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe' (1865), 2 vols. German literature is particularly rich in monographs on special ideas or movements of thought, such as Lange's 'History of Materialism,' already quoted, Lasswitz' 'Geschichte der Atomistik,' 2 vols. (1890); Tholuck's 'Vorgeschichte des Rationalismus' (1853-62); 'Geschichte des Rationalismus' (1865); A. Ritschl's 'Geschichte des Pietismus' (1880-86); A. Drews' 'History of German Speculation since Kant,' containing mainly a history of the idea of Personality. Of course, by far the most important idea or cluster of ideas in modern times has its special development and history in the vast theological literature dealing with Christianity in its two great manifestations, 'Christian Church' and 'Christian Doctrine.' As this rests on a unique historical foundation, it will not be specially dealt with in the present section of this history. It belongs to the religious thought of the century. Only where it comes into immediate contact with philosophical doctrines, as it certainly has done very frequently, shall I have occasion to refer to it.

by preference on the uniting ideas which underlie the Thought of the nineteenth century, I feel that it would be a mistake were I to undervalue the many differences and contrasts which have existed within the great realm of thought during that whole period.

26. Differences as well as uniting ideas not to be neglected.

I think it will be more helpful to my readers if, when entering on a new portion of my subject, I impress upon them the necessity of adopting an entirely different point of view from that to which they may have become accustomed by the perusal of the former volumes. So strongly do I feel the necessity of this, that I am inclined to say, that except they are prepared to familiarise themselves with an entirely altered set of interests, problems, and methods, I shall fail to gain, or to retain, their attention in that which follows.

27. New point of view required.

Unity or harmony of thought may be the desired end, it may even be a growing tendency which has become more and more evident; it certainly has not been the prominent external feature of nineteenth century Thought. The historian must first take note of the differences, the contrasts, and controversies before he can hope to trace the secret and underlying agreement. The former present themselves wherever we look, the latter is hidden—a subject rather of speculation and conjecture.

28. Contrast to be dealt with.

Similarly in the line of political history, of biography, of the histories of literature, or of practical life, a fuller and correcter insight is frequently gained by emphasising differences, be they national, personal, or local, than by dwelling on those features which belong to all forms of human life and progress alike. I desire, then, first

of all, to impress on my readers the great difference, and indeed the contrast, which has existed all through the century, between that great domain of Thought of which I treated in the former volumes, under the name of Scientific Thought, and that equally important, though perhaps not equally coherent, region which we now approach, and which I comprise under the name of "Philosophical Thought."

29. Philosophical contrasted with scientific method.

Earlier philosophical systems of the century aimed at comprising under the term philosophy a well-arranged system of all knowledge: modern science inclines in the opposite direction of reducing philosophy to the position of being merely a formal introduction to science —or the most abstract outcome of scientific reasoning. Nevertheless, a glance at the scientific and philosophical literatures of Germany, France, and England forces upon us a strong conviction of the essential difference, of the contrast and antagonism in the aims and interests, in the style and the methods which are peculiar to science on the one side and to philosophy on the other. It was once as difficult to find a way from the abstractions of the great idealistic systems into the broad expanse of natural science, as it is now to ascend from this to the leading conceptions which form the basis of our moral and social life, the ideals of art and the truths of religion. The consequence has been that, a century ago, natural science took its own course, untrammelled by the theories of philosophers, and that we find in our days little inclination on the part of practical legislators, of statesmen, and of politicians, still less of artists and religious teachers, to refer for help

to the doctrines of pure science. The ethics and religion of science which the latter half of the century has variously elaborated meet with even less recognition by practical teachers than did the "philosophy of Nature" of Schelling and of Oken a hundred years ago on the part of the leaders of Science. Science and the philosophy of Life, knowledge and wisdom, still live mostly far apart, or are found united only in rare and isolated instances. Looking, then, from a broad and general point of view at the two great branches of methodical thought of the past century, we may say that there existed two main problems. For the philosopher who started with the highest interests before his mind, the question arose, how was he to find a way into the broad expanse of natural phenomena? What was the principle by which these phenomena could be grasped and studied? And for the student of Nature, who started from the observation of nature herself in her endless variety, the question presented itself: how could he ascend to a conception and understanding of the highest principles which govern and regulate the mental life of man and mankind? The first of these two problems has in a measure been solved by the methods and principles of exact science, as I have explained them in the former volumes; they are the scientific, exact, or mathematical methods. The second has occupied the greatest thinkers in the course of the century, but a generally accepted answer has not been arrived at.

We have seen that the methods of the exact sciences by which the exploration of nature in the largest sense

of the word has been carried out have, in many instances, led to problems for which the exact or mathematical methods do not suffice. The question still awaits a universally approved answer: "Where and how can the thinking mind grasp the whole of that region which we broadly define as the life of the mind?" Many ways and many answers have suggested themselves. The history of Philosophical Thought is mainly concerned with tracing and explaining them.

Having thus arrived at a crude definition of the task which the history of philosophical Thought has to fulfil, the question arises how the whole subject can be conveniently grouped and divided. The courses of philosophical Thought have been so numerous and intricate, crossing and recrossing each other so frequently, that the historian has no little difficulty in choosing a starting-point. Histories of philosophy have indeed been written in great number.[1] They have generally taken up the

30. Histories of philosophy.

[1] By far the greater part of the work has been done by German historians, among whom during the nineteenth century the most prominent are—H. Ritter ('Geschichte der Philosophie,' 12 vols., 1836-53, of which several parts have been republished), Chr. Aug. Brandis ('Handbuch der Geschichte der Griechisch-Römischen Philosophie,' 1835-60, and a smaller work in 2 vols., 1862-64), J. E. Erdmann ('Versuch einer Wissenschaftl. Darstellung der neuer. Philos.,' 1834-53). After these pioneer works, written under the influence of Schleiermacher and Hegel, had to some extent cleared the ground, laid bare the sources and amassed an enormous amount of material, we come upon a second period of philosophical historiography in the more comprehensive and finished works of E. Zeller ('Die Philosophie der Griechen,' 3 vols., 1844-52, and subsequent editions much enlarged), Kuno Fischer ('Geschichte der neuern Philosophie,' 8 vols., 1854-99), and a new work by Erdmann (2 vols., 1865, and subsequent editions) embracing the whole history of Philosophy. The three last-mentioned works are all inspired by the Hegelian philosophy, from the stricter formulæ of which the authors have gradually emancipated themselves, most of all Zeller, who was much influenced by Strauss and, together with him, by modern scientific notions. After these

chronological point of view—dealing with the different systems as they have rapidly followed each other, especially on the Continent, casting side glances at the smaller developments which have issued from them. The classical model in this line is the 'History of Modern Philosophy,' by Kuno Fischer. In spite of much that may be said against the plan and method adopted in this work, it remains the greatest performance which the last fifty years have witnessed in the history of recent speculation, a worthy counterpart to Edward Zeller's equally monumental 'History of Greek Philosophy.'

works, which still form fundamental treatises, we come to a third period of philosophical historiography in Germany which is characterised by a freer treatment of the subject, inclining more in the direction which this history is following — *i.e.*, towards a history of philosophic thought rather than of philosophic systems or individual thinkers. Prominent among these, so far as recent philosophy is concerned, are Falckenberg ('Geschichte der neuern Philosophie,' 1886, and many subsequent editions) and W. Windelband ('Geschichte der Philosophie,' 1893, 'Geschichte der neuern Philosophie,' 2 vols., 1878-80, both in several editions). For purposes of reference Ueberweg's 'Grundriss' (re-edited by Heinze, Part iv., 10th ed., 1906) is invaluable. In addition to these standard works there exist an enormous number of historical treatises on special subjects, or written from special points of view; among these the historical works of E. von Hartmann are conspicuous. To such works I shall refer in the course of this History, but I am by no means acquainted with all of them. Most of the larger works which I mention confine themselves, so far as the nineteenth century is concerned, mainly to German philosophy, and only the very latest have begun to take notice also of philosophy in France, England, and other countries. Ueberweg's 'Grundriss' has indeed elaborate additional sections on modern philosophy in other than German countries. As they are, however, written by separate authors belonging to the respective countries, the whole work does not afford a survey from an international point of view. The only comprehensive work written in this spirit is the 'History of Modern Philosophy,' by Prof. Harald Höffding (Engl. transl., 2 vols., 1900). Like his countryman G. Brandes, not being identified with any of the principal movements of modern literature or thought, he has been able, more than other writers, to do justice to the separate work of different nationalities, taking up an impartial cosmopolitan attitude; though Höffding admits that even in his later supplementary historical works on "modern problems of philosophy" and "modern thinkers" his exposition is still defective, especially for French philosophy.

31. Kuno Fischer.

Of the eight volumes of Kuno Fischer's work, six treat of the philosophy of Kant and his successors. There is no doubt that many students of philosophy owe their first introduction to this difficult subject to the luminous pages of this foremost historian of modern philosophy. The appearance of each of the successive parts has marked a revival in the interest which has been taken, not only abroad but also in this country, in philosophy generally, and in the special systems which it dealt with in particular. If I do not take this work as a guide through the labyrinth of philosophical theories, it is not for want of appreciation of its unique contribution to the philosophical literature of the second half of the nineteenth century, nor of gratitude for the insight I myself have gained through it, but because I am not primarily interested in expounding the different philosophical systems, but rather in tracing the leading ideas which have survived these systems themselves and become the common property of the philosophical mind at the present day.[1]

[1] Kuno Fischer's History (latest ed. in 9 vols.) may appropriately be termed a history of modern Idealism; which starts with Descartes and develops through Spinoza, Leibniz, Kant, Fichte, and Schelling to its consummation in Hegel. Other important movements in philosophy, both German and foreign, are treated as side issues or antitheses to the idealistic movement. Of other writers full attention is given only to Schopenhauer. Hegel's philosophy is looked upon as the dominating philosophy of the century, as its underlying Thought; its main characteristics being that it is speculative and not positive (Comte); that it is metaphysical and not psychological (Beneke); that it is monistic and not dualistic (Günther and Hermes); that it identifies Thought and Being in contrast to their essential difference (Herbart); that it finds the truly Real in logical thought or reason, not in the unreasoning Will (Schopenhauer) or the "Unconscious" (v. Hartmann) (see vol. viii., pt. 2, p. 1176 *sqq.*) The only promising further development of the Hegelian scheme is seen by Fischer in the philosophy of Lotze, who, as I shall have occasion to explain in the sequel, is historically connected with Hegel through his master, Ch. H. Weisse, and to whom belongs, according to Fischer, a position of unusual importance among German philosophers; his

In the earlier volumes of this history it was, of course, not my intention to give anything like an exhaustive record of scientific discoveries: I referred to these only in the way of illustration, or to the extent that they reacted upon Scientific Thought. So also in the present case, I shall only refer to special philosophical theories or systematic attempts as instances in and by which these permanent ideas have found expression which has survived writers and systems of philosophy alike. As we saw that the scientific activity of the century resulted in the firm establishment of a small number of leading conceptions, so I shall now endeavour to show how the huge and frequently conflicting philosophical literature has left behind it a small

main thesis being defined as the conviction that the world is not only a fact, but has also a meaning. Without this latter addition philosophy remains unphilosophical, "standing in the midst of the darkness and thicket of facts, what Bacon termed the *silva silvarum*, the forest of forests." See vol. viii. p. 1176, &c. Prominent in Kuno Fischer's History are the intimate relations which he establishes between philosophical idealism and the classical and romantic literature of Germany, of which he has a thorough knowledge and a unique conception, being popularly quite as well known through his writings in literary criticism as through his 'History of Philosophy.' Among his followers and pupils a recognition of this intimate connection of thought with literature and life is still more conspicuous. More than any other German historian has Fischer refused to recognise that other modern countries have elaborated philosophies of their own. In fact, whenever important foreign names are mentioned it is only in contrast to the dominating current of Hegelian thought, or, as for instance with Darwin, as special examples of the Hegelian idea of development; besides, important movements, even in German philosophy, are almost entirely omitted, as notably the great movement in religious philosophy which has its origin in Schleiermacher. In consequence of these omissions Kuno Fischer's History, though an inspiring work, is hardly a safe guide through the labyrinth of philosophical thought in Western Europe during the nineteenth century. It is interesting to note that Erdmann likewise closes his 'History of Modern Philosophy' with an even more elaborate appreciation of Lotze's views. In this respect both Fischer and Erdmann form a contrast to Zeller, who in his 'History of German Philosophy' (Munich, 1873) has only a slight and quite inadequate reference to Lotze.

body of guiding ideas which form the enduring bequest of nineteenth century speculation.

In dealing with scientific Thought I had frequent opportunity of pointing out how, in the course of the century, science has become more and more international, whereas in the beginning of the century the three principal nations with which we are dealing took up different and independent positions in their scientific work. A similar observation applies to philosophical Thought, although in this case the change from national to international work and co-operation has come much later and is less pronounced. At the end of the century the philosophy of the three countries preserves more of the specific national characteristics than does their science, and whilst in the beginning of our period we meet with a lively though somewhat casual scientific intercourse and exchange, the philosophy of the Continent, notably of Germany, sprang up and developed without producing for a long time any important influence on France and England. In fact, we may say that the powerful mutual influence of French, English, and German philosophy produced in former centuries by the teaching of Descartes, Locke, Leibniz, and Hume, had given way to specific developments, chiefly in the Scottish and the German schools. If we wish to characterise broadly and without going into minute details these two opposite developments which sprang out of the common root of David Hume's scepticism, we may say that Scottish philosophy cultivated the field of psychological research, whereas German philosophy centred in metaphysics: the consequence being that we owe to the

32. National and international work in science and philosophy.

former almost exclusively the development which psychology underwent during the first half of the century; to the latter almost all the important constructive efforts in modern philosophy. These two quite independent movements met on common ground when they approached, from different sides, the theories of logic and philosophical method. To this common task British psychologists were led, mainly under the guidance of John Stuart Mill, when they desired to extend their methods and theories so as to deal with economic and social phenomena: German metaphysicians were led to similar investigations through a criticism of the dialectic (or metaphysical logic) of Hegel, the leader in this movement being the Aristotelian scholar, Adolf Trendelenburg. From these two independent modes of approach, which met over a discussion of Hume's and Kant's criticisms, the modern theory of Knowledge (Erkentniss-theorie) arose. On this ground British and German philosophy met again after a separation of more than half a century.

One would have thought that the great achievements of the exact methods in France at the end of the eighteenth century, resulting as we saw in many instances in a creation of new sciences or a complete remodelling of older ones, would have led on to a similar revolution in mental and moral science. Such a process indeed seemed to make a beginning in the school of De Tracy and the 'Idéologues'; but for reasons which have been explained in an earlier section of this work, this development was stifled in its inception.[1]

[1] See this History, vol. i. p. 149.

French philosophical Thought, for a considerable period, preserved a purely eclectic character, and did so even long after an independent and novel system of philosophy had been elaborated in its midst, which was destined to exert a very powerful influence, first in England and later in France itself. This system, the philosophy of Auguste Comte, did not seek an extension of scientific research in the direction of psychology, which indeed it discouraged in a very peremptory fashion; it attached itself to that line of Thought which has always marked the strongest side of French genius; the mathematical rather than the essentially empirical development of knowledge. Those three great characteristics of German, English, and French philosophy during the first half of the century, the metaphysical, the psychological, and the mathematical, are intimately connected with the state of higher culture in these three countries during that period.

33. Auguste Comte.

England had developed, ever since the time of Bacon, the experimental or empirical philosophy of nature: it was only natural that a similar empirical treatment of mental life should suggest itself as the necessary complement of that philosophy. The brilliant achievements of French Science, building upon the mathematical foundations laid by Newton and Lagrange, suggested in the mind of Auguste Comte the idea of a positive or exact philosophy.

34. English empiricism.

But in one point the British and the French mind were in harmony, and this accounts for the interest which England took in Comte's philosophy in the middle of the century. Both countries had witnessed in the

35. Social point of view in France and England.

course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries large national developments, with this difference: that in England, the national development brought with it pre-eminently the industrial and economic problems, which only come to the fore when a more or less settled state of society has been reached; whereas the national development of France resulted in the great cataclysm of the Revolution, bringing with it the many doubts, theories, and constructive attempts which surround the question of the groundwork of state and society. Comte was the first to proclaim Sociology as the science of the nineteenth century—*i.e.*, the problems connected with the life of man, not as an individual but as a member of a social organisation.

This view appealed strongly to John Stuart Mill, in whose mind the sociological problem, which in his forerunners had been limited more or less to industrial, economic, and legal questions, began to acquire that larger meaning and greater importance which it has finally attained in the writings of Herbert Spencer.

36. Absence of the same in Germany.

No such inducement to attempt the solution of practical questions referring to State and Society existed in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century. There existed there no great industrial developments and no great national expansion as in England, nor did the Revolution offer to German thinkers much more than a subject for theoretical contemplation. But, as I have had occasion to point out before, the dispersive nature of Germany's political life and the absence of national unity had resulted in a greater diffusion of culture and in the development of the great educational systems,

notably in the establishment of the German university system which trained teachers and servants of the State, and which in the philosophical faculty had organised a comprehensive theoretical treatment of all problems of mind, life, and nature alike. It was natural that the problem of knowledge as such should be taken up in a novel and quite general manner and with direct recognition of the results of ancient and modern philosophy. This explains the interest and appreciation with which so abstract a work as Kant's philosophy was received. It was purely logical, or rather metaphysical, and it stood in immediate connection with Aristotle, Leibniz, and Hume. The sociological problem was taken up in Germany at a much later period; but we must not forget that meanwhile an important step in the practical advancement of it had been made in the development of the system of popular as distinguished from learned education: a contribution to the solution of that problem of the nineteenth century which for a long time was wanting both in England and in France, and the far-reaching consequences of which are only now beginning to be realised. This movement was greatly influenced by the leaders of philosophical thought themselves, by Lessing, Herder, Kant, Schiller, Fichte, Schleiermacher, and Herbart, who inspired the leaders of education and the founders of the many seminaries or training schools for teachers in the elementary schools.

37. Psychological, metaphysical, and positive interests.

Looking, then, at the different national interests which promoted philosophical Thought in the three countries, we are led to a first division of this great subject which is given by the terms, psychological, metaphysical, and

positive. We can speak of a psychological, a metaphysical, and a positive movement in philosophical Thought—that is, we can distinguish between a preeminently psychological, a metaphysical, and a positive or exact treatment of philosophical problems. To this we may add, as equally important aspects, the logical and the sociological; but we must note that the three former terms refer to the subjects, the two latter to the method and purpose, of philosophical reasoning. Accordingly, I shall in the sequel treat separately of the development of psychology, of metaphysics, of scientific method, and the theory of knowledge. A later portion of this section will have to deal with the question, to what extent the social problem, which in the meantime has more and more forced itself upon the attention of thinkers of every school, has been defined and brought nearer to a solution. The social problem is in time one of the latest, as it is in subject one of the most complex, problems which the nineteenth century has taken up. In the beginning of the century it was still largely in the hands of enthusiasts and visionaries, to whom, it may be noted in passing, we owe almost all the great ideals in our higher life, and from whom they pass into the hands of the thinker and the philosopher, by whom they are in turn handed over to the practical man, to the legislator, the statesman, the leader of society, industry, or labour.

Confining ourselves, then, in the beginning, to the three earlier philosophical developments — the metaphysical, the psychological, and the positive—it is next important to observe that in due course they underwent certain changes. These changes are common to them all alike,

as they are indeed characteristic of all recent Thought which is not purely scientific or mathematical. As this points to a general feature of nineteenth century philosophy, and has led to special doctrines of great importance and widespread influence, it will be helpful to take note of it in advance.

38. A new character of philosophical thought in the century.

Philosophical thought has acquired the general character I refer to, mainly under the influence of the German mind. We owe it to that organisation for abstract research which we find typified in the philosophical faculty at the German universities. This is the home and nursery of pure science in the broader sense of the word, denoted by the term "Wissenschaft"—*i.e.*, science and erudition combined.

When the leaders and founders of the German university system, at the end of the eighteenth century, undertook to start afresh higher instruction in all branches of knowledge, they found themselves face to face with an enormous accumulation of erudition and of philosophical doctrine. This had been brought together by ancient and modern thinkers, by scattered research, by no generally recognised method, and with no common aim and purpose. It was the tradition, and constituted the inheritance from former ages. More and more it became evident that this great accumulation of knowledge, of learning, and of doctrine required to be put in order and to be sifted, so that truth could emerge and falsehood be discarded. Historical records had to be traced to their sources, theories had to be followed up to their origin or shown to be valid and consistent; dogmas had to show the authority upon which they rested; in

fact, the whole edifice of knowledge, learning, and doctrine, as handed down from former generations, had to be put in order and newly arranged.

The precept of Leibniz had to be carried out in its integrity, "Didici in mathematicis ingenio, in physicis experimentis, in legibus divinis humanisque auctoritate, in historicis testimoniis nitendum esse."[1]

Such process of sifting or arranging, of confirming or discarding, existing opinions, and generally of establishing the true canons of research in dealing with historically accumulated material, had already been sporadically set agoing in various branches, but notably in the domain of classical learning, about the time when the natural and exact sciences had been put upon an independent and secure foundation by the great natural philosophers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We have to go back to the names of Erasmus, of Scaliger, of Casaubon, and of Bentley if we wish to trace the beginnings of that great volume of learning and research which has gradually acquired the generic name of Philological Criticism.

39. The term Criticism as used by Kant.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the term criticism had been introduced in this country to denote discussions relating to subjects of fine art and literature.[2] We find Kant in Germany introducing the term to denote preparatory investigations which he deemed necessary in order to place philosophy upon a secure foundation, and to refute the scepticism of Hume and the

[1] "I have learnt that in mathematics we have to rely on genius, in physics on experiment, in law, human and Divine, on authority, in history on testimony."

[2] See especially Henry Home, Lord Kames' 'Elements of Criticism' (1761).

metaphysics of Leibniz. In the first half of the nineteenth century a similar process of sifting and analysing was infused into scientific theology in Germany, whilst critical philology under the hands of F. A. Wolf and his successors attained, during the second third of the century, that rigid, methodical development which for a long time gave it the leading influence in the higher secondary and learned schools of Germany.

All these resultants of the desire to sift, to arrange, and to judge historically transmitted material, be it facts, records, or theories, testify to the working of the critical spirit. This latter, together with the purely scientific or exact spirit, marks probably the most important characteristic of nineteenth century Thought. It is accompanied by its necessary and inevitable ally—historical research and learning.

All methodical thought which cannot adopt, or is not yet ready to adopt, the canons of exact or scientific thought, such as have been set out in the earlier portion of this work, has been all through the nineteenth century, and is still, under the undisputed sway of the historical and critical spirit; all philosophical theories, be they logical, psychological, or purely scientific and enunciated for whatsoever end or purpose, are dominated by criticism and history. So much is this the case that in many instances research has almost lost itself in history and criticism, to the damage of the positive interests which originally prompted it. We notice this, for instance, in the work of many distinguished representatives of critical theology abroad: the religious interest has not infrequently given way to a purely literary or learned interest.

40. Criticism and history.

Before entering upon a more detailed account of psychological, logical, and positive lines of reasoning, and before dealing with the Sociological Thought of the century, I therefore propose to pass under review the growth and diffusion of the critical and historical spirit in the three countries, in a manner similar to that which I adopted when dealing with the growth and diffusion of the scientific spirit in the earlier part of this history.

41. Growth and diffusion of the critical spirit.

In the present case, as Germany is the centre of the critical phase of Thought, and has carried criticism into every branch of learning, literature, and art in the most complete manner, I shall begin with the critical spirit in Germany, after which I shall treat of the diffusion of criticism in England and France. After this I propose to take up in the four following chapters the psychological, the logical, the metaphysical, and the positivist movements of Thought, up to the point at which they came under the decided influence of the critical and historical spirit. It will then be shown that this resulted in the creation of two distinct lines of speculation, the first of which started from the foundation of the logical and metaphysical systems of the Continent, the other from the psychological and positivist doctrines of France and England. Both of them are historical, and have in the detail of their research had to resort to special critical methods: we may comprise them under the general term of theories of development. Continental Thought, under the influence of the Hegelian system and the great historical studies which were there prevalent, adopted the name of history of culture or civilisation in a more general sense; whereas, under the combined influence of

natural science and the positivist philosophy, the word Evolution has been introduced by Herbert Spencer to denote that form of development which is based upon mechanical or physical principles.

All through the present section of this History the idea of development in these two distinct forms will be shown to have influenced philosophical thought and given to philosophical problems an entirely altered complexion. It has, moreover, tended latterly to bring together scientific and philosophical thought, rendering, as it appears, the former more philosophical and the latter more scientific. The two aspects which the idea of development has assumed centre respectively in the philosophies of Hegel and of Herbert Spencer.

42. Hegel and Spencer.

There exist for our human mind only two intelligible forms of spontaneous, that is, inevitable and never-ceasing, change—namely, physical motion on the one side and the movement of thought on the other. Neither can be arrested or annihilated: they form the simplest examples, which cannot be further analysed, of the process of development, and they underlie respectively the systems of Herbert Spencer and of Hegel.[1]

[1] Before the modern conceptions of Evolution were distinctly formulated, this view was prominently brought forward in a criticism of Hegel's as well as of Herbart's system, by Adolf Trendelenburg in his 'Logische Untersuchungen,' of which the first edition appeared in 1840. It marks at the same time a reversion to Platonic and Aristotelian ideas, to that era of Thought when science and philosophy were not yet divided. In the Preface to the second edition (1862) we find the following remarkable passage:—"The prejudice of the Germans must be abandoned that for the philosophy of the future a new principle had to be discovered. The principle has been found; it lies in that organic conception of the Universe which has its foundation in Plato and Aristotle, and which, continuing from them, will have to complete itself in a profounder examination of fundamental ideas and through an interchange with the

But there still remains a large and important section of the philosophical literature of the century in all the three countries which is not covered by the foregoing developments, but into which they all enter. This arises out of the peculiarity of philosophical thought to which I referred in the third part of the general introduction to this history.

43. Intermediate position of philosophy between science and religion.

I there tried to show how philosophy occupies an intermediate position between scientific thought which is capable of clear definition and enunciation and that other and opposite region of thought which I have variously termed Individual, Subjective, or Religious Thought. In fact, we may say that one of the objects of philosophy has always been to effect a reconciliation between science and religion, or, expressed in different words, to show the relations between definite and detailed knowledge on the one side and our beliefs and convictions on the other. The philosopher is bound to have an eye as much for the latter as for the former.

44. Monistic doctrines.

There have indeed existed many philosophical attempts to establish what is usually termed the monistic view by starting from one undisputed principle, or from one coherent and self-consistent body of facts, and to discountenance any compromise between apparently contradictory regions of thought. Especially in the course of the nineteenth century various efforts were made to

science of reality." Trendelenburg's criticisms, though they influenced several prominent living thinkers, have generally been too little appreciated, especially out of Germany. When he wrote, the philosophical mind still hoped for a new constructive effort, and was more easily satisfied by the brilliant constructions of Schopenhauer and v. Hartmann than by the historicism and eclecticism of Trendelenburg or the cautious and circumspect analysis of Lotze.

base all philosophy upon a purely Scientific foundation. It is not necessary, at present, to examine what has been the nature and the result of these efforts. We shall come across them in the sequel when dealing with special philosophical problems. At present it is sufficient to note that these attempts have not been found generally acceptable, and have had little practical influence. It must be admitted that individual beliefs and convictions still play a very large part in the region of thought; that they have quite as much the right to be regarded as facts as any more definite, scientific, or historical knowledge. For although it is true that it will rarely be possible for two persons to agree exactly where beliefs and convictions are in question, it is just as true on the other side that these beliefs and convictions, in their collective aggregate, exert upon our practical life an even greater influence than exact knowledge and science itself.

Most persons are unable or unwilling to take a correct inventory of their beliefs and convictions; they nevertheless, willingly or unwillingly, submit more or less to the existing laws of the society in which they live, and to manifold restrictions and ordinances of a legal, moral, and religious nature.

They do so consciously or unconsciously, admitting in this manner that the convictions and beliefs of which these laws and ordinances are the outcome have a marked reality and are of paramount importance. And if we consider all the more important steps which we take, either in our individual or in our social and political life, and try to analyse the motives

which have led to them and to gauge the amount of actual and undisputed knowledge by which we are guided, it will probably be found that the latter plays only a very small part, and that beliefs and convictions constitute the much larger portion of the considerations which have led up to them. The task not only of placing these convictions and beliefs in a clearer light, but also of bringing them into some definite and intelligible relation with the results of scientific thought, will therefore always present itself; and to many thinking minds it will be the most important function of philosophical speculation.

45. Attempts at reconciliation of knowledge and belief.

The endeavours to fulfil this task, to reconcile Knowledge and Belief, constitute a large department of the philosophical thought of the century. They will claim our attention in the later chapters of this section, which will respectively deal with the time-honoured problems of the Beautiful (Æsthetics), the Good (Ethics), and the Spirit (Philosophy of Religion), further with the more recent problem of Society. A last chapter will deal exclusively with the several attempts towards a unification and systematisation of thought in which the nineteenth century has been particularly rich.

Perhaps we shall have to state that those endeavours towards a reconciliation of the scientific and religious aspects have not been very successful, and shall thus have to confirm a widespread opinion which looks upon such attempts with disfavour. But even if this should be the case, we shall be much impressed with the discovery that all through the century, and from apparently divergent points of view, the fact has been recognised

that all human thought as well as all mental and natural development reveal the existence of two factors,—that there exist, as it were, two poles which form independent centres of life and development.

In the same degree as the desire has become more pronounced to unify Thought and Knowledge, the apparent dualism, so evident to common-sense, has become more and more accentuated. In fact, as I stated in the beginning of this Introduction, the desire to discover the underlying unity has primarily revealed the existing contrast and the necessity of first clearly defining and understanding it.

Accordingly we find running through nearly all the philosophical theories and speculations of the different schools, the attempt to grasp more completely and define more clearly that inherent dualism, frequently, indeed, with the tacit or pronounced intention of dissolving it in some unifying conception. Nearly every phase of philosophical thought has thus coined its special terms wherewith to define this two-sidedness or polarity which exists everywhere in and around us. Kant spoke of "phenomena" and "noumena," of "pure theoretical" and "pure practical reason"; Schopenhauer writes of "the world as Will and Intelligence"; Schelling strove all through the many phases of his philosophical career to complete the "negative" by a "positive" philosophy; Herbert Spencer places "the Unknowable" in opposition to "the Knowable," and even Comte's philosophy finds room for "the Incognoscible."

46. Dualism in philosophic systems.

Of all these different terms in which the same idea finds various expression, that which gives to the active

principle in human nature, to the Will, an important, not to say the most prominent, position, has probably succeeded more than any other in impressing the philosophical consciousness of the present age. This explains why the philosophy of Schopenhauer, neglected for a long time, and repellent in many of its features, has nevertheless latterly attracted and held the attention of thinkers of very different schools, and has led to so many minor developments.

The dualism which pervades all modern thought will occupy us quite as much as the attempts towards unification. At the same time, the study of the various attempts to give expression to the idea that in the life of the mind, be it in the individual, society, or history, the active principle occupies the primary position, will lead us naturally on to the social question which, as I said, will form the subject of one of the last chapters of this section. In many ways we shall find that all other developments more or less converge upon it.

47. Plan of this history.

It will be seen from this rough sketch of the manner in which I propose to subdivide the wide region of philosophical thought, that I do not intend to follow in any strictness either a biographical, or a systematic, or a chronological arrangement.[1] In fact, I intend as little

[1] The plan I have adopted may best be understood by saying that the History of Philosophical Thought is considered to be identical with a History of Philosophical Problems. Most of these problems are as old as philosophy itself, and go back into antiquity, although some of them, such as the problem of Knowledge, the problem of the Beautiful, the problem of Religion, and the problem of Society, have only in recent times been independently treated and received special names. The attempt to deal with History of Philosophy according to this plan is not new, but has been more or less definitely adopted by various prominent thinkers of this age. I have only become more intimately acquainted with their writings after having sketched out for myself the plan of this section; but I gratefully acknowledge the assistance I have received from them in working out the scheme. Foremost among them are: Prof. Windelband's brilliant 'History of Philosophy,' of which I have before me the 4th German edition (1907); an English translation by J. F. Tufts appeared in 1893. In a prospectus to the 1st edition (1889) Prof. Windelband defines his subject to be "a history of the problems and of the notions which have been formed for their solution." In referring to the 6th and 7th sections of his History my readers will be able to see how his arrangement and definition of the problems differs from those I have adopted. More distinctly and concisely, the 'History of Philosophy' as a History of Problems has been written by Harald Höffding (1st ed. 1894, Engl. transl. 1900). In the Introduction he says: "The investigation of the History of Modern Philosophy which I have here undertaken has confirmed me personally in the view . . . that philosophical investigation centres in four main problems." He then characterises these problems as—

1. "The Problem of Knowledge (the logical problem)."
2. "The Problem of Existence (the cosmological problem)."
3. "The Problem of the Estimation of Worth (the ethico-religious question)."
4. "The Problem of Consciousness (the psychological problem)."

We have further from the same eminent author, with a slightly different arrangement of the four problems, a series of Lectures delivered in the University of Upsala (1902) and published under the title 'Philosophische Probleme' (1903), and a Review of recent thinkers in a series of Lectures delivered in the same year in Copenhagen and published under the title 'Moderne Philosophen' (1905); a French work on somewhat related lines with the title 'A History of the Problems of Philosophy' has been written by Paul Janet and Gabriel Séailles and translated by Ada Monahan (Macmillan, 1902).

to write a history of philosophy, or the philosophers of the century, as in the earlier part of the work I proposed to write a history of science. Histories of philosophy, as a whole, or of the various schools of philosophy, have been written in great number; in the right place I shall fully refer to them. It will then become abundantly evident how little my own work could have been written without the assistance which at every step I have received from them. But though it may appear as if the proposed manner of dealing with the subject could hardly afford that systematic completeness which á more chronological method might secure, it will in the sequel

become evident that in relation to those several distinct aspects which I have defined, all the important doctrines of philosophy and many underlying and hidden currents of thought will come under review. Frequently, also, lines of reasoning otherwise far apart and apparently divergent will be shown to reveal the same or similar tendencies. Thus the logical and metaphysical development of thought will not only deal with the philosophies of Kant and his immediate successors, but also with that independent development which centres in John Stuart Mill. Psychology will not only embrace the Scottish school of philosophy, but also that of Herbart, Fechner, and Wundt in Germany, as well as the more recent contributions of the French school; positivism will for us mean not only the philosophy of Comte, but also many cognate developments in England, though they refuse allegiance to Comte, as also the latest theory of scientific knowledge which we connect with the name of Professor Ernst Mach. The great idea of development will, as has been stated above, have two sides, of which, far distant as they otherwise appear, Hegel and Herbert Spencer are nevertheless together the main representatives. Almost all the leading thinkers of this century have, to a greater or less extent, attacked the problem of monism or dualism, which historically can be traced back to Leibniz, whose ideas in one form or another meet us again in the speculations of very opposite schools of recent philosophy. We cannot understand the position which philosophy has taken up towards the religious question without recalling the influence of Jacobi and Schleiermacher abroad, or of Hamilton and

Mansel in this country. All the different lines of philosophical thought converge, however, as I have already said, towards the practical or social question which has increasingly asserted itself in many forms as the great philosophical problem of the age.

This treatment will at the same time force upon us a recognition how little has yet been done by scientific or philosophical thinkers towards the solution of the many burning questions which it involves, and how much, on the other hand, we are still beholden to that vast army of writers, thinkers, and practical workers who are inspired by convictions and beliefs which have not yet found any full and adequate scientific or philosophical recognition.

In this way the study of philosophical Thought will lead us on to that large volume of unsystematic and unmethodical Thought which I have variously defined as subjective, individual, or religious, and which should form the subject of the third and concluding section of this History.

III.

48. Character and aims of philosophical thought.

Before entering upon a detailed account of the development of the different philosophical ideas in the course of the nineteenth century, it may be useful to my readers if I try to give a general and comprehensive view of the character and aims of philosophical Thought during that period. In attempting this I do not find myself so favourably situated as when I started on our survey

of Scientific Thought. There we were from the beginning able to give a simple and intelligible account of the aim and purpose of all scientific reasoning; this consisted in the application of one and the same method to all objects and events of Nature as they exist or have existed in the past. This method was the simple method which begins with observation and proceeds through description and clear definition, to measurements, and ultimately to calculation: only to the extent that the latter and highest process—viz., that of calculation—has become applicable, has it been found possible to deal not only with present and past phenomena and occurrences, but also to some extent to foretell the future, or to penetrate with our knowledge into those recesses of nature which are, through distance in time and space, through magnitude or minuteness, unreachable by actual observation.

49. No consensus as to philosophical methods.

It is not possible to comprise all successful philosophical thought within an equally simple formula. This defect may be traced to two definite causes. The first of these is the fact that no general consensus exists regarding the method of philosophy, such as exists with regard to the methods of science. The methods of the latter, though their logical nature has been variously defined, are nevertheless so simple in their application that little time need be spent by the student of science in learning them. The best way of acquiring a knowledge of them is practice itself. This gives such proficiency that even the greatest minds that have applied these methods with unfailing success have not generally spent much time in giving an account of the processes of thought

which they have used. If they have done so it has usually been after they had successfully used them, and then even their account has not always been marked either by particular clearness or consistency. In fact, the practice of the scientific method, now universally admitted, resembles very much the use of language which is not primarily acquired by the study of grammar and syntax, but by the practice of speaking and reading. Some of the greatest writers, especially in this country, would probably be quite unable to give an account of the correctness and beauty of their style, which is rather an unconscious expression of their individuality.

In the case of philosophy, we seem still to be in the position of the learners of a foreign tongue; we have to go through all the intricate rules of etymology and syntax. The stylistic handling of these subjects has not become a second nature to us like the use of a language in which we have got beyond the tuitional stage. Accordingly we find all through the century an endless discussion and ever-repeated attempts referring to the fixing of the right method and procedure; some maintaining that the method of philosophy is purely logical or metaphysical with as much emphasis as others denounce the logical method as empty, ridicule metaphysics as pernicious, and preach the pure application of scientific methods as the only promising and fruitful way. By doing so, we may point out, they again expose themselves to the just retort of their opponents, that their chosen method is only applicable to a very small number of philosophical questions, and these the least important and interesting.

But this uncertainty as to the method is probably not

the most important feature which divides philosophical from scientific thought. There exists a much more radical difference, and one which affords a deeper insight into the real nature and aim of philosophy. Probably the simplest way of letting my readers realise this great difference is by saying that philosophy is interested, science is disinterested.

50. Philosophy is interested, science disinterested.

The ideal man of science should care only for the correctness of his observations, the consistency of his inferences, and the formal truthfulness of his calculations and deductions. No higher interest in maintaining a preconceived notion, in serving a practical end, or in supporting a pet theory, should be allowed to interfere with the even and passionless tenor of the scientific judgment. That this does not exist to perfection is the consequence, not of the faulty method of science, but of the frailty of all human nature. The scientific mind should acquire, or try to acquire, an attitude as dispassionate and as evenly balanced as that of a judge to whose care the most momentous issues concerning life, happiness, or misery are intrusted. We know from history how many centuries elapsed before the purity of scientific method was not only preached and accepted, but also manifested through practice. We have heard much of the baneful effect of the influence of theological dogmas and metaphysical theories.

The nineteenth century is justly proud of having finally established and successfully practised the pure scientific method. The greatest representatives of science in all the three countries we are specially interested in have bequeathed to us models of research, conducted without

fear or favour, with the sole object of arriving at that natural knowledge which was proclaimed by Francis Bacon, for which the great Societies and Academies of Europe were founded, and which probably attained its most brilliant expression in the work of the German Universities during the first two-thirds of the century. It cannot, however, be held that this serene temper of the scientific mind has been left undisturbed within the last forty years. Hardly escaped from the trammels of theology or the control of metaphysics, a new danger seems to threaten pure science. This danger comes from the side of the practical usefulness of scientific discoveries, and from the many problems which the Arts and Industries place before the scientific mind in an ever-increasing degree. There seems to be as much danger nowadays of science becoming the prey of commercial, industrial, and financial interests, as there was formerly that it should lack independence through being regulated by theology and metaphysics.

Philosophy, as distinguished from Science, does not profess to start on its career without a distinct interest in the results which it will attain to. The ultimate answers to the highest questions of life and society, of duty and happiness, are not indifferent to the philosophical thinker, and if we occasionally meet with some secluded sage who professes to have attained to that unbiassed attitude which characterises pure thought, we shall have to admit that his speculation suffered from the want of contact with things real; nor is it an infrequent occurrence to find that his followers have speedily undertaken to show the practical bearing of his refined and abstract

theories. It seems as if even the most abstract and serene thought could not live long without coming into contact — for mutual good or evil — with the affairs of practical life.

These affairs and interests of practical life form the highest subject of philosophical thought; with their furtherance, be it to strengthen, to reform, or to develop them, philosophical thought is mainly occupied. The whole fabric of Society, all the work of Culture, all the achievements of civilisation, are bound up with certain existing fundamental convictions which cannot be attacked or lost without the most serious consequences. In the face of this circumstance it would be futile to maintain that any earnest thinker could approach these momentous problems without a feeling of the great responsibility which must attach to his utterances. It is not too much to say that the whole weight of the moral world presses upon the minds of those who deal with these fundamental problems.

51. Philosophers as educators and reformers.

The great philosophers of the past century have shared this feeling of heavy responsibility with the great thinkers of former ages, and the fact that that century has probably produced a greater number of leading thinkers fully conscious of the educational and reforming task which lay before them, is a sign that more has been expected in these recent times from philosophical speculation than in any former age during the whole course of civilised history. The only age which could be compared with the nineteenth century was that which during the fourth and third centuries B.C. witnessed the disintegration of the ideals of Grecian

Culture. Considering these enormous responsibilities, these momentous issues which have lain heavily on the philosophic mind in recent times, it is not surprising to find that many philosophic thinkers have taken refuge in studies which are subsidiary or purely preliminary. Frightened, as it were, by the overwhelming importance of the final problems, they have contented themselves with taking up a position similar to that which is habitual and customary among men of pure science.

There it has long been recognised that progress can only be attained by specialisation. The scientific problem, as a whole, does not exist. It can only be solved in parts. The science of any age consists in the summation of numberless contributions. But the problem of philosophy, which is the problem of Life, is *one* and undivided. Those who only take up special aspects must do so with the conviction that their work is incomplete, not only in the sense that all human work is incomplete, but in that sense which is the only important one from a philosophical point of view, viz., in its bearing upon the whole and undivided issue. The only escape from that depressing conviction of inadequacy which the resignation of the philosophical specialist necessarily produces, lies in the belief that the solution of the problem of Life is worked out by different means, and in a different sphere, from those peculiar to philosophical thought. I shall point out in the sequel how certain scientific and philosophical notions which have become current in the latter half of the nineteenth century — notably the theories of Evolution and the tendency to consider everything

52. Problems of science are many, problem of philosophy is one.

53. Renunciation in recent philosophy.

from the historical point of view — have the effect of seemingly exonerating the thinking mind of the individual or of the age from that heavy responsibility which the leading thinkers of former times felt to rest on their shoulders.

Thus it has come about that the greater part of the philosophical writings of the last quarter of the century exhibit an entirely different character from those belonging to the earlier part of our period.[1] In the earlier period we meet with a great array of comprehensive philosophical systems which approach confidently and hopefully the great world-problem; and although these systems belong mostly to Germany, we find, somewhat later, France and England taking prominent part in the attempt to unite all knowledge into all-embracing systems—the systems of Positivism and Evolution—and to arrive at formulæ which should, as it were, lead to a solution of all the great practical problems of life and society. It is perhaps safe to say that all these systems have had their day, that the

[1] When in 1876 the late Prof. Croom Robertson, with the generous support of A. Bain, started the quarterly review 'Mind,' he induced prominent thinkers of the different countries to write summary accounts of the state of philosophy with them. These are to be found in the two first volumes, and are still well worth reading, notably those by Mark Pattison (Oxford), H. Sidgwick (Cambridge), Veitch (Scotland), G. C. Robertson (London), Th. Ribot (France), and W. Wundt (Germany). Before that time Ravaisson had written a highly interesting report on French philosophy (1867), and M. Boutroux has taken up the subject for the last third of the century in the 'Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale' (1908). In the same volume will be found articles on the philosophical movement in other countries. For German contemporary thought the publication of a memorial to Kuno Fischer, entitled 'Die Philosophie im Beginn des 20ten Jahrhunderts' (1904), is to be recommended, also the earlier publication of Lexis, 'Die deutschen Universitäten' (vol. i., Article by J. Baumann, p. 427, 1893).

formulæ of Comte and Spencer, no less than those of Schelling, Hegel, and Schopenhauer, have been tried and found wanting. Not indeed without leaving lasting marks of their originality and power in special directions, affording many fresh glimpses which had escaped the glance of earlier thinkers. To show to what extent they have done this will form the main task of the following pages. During the last quarter of the century, systems of philosophy have been rare, if one can say that they have been produced at all. The largely increased number of students and writers on philosophy are content to devote themselves to the examination of special questions, to write preliminary and preparatory treatises,[1] to content themselves at best with a kind of eclecticism, following the course begun by Victor Cousin in France, and adopting the maxim of Lotze, "that after such a lengthy development of philosophy, during which every point of view has been set up, abandoned, and tried again, there no longer exists any merit in originality but only in accuracy."[2] Others have put forward their attempts towards a Unification of Knowledge as subjective endeavours, in the same way as

[1] The first among the leading philosophers of the earlier part of the century who adopted this position was Herbart, whose 'Lehrbuch zur Einleitung in die Philosophie' was published in 1813, and went through several editions. It is also characteristic of Herbart that he never attempted a systematic exposition of his philosophical ideas, and left some of the highest problems, notably that of Religion, undiscussed. Since his time the writing of Introductions to Philosophy has been, in Germany, quite the order of the day. Among these, those of Wundt, Paulsen, and Külpe, have a large circulation. Prof. Wundt has crowned the large array of his separate philosophical Treatises by publishing in 1889 his 'System of Philosophy.' He is almost the only thinker of the last generation with whom we shall have to deal at length in the last chapter of this section, which will bear the title "Of Systems of Philosophy."

[2] See Lotze, 'Streitschriften' (1857), p. 5.

Lotze himself had done, or as fanciful and half poetic creations. Here Fechner is the most original example. The lack of originality, combined with an increased accuracy, shows itself in the great predilection for historical studies, in the revival of older theories and systems, in the love of the past. In a similar manner this retrospective interest has shown itself wherever Art and Literature have left behind them an age of original production and the sources of inspiration seem for the time exhausted. Such phases in the history of thought or of artistic creation are characterised by minuteness of research, by formal excellence, by critical acumen, by elaboration of detail. They mark the twilight of the waning day which again, after the longer or shorter absence of the full light, may lead to the dawn of a new day. It is not the object of the historian to indulge in prophecies or fanciful anticipations; yet it is his duty to note whether his age shows any sign of revival and of the return of the creative faculty.

To this latter question I shall revert later on; in the meantime it is useful to note that the last generation, devoid as it has been of any distinct creative effort in philosophical thought, has been characterised by two generalised movements of thought, and this in all the three countries alike. The first of these tendencies has already been noted at the beginning of this Introduction; we may call it the reversion to common-sense. On this I need not at present dwell at any greater length, as the special forms which this general tendency has assumed in the different literatures and schools will

54. Reversion to common-sense.

occupy us in the sequel. The second tendency is perhaps more prominent, and in the eyes of many thinking persons more promising. Allured by the enormous progress and the stupendous triumphs of the Natural Sciences, thinkers of the last generation have attempted to remodel the whole of philosophy according to the methods of science. The word science in France and England has acquired a larger meaning than it used to have in the earlier part of the century. We now hear much of the scientific treatment of philosophical problems. Definite well marked-off provinces have been separated from the whole realm of philosophy and placed, as it were, under special management; thus in psychology, logic, and ethics, more or less successful attempts have been made to establish independent and self-consistent doctrines upon the basis of a small number of self-evident principles which, just as in the various Natural Sciences, enable a large amount of empirical material to be described, arranged, and methodically expounded. Even in Germany, where philosophy has always ranked as a Science in that larger sense of methodical Thought which is conveyed by the term "Wissenschaft," the last twenty-five years have witnessed the growth of an "exact" or "scientific" philosophy,[1] an attempt, the

55. "Scientific Philosophy."

[1] In 1861 the first number of the 'Zeitschrift für exacte Philosophie' (edited by Allihn, Ziller, and Flügel, pupils of Herbart) appeared, and was continued till 1875, and with certain changes up to 1896. Its programme was to explain clearly the proper tasks of philosophy and of the separate philosophical sciences, &c. Latterly the memory of Herbart has been mainly preserved, through his influence in the sphere of education, in the 'Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik' (since 1894). In 1877 Avenarius started the 'Vierteljahrsschrift für Wissenschaftliche Philosophie' with the professed object of founding Philosophy as a science upon experience alone without specifically or narrowly defining this term.

significance of which did not remain unnoticed by the representatives of the older schools of philosophical thought. This so-called scientific philosophy does not necessarily exclude a regard for the highest questions of systematic philosophy, an interest in the great realities, the quest for which has always been the principal prerogative of philosophy; but this interest is being kept in suspense as premature, forming frequently the inevitable background and sustaining impulse, but not the object of philosophic thought in our day. On the other hand, some representatives of this scientific philosophy have openly disavowed all intention of dealing with the great World-and-Life problem; separate schools have reproached each other with a taint of metaphysics, maintaining that such a study does not legitimately exist at all, being merely a waste and corruption of useful thought. Modern language, notably in France and England, has coined such terms as "the Unknowable," "the Incognoscible," and "Agnosticism," in order to give expression to this extreme view. Others have been more cautious, taking refuge in some current phrases such as "the Unconscious," "the Subconscious," or "the Subliminal self." To all these thinkers, whether they belong to the bolder or to the more cautious school, general philosophy, apart from the several philosophical sciences, still has a special and well-defined meaning. They recognise that you must step outside of the separate sciences and assume a more general position if you wish to satisfy the intellectual craving of the human mind. They demand an analysis and a critical estimate of the

ultimate principles and fundamental notions which the separate natural and philosophical sciences take for granted. With this we find frequently connected the desire to unite these different and detached principles into a consistent and united scheme. As this can only be done by a process of reconstruction, by remodelling those principles as they primarily present themselves, these thinkers follow to some extent in the footsteps of Herbart and of Lotze. By such a process of reconstruction they may then arrive at some kind of system, which will nevertheless differ very materially from those earlier systems which have for centuries led human thought. These mostly sprang from a deep-seated conviction that some one Supreme Idea had been found, which afforded, as it were, an insight into the very essence and nature of things, a glimpse of the underlying reality of the All. The most noteworthy example of that other and more modest form of philosophy is probably to be found in Professor Wundt's 'System of Philosophy' and in the elaborate expositions contained in his other philosophical works. Other recent thinkers have altogether abstained from systematic ventures, contenting themselves with a general theory of knowledge. In their endeavours they have been mostly influenced by Kant, who, as many declare, abstained for himself from metaphysics. In fact, they try to do better and more thoroughly what Kant had attempted to do in his celebrated three "Critiques."

56. Direction of Herbart and Lotze.

Eduard Zeller, the renowned historian of Greek philosophy, gave expression to this attitude of thought in

57. E. Zeller.

his Heidelberg Address of the year 1862, "On the meaning and importance of *Erkenntniss-Theorie*."[1] The introduction of this term forms a kind of landmark in the history of German philosophy, which has since largely moved in the indicated direction. The term has been translated into English by the word "Epistemology"; a general theory of knowledge, of its principles and limits. John Stuart Mill had worked in a similar direction long before the modern term had been introduced.

Neither the conception of such a science, nor an adequate designation of it, has ever found much favour among French philosophers.[2]

58. Wilhelm Wundt.

About the same time that this more modest programme of philosophical inquiry was placed before the thinking public by Zeller, another public address delivered in the same place by Prof. Wundt announced to the world in more confident tones the advent of a new philosophy. It meant the development of that line of thought and research of which, only two years before, Fechner had given a brilliant example in his 'Elements of Psycho-physics.' Of this I treated in the

[1] This Address is reprinted in the 1st vol. of Zeller's 'Gesammelte Abhandlungen.'

[2] The only French thinker who has persistently laboured in a similar direction is Charles Renouvier (1818-1903). His critical writings, notably his 'Essais de Critique Générale' in four parts (1854-64, second enlarged edition 1875-96), have had a wide influence on French thought. He can, however, though starting from Kant, hardly be called a Kantian, as he opposes most of the original conceptions through which Kant created a revolution in philosophical thought. He repudiates the "Thing-in-itself," the "noumenon," and the "transcendental" nature of human freedom. Though an empiricist his philosophical tendency is idealistic. In his later writings he inclines in the direction of Leibniz. He has introduced the word "Criticisme" into the French language and terms his philosophy "Néo-criticisme," to distinguish it from Kant's. If we define Kant's philosophy as "Noumenalism" or "Transcendentalism" we may define Renouvier's as "Phenomenalism."

eleventh chapter of the first section of this work. Investigations similar to those carried out or suggested by Fechner and Wundt were stimulated by the appearance of Helmholtz's two celebrated treatises on 'Physiological Acoustics' and 'Physiological Optics,' and by the original philosophical interest associated with them in the mind of their author, leading him to a serious study of Kant's works. However different the programme of Zeller might at the time have appeared to be from that of Wundt, both had this in common, that they practically abandoned the speculative line of thought which in Germany had reigned supreme during the first half of the century. Zeller himself was brought up in the Hegelian School; Wundt, on the other side, connected for some time with Helmholtz in his academic teaching, had been brought up in the school of Exact Science. The hopelessness of the later developments of the Hegelian School, which had split into two exactly opposite factions, seemed to produce, on one point, the same results in the mind of Zeller as did in the mind of Wundt the hopefulness with which, in the School of Johannes Müller, Helmholtz and others approached the borderland of physical and mental phenomena. The common conviction arose that speculative philosophy, the orthodox form of metaphysics, was played out. Both Zeller, who was a leader in historical and critical studies, and Wundt, who was equally so in physiological work, emphasised those lines of study in which each of them had attained his early successes,—the one pointing to criticism and history, the other to the exact methods of research. The historical spirit in Hegel's school pre-

vented Zeller from becoming too exclusively logical and critical, whilst, no doubt, the ideal side of Fechner's philosophy, which exerted an increasing influence upon Wundt, helped him to recognise that exact methods alone would lead only to one-sided results, that philosophy meant a Unification of thought; it resulted in his increasingly pronounced endeavour to find a formula in which the spiritual side of things should be adequately expressed.

59. Influence of Schopenhauer.

About the same time a third influence began to make itself felt in philosophical circles in Germany. This was the belated influence of the philosophy of Schopenhauer, whose principal work had been more than forty years before the world.[1] It had remained unappreciated, and

[1] Of all the leading philosophers of Germany the personality of Schopenhauer has created the greatest interest. His philosophy was so much an outcome of his subjective character and experience, and so little influenced by the necessities and considerations of academic teaching, that he resembles rather independent thinkers like Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibniz, than the leaders of the philosophy taught at the German universities from Wolff down to Hegel and Herbart. Among these he only recognised Kant as his immediate predecessor, and carried on a lifelong protest against the official philosophy at the universities. The unique and solitary life which he led, away from intercourse with any of the leading thinkers or scholars of his age, gave him the reputation of a philosophical curiosity, and added much to the popular interest which surrounded his eccentric teaching. After the publication of a volume of Essays in 1851 with the title of 'Parerga and Paralipomena,' and of the 'Letters on Schopenhauer's Philosophy' by Julius Frauenstädt (1854), Schopenhauer began to be known to a wider circle of philosophically interested readers. Three important earlier notices of Schopenhauer's system by Herbart (1820, 'Works,' vol. xii. pp. 369-91), Rosenkranz in his 'History of the Kantian Philosophy' (1840), 'Kant's Works' (vol. xii.), and Erdmann 'Geschichte der Neueren Philos. (vol. iii., part 2), as well as some notices by less well-known authors, failed to attract due attention. When the writer of this History came to Göttingen in 1860 Schopenhauer's name was hardly known even amongst students of philosophy, no reference being made to him in philosophical lectures; and it was only after his death, in September of that year, that through various obituary notices and through a biography by his personal friend, W. Gwinner (1862), Schopenhauer became for a time the most interesting

little known, till the death of the philosopher in 1860 drew the attention of wider circles to the originality of his writings. Within a few years Schopenhauer became the most popular philosopher in Germany. The reasons for this are not difficult to understand. After Kant had passed away, the more ambitious of his followers had proclaimed in various promising announcements the advent of a new era of thought which should do justice to the high aspirations of the nation. These had found expression in a literature which has since become classical, in a revival of art and in all the ideals which produced and accompanied the battle for freedom and the Anti-Napoleonic Revolution in Europe. Philosophy was to do justice to the logical emancipation of the older Rationalism and the newer Criticism, as much as to the inwardness of the older Mysticism and the more recent spiritualism of the Romantic School. It was to unite Science, Art, and Religion, the intellectual and spiritual interests, into one comprehensive view. The age was one of hopefulness and expectancy, of a high optimism, of ideals and strivings. The youth of Germany and the thoughtful public listened with enthusiasm and confidence to dozens of academic lecturers. It was the same age which witnessed, besides the political liberation of Germany, one other

philosophical phenomenon of the day, being discussed in Reviews and pamphlets both in Germany and abroad. Since that time, and still more after the appearance of v. Hartmann's 'Philosophy of the Unconscious' (1st ed. 1869), the literature on Schopenhauer has grown to enormous dimensions, as can be seen from Ueberweg's Handbook (vol. iv.), where also his influence in other countries is referred to. In England translations have appeared of his principal work by Haldane and Kemp (3 vols. 1883-86), and of his Essays by T. B. Saunders (1891). Prof. Sully treats of him at length in his 'History of Pessimism' (1877), and Mr Thos. Whittaker has recently published a concise and spirited sketch of his Philosophy (1909).

great practical achievement—the foundation of that great scheme of higher and popular education which other nations have found it impossible to imitate. When, however, after a considerable lapse of time, the outcome of the new philosophy proved to be delusive, when it failed to appreciate the growing importance of the Natural Sciences, when it entered into an alliance with the reactionary movement in politics and the intolerance of ecclesiastics, when finally it appeared that the canons of the Hegelian philosophy were used alike by the orthodox and by unbelievers, the popular interest and belief in this philosophy began to wane. For a moment it appeared as if the belief in Idealism might be replaced by that in Materialism: there is no doubt that a certain section of the intelligent public in Germany was, and still is, strongly imbued with and influenced by the teachings of the materialistic writers of the Forties. For the more thinking section these crude doctrines could, however, have no lasting attraction. At that moment there existed in Germany only two thinkers who might have met the much felt need of a new doctrine, namely, Lotze and Fechner. The causes which prevented either of them forming a school of followers will have our attention in the sequel of this History; perhaps it is sufficient to say here that neither of them, for different reasons, took up a clearly defined position, or summed up his teachings in an easily intelligible formula,[1] such as the speculative mind had been accustomed to find in

60. Materialism of the "Forties."

[1] Lotze was, in the beginning, quite misunderstood. His real position came out clearly only in his later writings; and as regards Fechner, he was known at that time as a scientific writer and as a humourist under the pseudonym of Dr Mises.

the earlier systems. A general scepticism settled upon men's minds, a deep-seated doubt as to the capacity of the human intellect to solve its highest problems. At the same time the failure of the theoretical politicians, which the events of the year 1848 had made only too evident, assisted in producing a general discouragement, so far as the highest practical, as well as intellectual, interests were concerned.

Under these circumstances the philosophy of Schopenhauer came to many younger minds as a kind of revelation. It was sufficiently speculative to satisfy the idealistic craving; it summed up its teaching in an intelligible formula; it supported its doctrines by a great wealth of artistic insight; and it contrasted favourably with the writings of Hegel by the elegance and lucidity of its literary style. Add to this, that it was highly spiced by brilliant and unsparing invective against the philosophers who had so long, by unfulfilled promises, led the nation astray; it was also the first attempt in Germany to drop, in the discussion of the highest problems, the professorial and academic tone, which to many practically minded people had assumed too much of self-assurance and the pride of infallibility. Unfortunately the theoretical principles of Schopenhauer's philosophy were, in their practical application to ethical problems, joined to a pessimistic view of the world and life. This had its origin in personal traits of character, and was fostered through the study of the philosophy of the East, then newly introduced into Europe. It was opposed to the spirit of Plato, which likewise influenced Schopenhauer, and it stands in no logical connection with

61. Schopenhauer's pessimism an accident.

his abstract principles. Allied as it was to that sensation of world-sickness which ran through a large portion of Continental literature, it appealed to many youthful and ardent spirits who found the ideals of a former generation destroyed and its hopes abandoned.

It gave, as it were, a philosophical explanation of the general and growing feeling of disappointment. Similar causes may have worked to secure the phenomenal popularity of Eduard von Hartmann's[1] 'Philosophy of the Unconscious.' Further developments of this line of sentiment rather than of thought, in which the highest virtues were considered to be those of resignation, of fortitude in suffering, and of sympathetic compassion with existing evils, have led many minds to a philosophy of despair. It took a singular turn in the writings of Friedrich Nietzsche, where it produced a reaction in the direction of an extreme individualism, which preached the necessity of a superhuman effort through which to overcome the indifferentism of the age, and lead it to a renewed grasp of the great Realities.

62. Realism of Nietzsche.

In the foregoing rapid sketch I have confined myself almost exclusively to German philosophy. For a long time indeed, German philosophy was the philosophy *par excellence*. In Germany itself, where many histories of

[1] Prof. Sully in his interesting volume on 'Pessimism' mentions in the Preface to the 2nd edition several other pessimistic writers whose works have had considerable popular influence in Germany. Among these the most extreme is probably Philipp Mainländer (pseudonym for Philipp Batz), who wrote a 'Philosophy of Redemption' (1876), which ran through several editions. It is, however, well to note that, though not so conspicuously as in the case of Hegel, the philosophy of Schopenhauer lends itself to a twofold development. Not only have we the reaction in Nietzsche, mentioned in the text, but we have also the remarkable writings of Paul Deussen, of whom more in the sequel.

modern philosophy have been written, scarcely any notice was taken during the first two-thirds of the century of philosophy outside of Germany; in fact, such did not exist, according to the opinion of many eminent German thinkers. The contempt with which the Scottish philosophy of Common-sense and the French Eclecticism of Victor Cousin were regarded, prevented for a long time a due appreciation of many valuable new ideas, which with less ostentation, nevertheless, made their way in neighbouring countries. The enormous bulk of work which issued annually from the German Universities, in almost every field of knowledge, absorbed the attention to such an extent that no space or time was left for the recognition of what was done outside of academic circles or in other countries. As I mentioned before, the writings of Schopenhauer did a great deal to break down the supposed privilege of a professorial class to settle the highest and most important questions. About the same time two eminent foreigners began to attract the attention of German students as well as of the non-academic public. These were Ernest Renan in France and Charles Darwin in England. A knowledge of Auguste Comte, though so much before Renan, and still more, an appreciation of the earlier English psychology of Mill, Bain, and Spencer, belongs to even a later period of German philosophy. Nevertheless, these less ostentatious beginnings of the new thought in England and in France have probably done more than the voluminous writings of German philosophers to place philosophical thought in an entirely altered position during the last quarter of the century.

I have already referred to the fact that, whereas philosophical thought in the beginning of the century moved mainly in the realm of logic, metaphysics, and psychology, at the end of the century the study which seems to be gradually superseding all others is the study of Sociology, a term which was introduced by Auguste Comte, and has latterly become a watchword in the literature of the whole of Western Europe—latest in Germany. This phenomenon has various and very deep-seated causes, which have shown themselves in all the three countries, but in different forms. They showed themselves first of all, and most drastically, in France, where the Revolution had made a clean sweep of many of the older foundations of society, and where men of the highest order and in almost every department of science and literature had speculated or practically worked in the direction of a reconstruction of society. A temporary check was indeed put upon these endeavours by the reactionary movement during the Restoration. Nevertheless, all through the century, French literature has systematically, or in more general ways, worked at the great social problems. In England, though the movements were less convulsive, the interests of the Masses, as opposed to those of the Classes, have increasingly occupied the attention of both statesmen and thinkers, the reform movement having been the leading feature of internal politics during the greater part of the century. It was in England that the problem of population and the evils of overcrowding were first openly discussed, and it is not too much to say that the misery of the residuum which the concentration in large cities has brought about has gradually become in general literature, as well as in philosophical, ethical, and religious writings, the great topic of the day.

63. Comte's sociology.

The impossibility which not only philosophical theorists, but also religious workers, have experienced in dealing with this great problem, which we may, for the moment, call the salvation of society, has in this country brought about a widespread feeling of dismay, and deprived not only philosophical doctrines of their interest, but also religious beliefs of that hold which they once had on the minds of men. In Germany the older forms of religious belief had in the eighteenth century been largely superseded by rationalism; this again for a time looked as if it would yield to the deepening and spiritualising influence of the idealistic philosophy. But when the latter appeared to many to be uncertain in its results and delusive in its promises, a reaction set in which produced for a long time an indifferentism, not only towards religious, but also towards philosophical teaching. Add to this that the growing industrialism of the age, the commercial spirit, and the increasing wealth of the upper and middle classes, had found a convenient and comfortable popular philosophy in the shallow tenets of materialism. Thus we can say that philosophical thought of the highest order — *i.e.*, the intellectual search for the great Realities which underlie and sustain everything, the quest for the truly Real—has suffered bankruptcy, in Germany mostly through theoretical, in England through practical, causes. Nevertheless, it must be added that the very recognition of all these

64. Temporary decline of philosophic interest.

destructive agencies, both in the realms of theory and practice, of science, literature, and life, has in many minds already produced a revulsion of feeling. A desire is everywhere manifested once more to probe to the bottom the various agencies, intellectual, moral, and material, which have led to this apparent collapse. Somehow or other the conviction seems to be gaining ground that the great Realities, which in former times religious faith and philosophical reasoning had combined to bring home to the human soul, have not disappeared, but have only been removed to a greater distance in time and space, as well as in the region of thought. All the various formulæ which modern philosophy has introduced in this country and abroad, such as "the unknowable," "the unconscious," "the incognoscible," do not signify a straightforward denial of the spiritual essence of everything, but indicate merely that the same is far removed from the reaches of the human intellect. For all that the agnostic can say, the Spiritual Reality may still be there, though it seems to him inaccessible to the purely intellectual grasp. The human mind can never remain, for any length of time, in a state of suspense, of doubt, and uncertainty. Individual thinkers and specialists, living in a community which is built up upon the foundation of certain time-honoured beliefs, may indulge in the luxury of withdrawing from the actual quest after the Real, leaving the same to others who are not troubled by their scruples; the agnostic may proclaim ever so loudly the impossibility of knowledge regarding the fundamental questions; the critical philosopher may define ever so clearly the limits of

65. Hints of its revival.

human reason; the more confident these self-denying assertions, the sooner will a reaction set in. The question then for us is this: Has philosophical thought merely exhausted its powers, or has it, at the very moment when materialism, naturalism, and agnosticism appear to rule supreme, still discovered some untried path and some unrecognised resources? Has the ruling pessimism and indifferentism of the age given way at all to any signs of hope that the veil will once more be lifted and confidence restored? Whoever has read attentively the philosophy of the last ten years in all the three countries cannot, I think, have failed to discover signs of the recurrence of a more hopeful line of thought. I shall have many opportunities of pointing to this in greater detail and with more definiteness in the later chapters of the present section of this History.

For the moment it may be of interest to refer, as I have done so often before, to the changes which the philosophical vocabulary of the three countries is undergoing, to the increasing array of new terms with which philosophical thought is being enriched, all pointing to the advent of some new era of thought. Without defining at present what is frequently only dimly foreshadowed in this new vocabulary, I will refer only to the term "Voluntarism" which Paulsen has coined and Professor Wundt has adopted to describe his ultimate philosophical position, to the philosophy of the "Idées-forces" of M. Alfred Fouillée, and the "Philosophie de l'Effort" in France, to the "Pragmatism" of the recent Oxford school of Thought, and to William James's "Will to

66 "Voluntarism."

believe." Many of these writers have been influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by the great truth, amounting almost to a discovery, contained in the philosophy of Schopenhauer, which emphasised the independence of the Will in its relation to the Intellect, and found the very essence of Reality, the truly Real, in a principle of Action. As I remarked above, it was unfortunate for the reputation of Schopenhauer, as well as for the development of German philosophy, that Schopenhauer saw in the Will, in the active principle, not a source of good, but of evil, and that in consequence his writings, which otherwise might have had an inspiring and reassuring influence, became on the contrary the gospel of pessimism which has blighted so many hopes and deadened so many aspirations.

It is interesting to note that the necessity of a development such as is aimed at in many modern schools of philosophic thought was not unexpected by earlier thinkers during the century; that Lotze, after reviewing all the doubts and difficulties which beset the acceptance of the belief in a spiritual and personal Creator and Ruler, declared that belief was "a resolution of the character" and not of the intellect.

It cannot be said that the tendency to which I refer, and which permeates much of recent philosophical literature, has yet attained that clearness which belongs to some earlier speculations. Perhaps the very nature of it will prevent it from ever submitting to the ordinary categories of logic, though the very fact is significant that logic itself, which for a long time was supposed to be permanently crystallised in Aristotelian formulæ,

has during the last twenty-five years become again more fluent, more accommodating to the needs of modern thought. At the moment it looks more likely that philosophy has handed over the next great advance in human thought to the practical worker, and that the purely intellectual grasp of the new truths will have to await their actual realisation; that they will have to become efficient forces in the life of society at large before some individual genius will find the logic and metaphysics of their essence, the intelligible rationale of their activity.

There is no mistaking the signs of the times; the tide is running away from abstract dogmas and metaphysical speculation. Both these have been tried and found wanting, so far as the great practical problems are concerned. Theology has failed to evangelise the masses, and philosophy to enlighten them. For a time all hopes were concentrated upon exact science, but this also has shown itself powerless to deal with fundamental questions, or to approach the ground and origin of things. Truth, in the higher sense of the word, as an expression of the truly Real, is no longer an object of scientific research. Exact science does not profess to deal with essences and existences, but only with what is apparent. This it is content to describe and interpret in the most consistent, the simplest, and the most useful manner. The value of science lies in its applicability to problems of industry, commerce, the useful arts, and, in a limited sense, the problems of administration. The latest leading ideas which have been introduced into Scientific Thought have done much to remove still further out of our reach the

elements in space and the origin in time of the existences which are in and around us. The hopefulness which characterised philosophy in Germany and science in France in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and which, so far as the latter is concerned, found an expression in the teaching of Comte, has not been realised in the course of the last half of the century. A large portion of the population of the most cultured nations, in spite of educational efforts, still partakes to a very small extent of the intellectual advancement which philosophy and science afford to a select few, not to mention the utter hopelessness in which large numbers of the population, in the great centres of so-called culture, have to pass their lives. Is it then to be wondered at that a distrust, not to say contempt for philosophical speculation, has taken hold of the public mind? and that the belief in pure science is not based, as it used to be, on the love of truth, but that it has increasingly what Bolingbroke used to call "a metallic flavour"? Nevertheless, as I stated above, the search for the truly Real is not abandoned, but looks for the effort of the practical worker. If the realisation of the great ideals which Christianity has set before us, and philosophy has endeavoured, perhaps not altogether successfully, to support, is the sole and only object of all practical Religion, then we may say with some confidence that an increasing number of the thinkers of our age expect the next step in the solution of the great problems of life to be taken by practical Religion. Assuming they are not mistaken in this, as I firmly believe they are not, the first signs that this advance has to

some extent succeeded will react again upon the purely intellectual courses of thought and imbue them with fresh vigour and hopefulness. Should we, however, be mistaken in this expectation, we can say this with certainty, that neither the most refined theories of science, nor the speculations of philosophy, nor the dogmas of theology will prevent the utter loss of our ideals, the ruin of the higher life of mankind.

67. Relation of recent philosophy to religion.

It has been frequently asserted that the philosophy of the day is irreligious. This is only partially correct. Many earnest thinkers in England and abroad are intently occupied with trying to understand the psychological foundation and the historical growth of religion, which they look upon as a great Reality, having an independent existence outside science and philosophy. If, at the same time, they refuse to draw into philosophical discussion those great Divine and human Truths, such as the nature of God and the scheme of redemption, which philosophical writers of the preceding age frequently dealt with in a prolific manner, we may look upon this as a sign of increasing reverence, and as an acknowledgment of the existence of other powers in the human soul than those of merely external sensation and logical inference. These thinkers are, in their writings, merely preparing the way for the new light.

In the general Introduction I pointed out that I propose in this History to look upon philosophical thought as occupying an intermediate position between scientific and religious thought. What has been said in the last few pages confirms this view, by pointing

to the position which philosophical thought seems to occupy in our day. It would appear as if, at the end of the nineteenth century, philosophy was paving the way for a fuller and more original display of the creative forces of the human soul, such as manifest themselves in poetry, art, and religion; for it is a fact, that for the moment these creative powers appear to have receded somewhat into the background, whilst, at the same time, much is expected from them. Wherever the vital forces in a society, or in an age, have not been absolutely exhausted—and I can find no sign of this in the present civilisations of Western Europe—such periods, where the higher creative and spiritual powers seem to be temporarily in abeyance, have always, sooner or later, been followed by periods of greater vigour and productiveness. Auguste Comte, in studying the historical developments of human thought, felt himself justified in laying down his well-known law of the three states, —the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive,— as the rationale of the development of the human mind in its intellectual progress. Formulæ such as that of Comte, or those contained in the doctrines of Hegel or Spencer, all suffer from the defect that they give no intelligible answer to the question, "What is going to happen when the final stage is arrived at?" All historical evidence goes to show that no agency of progress has ever continued to work unchallenged and uninterrupted. All processes in nature and society seem, in course of time, to exhaust themselves and call forth counter-movements which gain force, as it were,

through reaction and contrast. This has, in modern times, been abundantly evident in the rapidly succeeding phases of modern history. It has also been recognised by philosophical writers. Let us then try to correct the formula of Comte so as to bring it into harmony with the larger experience of the day. We might feel disposed to say that Comte was right in assigning to philosophical thought an intermediate or transitional position, preferring, on our part, to speak of philosophy rather than of metaphysics—as the latter term, though perfectly legitimate and useful, has acquired in the eyes of many persons a doubtful meaning. We might then go on to say that the stage of positive or exact thought having been reached in the course of the nineteenth century, this itself is producing the desire for a new departure, a counter-movement which will call forth and urge the active rather than the purely intellectual powers of the human soul. Philosophy thus occupies still the intermediate or transitional stage assigned to it by Comte; only that we now find ourselves, as it were, reversing the Comtian process of development, passing from the one-sided sway of exact or positive thought through philosophy to a renewed life, not of dogmatic Theology, but of practical Religion, bringing with it a fresh display of the creative powers of the human mind.

In offering this concluding formula, I do not desire to attach much importance to any scheme which unduly abbreviates my task of exhibiting the mental forces of our century in the fulness of their life and their many-sided significance; but conducting my readers, as I am

proposing to do, through the labyrinthine mazes of philosophical thought, I believe they may be thankful for some guiding idea, though this at best is only tentative. The sequel will give them ample material and opportunity to confirm or to contest this preliminary generalisation.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE GROWTH AND DIFFUSION OF THE CRITICAL SPIRIT.

I.

1. Reversal of the position of science and philosophy.

NOTHING probably strikes the impartial student of the progress of scientific and of philosophical thought more than the changing and opposite attitudes which the exponents of these two forms of thought have assumed in the course of the nineteenth century. This change has been more and more evident as the century has progressed. To a great extent we may even say that the attitudes have been reversed. The difference I refer to may be expressed concisely by saying: Science has more and more acquired the character of definiteness and the attitude of assurance; Philosophy, on the other hand, has become more and more uncertain and timid.

In the beginning of the century, both in Germany and England, science and scientific thought played only a secondary part in literature and teaching. France was the only country in which it had early acquired that position and commanded that esteem which it now enjoys everywhere.[1] In Germany philosophy led the way, and even in this country, where it could not boast

[1] See vol. i. p. 105 *sqq.* of this History.

of the same systematic treatment, philosophical subjects such as Economics, Politics, and questions of taste and literary criticism filled the pages of those numerous and popular reviews which form such an important department of nineteenth century literature.[1]

[1] In this country before the beginning of the nineteenth century there existed no important periodical literature which appealed to a larger circle of cultivated readers. The British Essayists, headed by Steele and Addison, possessed their peculiar interest and have acquired the standing of classics. Some of them had European reputation and much influence, notably on German literature. The 'Gentleman's Magazine,' founded in 1731, had a wide circulation, and imparted a largeamount of varied and desultory information. The 'Monthly Review' (1749) and the 'Critical Review' (1756) had no commanding influence. The Reviews existing in the beginning of the nineteenth century were said to be in their dotage. At this time new life was infused into periodical literature from a quite unexpected quarter. The 'Edinburgh Review,' edited during twenty-seven years by Jeffrey, began its brilliant career with quite unforeseen success in the year 1802, and very soon became the organ of a distinct political party with a definite programme of reform in things political, social, and literary. It provoked in the year 1809 the foundation of a literary organ for the opposite party, in defence—as was said—of Church, Tory, and War Principles. "The defence was a consequence of the attack. And it is fortunate that it was so. For besides getting these opinions fairly discussed, the party excesses natural to any unchecked publication were diminished; and a work arose which, in many respects, is an honour to British literature, and has called out, and indirectly reared, a great variety of the highest order of talent" (Cockburn's 'Life of Lord Jeffrey,' vol. i. p. 192). But this critical attitude, this spirit of "accuse and defence," peculiar to leaders in the legal profession who launched this whole enterprise into existence, was not favourable to a just appreciation of the scientific spirit, and both the 'Edinburgh,' as in the case of Thomas Young, and the 'Quarterly,' as in the case of Charles Darwin, have shown themselves singularly incompetent in the discussion of novel and leading scientific ideas. The scientific interest was not introduced into general literature either in Germany or in this country before the fourth decade of the century. In England it was characteristically introduced in connection with Economic questions. In Germany its introduction was partly through French models which had a great influence upon men like Humboldt and Liebig; and secondly, also through some of the representatives of the philosophy of nature such as Oken, Schubert, Steffens, and Oerstedt. Under the influence of these very different interests, review literature in Germany and in England has in the course of the century become more and more expository and representative rather than critical—its object being to spread knowledge and information and to abstain from premature criticism. All this is due to the increasing prevalence of the scientific as against that of the critical spirit.

2. Causes of the change.

I propose now to inquire into the causes which have brought about this change which, as I said, amounts in many cases to a complete reversal of the estimation in which the mathematical and natural sciences on the one hand, the historical and philosophical on the other, are held. The earlier part of this History has furnished the answer to the first half of the problem: I there endeavoured to show that the success and assurance of scientific thought has grown with the growth and diffusion of the scientific spirit, which has been more clearly defined as the exact or mathematical spirit. It is however very likely, nay, almost certain, that the employment of these methods alone would not have secured for science that triumphant, not to say that boastful, position to which it has universally attained. This is greatly owing to the practical applications to commerce and industry which have followed the discoveries of that long line of intellects of a high order to whom the recent progress of science is due. It must in justice be added that it is not in their own writings and deliverances that we, as a rule, meet with that tone of assurance. This is more frequent among those who are occupied with the popularisation and diffusion rather than with the extension of scientific knowledge.

3. Anarchy of recent philosoph

The second part of this History will have to answer the other half of the above question, namely, what are the causes that have brought about that great change in the general and popular appreciation of philosophical discussions? How is it that instead of one or two dominant systems of thought we have now what may

be called a complete anarchy, or, at best, a bewildering eclecticism? How is it that instead of stepping boldly forward with finished and assertive systems as did Fichte, Hegel, and Schopenhauer in Germany, Auguste Comte in France, and Herbert Spencer in England, the thinkers of the day require us to be content with introductions to philosophy, with preliminary discourses, or with dissertations of an historical character which not infrequently do little more than hint with reserve and qualification at a possible solution which is promised but not given?[1]

[1] That anarchy and inconclusiveness are characteristic of the philosophic thought of the day has been very generally expressed from very different quarters, and is shown in many important publications. Among these I only mention a few. Prof. Ludwig Stein, the learned editor of the 'Archiv für Philosophie' (appearing in two series, historical and systematic), has given full expression to the state of unrest, not to say bewilderment, in contemporary philosophical literature in his recent publication, 'Philosophische Strömungen der Gegenwart' (1908), notably in the first chapter, which treats of the Neo-idealistic movement of thought. Another not less significant indication is to be found in one of the volumes of a compendious German publication, 'Die Kultur der Gegenwart' (ed. Paul Hinneberg). The volume in question bears the title of 'Systematic Philosophy,' but is in reality what must appear to many a very unsystematic exposition of recent speculation, inasmuch as it is a collection of mostly brilliant essays on various philosophical problems from very different and frequently opposing points of view, without an attempt towards reconciliation or completeness. If we turn to French philosophy, neither the earlier 'Rapport' by Ravaisson (1867) nor the shorter Review by Ribot ('Mind,' 1877, p. 366), nor the quite recent sympathetic Review by Boutroux ('Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale,' vol. 16, 1908), can fail to produce upon the reader a sense of bewilderment, of the total absence of dominant ideas in the voluminous and interesting philosophical literature of the country. In this country, where systematic philosophy has only one prominent representative, viz., Herbert Spencer, the diversity of philosophic opinion is not felt so keenly as in France and Germany, where elaborate systems have in succession directed philosophic thought. Nevertheless we meet here also with the complaint of inconclusiveness. In the Introduction to a recent publication with the title 'Idola Theatri,' which purports to be a "criticism of Oxford Thought" (1906), Mr Henry Sturt gives us the final impression which the teaching of T. H. Green and his followers left on young minds: "I came to feel, in common, I believe, with not a few of my contemporaries, that the teaching we got was hardly strong enough in the explanation of definite problems. Some such thought, I remember, haunted me on hearing, for example, the logic lectures of the late Lewis Nettleship. He told us elaborately and often what knowledge was *not*, but having thus awakened expectation, he did little to satisfy it: we seemed to be always on the verge of a great secret which our teacher would never disclose. T. H. Green, whose 'Prolegomena to Ethics' I read somewhat later, was much more definite than Nettleship: but even his great doctrine of the Spiritual Principle, though it gratified religious aspiration, did not seem to be clearly reasoned out; nor could any one be sure how far it would go in explaining the religious consciousness. Meanwhile, no open-minded student, I am certain, was quite at ease about the attitude of the Oxford Idealists to modern science. . . . The want of receptivity, together with its own limited explanatory power, cast upon the Oxford philosophy of 1885 a suspicion of reactionism and unreality which even an eager disciple could scarcely ignore" (pp. 1, 2). "The net result for Oxford of this remarkable literature, which together with much exegetical work of a similar tendency shows the highest speculative quality, was that philosophy went down seriously in academic consideration from the position which it held at Green's death. The man of average calibre took more and more to commentating: and an Alexandrian period threatened to set in," &c., &c. (p. 3). This is almost identical with Prof. Wundt's well-known dictum, "Wir sind Alle Epigonen."

4. Critical spirit.

I will at once answer this question. The great change referred to is owing to the growth and diffusion of the Critical Spirit, taking this term, as I shall immediately proceed to show, in its widest sense. In order that my readers may have before them as clear an idea as possible of the main drift of the second part of this History, I may say that its principal object will be to exhibit the workings of the critical spirit and the critical methods, just as the main object of the first part was to exhibit the workings of the scientific or exact spirit and methods. In doing so I shall follow a similar plan to that adopted in the first part: trying first to trace the growth and diffusion of the critical spirit in general, leaving it to separate chapters to deal with the separate results which the application of the critical methods has brought about in the various courses in which philosophical thought has habitually moved.

5. Narrower and wider sense of criticism.

The word Criticism has been used in a narrower and in a wider sense. In English literature it acquired a definite meaning through Pope's "Essay on Criticism." This essay is written very much in the spirit of the French writers of the seventeenth century, notably of Boileau, who, on his part, followed in the steps of Horace and the ancients. In fact, criticism in this narrower sense is in modern literature a creation of the French mind; it means a kind of philosophy of taste, and is an expression of the literary, artistic, or æsthetical conscience of the age. In this sense it was used by Henry Home, Lord Kames, whose 'Elements of Criticism' appeared in 1761, and quite recently Professor Saintsbury has thus used the word in his valuable 'History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe.'[1] But the country which has not only produced separate and isolated works on criticism in this narrower sense, but has consecutively produced a literature of criticism, is France. M. Brunetière says in this regard: "Even if the Italian and English critics are not isolated in the history of their literatures, one may say that they form a kind of exception, and that nowhere else than in France has criticism had for the last three centuries what we call a consecutive history. Must I add that it has been truly the soul of French literature? I, at least, see from Ronsard to Victor Hugo a revolution of taste and of literature which, with us, has had for its origin and

[1] 3 vols., Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1900-1904: Prof. Saintsbury defines the "criticism" with which he deals as "that function of the judgment which busies itself with the goodness or badness, the success or ill-success, of literature, from the purely literary point of view" (vol. i. p. 3).

guide a development of criticism." No other nation possessed an institution like the Académie Française, which, as the same author says, had according to the intention of its founder the special mission of establishing "a system of absolute confidence in the power of definite rules and of watching over their observation."[1] It may be of further interest to note that the English term "criticism" is synonymous with the French word "critique," and that the French word "criticisme" has been reserved to denote the philosophy of Kant and its developments.[2]

In Germany the word "Kritik" has never been confined to that narrower meaning which is still largely current in this country:[3] it has always been employed

[1] M. Brunetière defines the object of criticism as follows: "l'objet de la critique est de juger de classer d'expliquer les œuvres de la littérature et de l'art" (Art. "Critique," 'Grande Encyclopédie,' vol. xiii. p. 447—*loc. cit.*, p. 414, p. 6).

[2] This special meaning was introduced by one of the two original thinkers who have swayed philosophic thought in France since the time of Cousin, and outside of the Thomistic movement within the pale of the Roman Catholic Church. These two thinkers are Auguste Comte and Charles Renouvier (1818-1903, 'Essais de Critique Générale,' 1st ed., 1854). Comte coined the term Positivism, Renouvier, the term Néo-criticisme, to characterise their respective philosophical points of view. In this respect the latter occupies an important place in the diffusion of the critical spirit in the wider sense of the word. It is "Criticisme" in the Kantian sense, as distinguished from that philological learning and criticism which was succesfully practised by some eminent members of the eclectic school of Victor Cousin.

[3] Carlyle had already pointed to the use of the term in a larger sense than that prevalent in England. In his Essay on the "State of German Literature" (1827, 'Collected Works,' vol. vi. p. 60) he wrote: "Far from being behind other nations in the practice or science of Criticism, it is a fact, for which we fearlessly refer to all competent judges, that they [the Germans] are distinctly and even considerably in advance. We state what is already known to a great part of Europe to be true. Criticism has assumed a new form in Germany; it proceeds on other principles, and proposes to itself a higher aim. The grand question is not now a question concerning the qualities of diction, the coherence of metaphors, the fitness of sentiments, the general logical truth in a work of art, as it was some half-

in the larger sense to denote a definite attitude of the inquiring mind towards any subject which is accessible to a critical treatment. Accordingly we may look upon Germany as the real home of the critical spirit and the critical methods in their widest sense and in their most unfettered development, as we may look upon France as the birthplace of modern philological and literary criticism. In the former country a philosophy sprang up at the end of the eighteenth century which called itself critical "*par excellence*," and which, in spite of many brilliant attempts to supersede or dislodge it, still constitutes the rallying-point for most of the systematic thought which has not come under the influence of the scientific or exact methods. Although, therefore, we

6. Germany the home of criticism in the wider sense.

century ago among most critics; neither is it a question mainly of a psychological sort, to be answered by discovering and delineating the peculiar nature of the poet from his poetry, as is usual with the best of our own critics at present; but it is, not indeed exclusively, but inclusively of those two other questions, properly and ultimately a question on the essence and peculiar life of the poetry itself." Carlyle also pointed out that Herder, Schiller, Goethe "are men of another stature of form and movement whom Bossu's scale and compasses could not measure without difficulty, or rather, not at all." And yet Carlyle does not use criticism in the wider sense in which I am now using it. The representative of the latter usage in this country is Matthew Arnold, who, in various writings, but notably in his 'Essays in Criticism' (1865), took the wider view opened out to him as much by the earlier and the more recent French critics as by Goethe and by the constructive criticism of Niebuhr, introduced into this country by his father, Thomas Arnold, of Rugby. In the first of the Essays, "On the Function of Criticism at the present Time," he defines as "the business of the critical power, in all branches of knowledge, theology, philosophy, history, art, science, to see the object as in itself it really is. Thus it tends, at last, to make an intellectual situation of which the creative power can profitably avail itself. It tends to establish an order of ideas, if not absolutely true, yet true by comparison with that which it displaces; to make the best ideas prevail. Presently these new ideas reach society, the touch of truth is the touch of life, and there is a stir and growth everywhere; out of this stir and growth come the creative epochs of literature" (p. 6). Matthew Arnold also points out how the political and party interest so prevalent in England is detrimental to this higher form of criticism, "the rule of which should be disinterestedness" (p. 18).

cannot find in modern German literature the source or origin of any definite branch of criticism, we nevertheless are justified in selecting the modern literature of Germany as exhibiting more than that of any other country the working in a comprehensive style of the critical methods, the triumphs as well as the ravages of the critical spirit.[1]

[1] To those who have been brought up in the centre of the thought and learning of Germany during the nineteenth century it may appear as if criticism exhibits there two very different aspects, being, on the one side, eminently sympathetic and constructive (as manifested in the great edifice of classical philology), and, on the other side, unsympathetic and destructive (as shown by much of biblical criticism since the time of Strauss and the Tübingen school): accordingly, they might object that two such opposite tendencies cannot be brought together as manifestations of the same, the critical spirit. In defence of the position I have taken up, and after fully considering the pertinence of this remark, I have to urge that I regard the whole of German thought from an extraneous or international point of view. Now, not only do foremost representatives of German criticism in all its different branches use the term "Kritik," without any special definition, as quite intelligible to their readers, but there are also notable instances in which destruction and construction are taken for granted as being two essential sides of the same critical process. As an example, I refer to the writings of Eduard Zeller, one of the few who displayed his great critical ability as much in his theological as in his philological writings. Notably in his collected Essays, where he discusses at great length the critical writings of Strauss, Baur, and the Tübingen school (see 'Vorträge und Abhandlungen,' vol. i.), there is no indication that there is any difference between the criticism employed by them in biblical matters and that employed by himself in his 'Philosophy of the Greeks.' Mr Whittaker also remarks that with philological criticism, when dealing with literary creations, the origins of which, like those of the biblical records, have to be traced, not in the full daylight, but in the twilight of history—such as the poems of Homer, Hesiod, Theognis, and the beginnings of Greek and Roman history—similar disintegration and unsettlement of opinion has resulted. The fact that, in reviewing the labours of English and French scholars and historians, German authorities have so frequently stigmatised them as unscientific and uncritical, has done more than anything else to identify, in the English mind, the historical and philosophical literature of Germany with a critical tendency which sometimes—as, *e.g.*, when dealing with the Scriptures or with the creations of polite literature and art—has missed the essence of its subject and become unsympathetic through excessive minuteness or preconceived ideas. Evidence of this opinion among English writers may be found, *e.g.*, in many passages of Prof. Saintsbury's 'History of Criticism and Literary Taste.'

7. Attempts to apply exact methods to philosophy.

It may already have occurred to some of my readers to ask the question: If it is true that the critical spirit has done so much to unsettle the philosophical mind as is the case according to the view I have taken above, and if, on the other side, the scientific or exact methods have been so successful in producing definiteness and assurance, how is it that the latter methods have not been applied to philosophical subjects in the same way as they have been applied to the exploration of nature? With this question we strike upon one of the cardinal points which have been brought out in the course of the nineteenth century. For only towards the end of that period has the thinking mind awakened to a consciousness of the weakness and limitations of the scientific methods,—points which have not even partially been settled without much controversy and many abortive trials. Ever since the exact methods of research have been fully recognised in their power and fruitfulness, a tendency has set in to apply them, not only to scientific but to every kind of knowledge. This tendency is already clearly expressed in some of the writings of the great French mathematicians at the end of the eighteenth century;[1] it became very marked in the middle of the nineteenth century in Germany,[2] where periodicals were

[1] It was notably through Condorcet and Laplace that an exaggerated opinion as to the value and fruitfulness of the theory of probabilities in the realm of moral and social questions was spread. This was noted by John Stuart Mill, who, on his part, aimed at introducing into Economics that spirit of precision which belonged to what has been termed in this country natural knowledge.

[2] I do not here refer to the illegitimate use, in quasi-philosophical writings, some of which have attained to great popularity, of such scientific terms as Matter, Force, Energy, Substance, &c., even if used by scientific authorities like Carl Vogt, Ernst Haeckel, or Wilhelm Ostwald.

started for exact philosophy, and where the new school of psychology, heralded by Fechner, and brilliantly represented by Wundt and his pupils, was put forward as a kind of opposition to the older metaphysical methods which were considered obsolete and misleading. I have had occasion to refer to this school of thought in the eleventh chapter of the first section, where I treated of the psychophysical view of nature. I have there also referred to the restricted area within which the new methods have been successfully applied. Nor is it difficult to find the reason why these attempts, which were frequently put forward with so much self-assurance, have on the whole failed. What I have said in the introduction to the second part of this History about the difference between philosophy and science, between mind and nature, contains an explanation of the point in question. The exact methods of science, whether they consist in observation, measurement, or calculation, or in the combination of all three processes, can only be successfully applied to things or phenomena which have a definite location in space or in space and time. Definition in this sense is the first condition of the scientific process; nor would the scientific worker be satisfied if this fixing of his object in time and space were merely the result of one or a few observations and their record. The scientific mind is nowadays so fully aware of the numberless subjective and casual influences which tend to vitiate or make uncertain every single observation,[1] that one of the first requisites is to

8. Reason of their failure.

[1] Not only is the subjective character of single observations fully recognised and corrections everywhere introduced, but even processes of logical deduction in some of the purely mathematical sciences

eliminate, by numerous repetitions and many co-operators, the subjective errors, the "personal equation" which attaches to every single observation and record.

Now it will be seen at once that, as all the incidents of mental life are accessible only to one observer, and never repeat themselves even to him, this method of repetition and co-operation, so essential and indispensable in all scientific work, is inapplicable where we have to do with purely introspective or mental phenomena. In fact, the material cannot be prepared and got ready to be handled with the instruments of science in the same way as the material of the scientific worker. In a great many cases also it is only by the fugitive and changing meaning of words that we can transiently fix, to a small extent, the object with which we are dealing. If we try to rid it, as the scientific worker does, of its subjective colouring or its personal equation, nothing remains; whilst attempting to remove the shell we find that we have lost the kernel.

There is a further point which is almost equally important in dealing with philosophical subjects, and this is that we involuntarily refer every mental, psychical, or introspective phenomenon to a personal unity or whole which we denote by the word mind, soul, consciousness, spirit, or some other similar term, and that we can only

are recognised to be not infrequently fallacious. Nowhere is this more the case than in the calculus of probabilities and its applications, as, for instance, in the kinetic theory of gases (see, *e.g.*, O. E. Meyer, 'Die Kinetische Theorie der Gase,' *passim*). At one time it was thought that there existed only one type of a fluid ellipsoid in motion, till Jacobi discovered another. Also the motion of bodies under the Newtonian law of attraction seemed for a long time confined to conic sections, till G. W. Hill showed the usefulness of dealing with other forms of periodic orbits in the planetary and lunar theories (see H. H. Turner, 'Modern Astronomy,' 1901, p. 257 *sqq.*)

with difficulty divest ourselves of the notion that the single phenomenon with which we are dealing is the transient appearance or experience of some underlying reality, subject, or person. Now it is quite true that, when dealing with external or natural phenomena, we are equally in the habit of introducing a fictitious unity or whole which we call nature, the outer world, or the universe. This reference, however, to nature as a whole or a unity has little or no meaning for by far the greater part of all scientific work. In fact, the progress of science and of its applications is marked by an increasing tendency to restrict the field of observation and research, and leave out of sight the position which the special subject under review has to the whole. Indeed, we can say that the whole or totality is for the scientific worker simply the sum of its parts, and that, as the number of these parts is continually and rapidly increasing, the whole or comprehensive unity is more and more receding into the background and into a shadowy distance. But the unity or whole of mental phenomena which we term our mind, soul, or consciousness is always before us, accompanies all our reflections, and cannot be got rid of. The process of isolation and abstraction so fruitful in scientific research and in the acquisition of natural knowledge is inapplicable to the phenomena of inner life.

9. Contrast between unities to which phenomena of nature and inner life are referred.

Thus, though the attempt has frequently been made in modern times to deal after the manner of exact science with the phenomena of the inner or mental world, this attempt has succeeded only to a very small extent; we may, moreover, truly say that wherever it

has succeeded, in ever so small a degree, it has destroyed that truly philosophical interest which originally attaches to all phenomena of the inner world. While science has gained by the methods of abstraction and isolation, which we may term the analytical methods, philosophy has lost.

10. Loss of synoptic view in recent philosophy.

It is important to bear this in mind whenever we desire to form an opinion of the value of by far the larger portion of recent philosophical writings. That they are so frequently deficient in depth, interest, and suggestiveness, if we compare them with the writings of the great philosophers of ancient and modern times down to the middle of the nineteenth century, is just owing to this, that they intentionally confine themselves to detailed discussions and special analyses, purposely abstaining from a reference to the great central problems which alone give to philosophy its real interest and importance. Concentrating themselves on analysis, they rarely venture upon the opposite process of synopsis and synthesis. Just as we have excellent treatises on biology which contain no definition of life, so it is supposed that we might have psychology without a soul, ethics without obligation or sanction, religion without a Deity and an object of reverence. The great thinkers of ancient and modern times, from Plato and Aristotle down to Schopenhauer, Comte, and Herbert Spencer, did not write on philosophical subjects before they had gained a firm foothold, a central and governing idea, a synopsis of their whole subject which threw light on the whole of their detailed and special discussions.[1]

[1] Herbert Spencer, giving expression to this idea, terms his philosophy "Synthetic philosophy," and Comte, on his part, though originally a mathematician and analyst, had a very clear conception of the necessity of complementing the analytical process, the "esprit d'analyse," by a synoptical process, the "esprit d'ensemble." To this I have drawn attention in a paper published in the 'Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of the University of Durham,' vol. iii., entitled "On a General Tendency of Thought in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century"; see also 'Edinburgh Review,' April 1911. I shall revert to this subject at the close of the present section.

This attitude has almost disappeared in the philosophical literature of our day; most philosophical writers have lost the "magnet of their course"; hence the anarchy of opinions and the labyrinthine meanderings of modern philosophical thought to which I referred above. They do not write philosophy; they write about philosophy or philosophical subjects.[1]

11. Sapping effect of critical spirit.

This state of things has been brought about by the workings of the critical spirit. It will be one of the main objects of the following pages to show how criticism has undermined one after the other of the foundations upon which former systems have built, how it has destroyed the central ideas from which emanated the light that illuminated the speculations of former ages.

"For who, without some far-off light, his own soul ponders o'er,
Is like the bark that compassless would reach a distant shore."

Just as the question presented itself above: Why has philosophical thought not availed itself of the methods of science which have given so much definiteness and assurance? we may now put the reverse question: Why has the critical spirit, which has had such free access to every department of knowledge and thought, not wrought similar havoc in the regions of

[1] I have adopted this distinction from a remark made by the late Professor Sylvester regarding the mathematical writings of Augustus de Morgan. He said — whether justly or unjustly—that De Morgan did not write mathematics, but about mathematics.

12. How has science escaped?

science, how is it that science has escaped the ravages of the critical spirit? The answer to this question will introduce us to another large department of the philosophical thought of the nineteenth century—that which deals with the foundations, the validity, and the value of scientific thought and knowledge. Ever since Kant wrote his 'Critique of Pure Reason' the questions regarding the principles of science and the nature of mathematical reasoning have formed a very important chapter of philosophy. The subject has been approached from the side of logic, psychology, metaphysics, and science itself; both philosophical and scientific authorities have contributed towards the solution of the problem; perhaps it may be said that it marks one of the few provinces of philosophical thought in which we seem to be approaching a consensus of opinion, to be attaining to a tolerable agreement between philosophical and scientific thinkers. There are few other instances in the large region of philosophical thought where as much as this could be said. These questions centre in the changed view which we take of nature and natural knowledge, the altered meanings which we attach to these words. In the sequel I shall devote a special chapter to this subject.

13. The escape has not been complete.

In the meantime it is sufficient to say that science, scientific knowledge, and scientific theories have not escaped the attacks of the critical spirit.[1] The main

[1] I do not here refer to the never-ending cavillings, on the part of theologians, against the results and teachings of scientific thinkers. I refer to investigations into the principles of scientific reasoning and the nature of scientific evidence, be it that of the senses or of the logical processes. In modern times these investigations start with Locke, and were continued in his spirit by Mill; more recently by Stanley Jevons and Karl Pearson. In Germany they have two quite independent beginnings, the first in the 'Critique' of Kant, who looked upon mathematics and natural philosophy as proving by their existence and their results the possibility of scientific knowledge. Somewhat later, and for a long time unknown to the scientific world, the great mathematician Gauss began to question for himself, and in correspondence with some friends, the fundamental axioms of geometry. In the sequel there arose out of these speculations the non-Euclidean geometry of Vasiliev Lobatchevsky and others. As this seeming paradox led to an extension of geometrical ideas, so in arithmetic the so-called imaginary quantities led Gauss in Germany, De Morgan and Hamilton in England, to an extension of our algebraical and arithmetical conceptions. Kirchhoff, and following him Mach, in Germany, and, as it appears, independently, Karl Pearson in England, defined more clearly the real processes of dynamical reasoning and the fundamental notions of mathematical physics. Of this subject, which belongs as much to science as to philosophy, I have treated in the last chapter of the first section of this History. In so far as it affects philosophical thought, I shall deal with it in a later chapter of the present section, which will be occupied with the problem of Nature as a whole.

reason why they have not succumbed, sharing the same fate as the purely philosophical theories of earlier times, can be traced to the following causes. The first consists in this, that science has a definite object to deal with—namely, the phenomena of nature, which present at least as much uniformity and regularity as is necessary to afford a firm and unaltering foundation for human thought, a strong foothold for the searcher and explorer. Of this *sine qua non* scientific workers have continually availed themselves wherever their results have been attacked; they have always retired into the stronghold of a small number of undisputed facts based upon observation and verifiable by every beginner or any critic who is qualified or willing to take the trouble. The philosophical or introspective thinker cannot do the same, and this is owing partly to the subjective nature of the object of his research, but equally perhaps to the fact that he is not so far removed from his object as is

14. Reasons why science has not succumbed.

the scientific worker; that he lives in much greater intimacy with it, and that, above the endless changes and the bewildering detail, he finds it difficult or impossible to rise to a conception of that regularity, uniformity, and continuity which seem to be the first conditions of all human certainty.

It may here be mentioned that in the course of that searching investigation, that scrutiny to which scientific thought has been subjected during the nineteenth century, we have come to see that those three requisites of scientific certainty, those foundations of natural knowledge—regularity, uniformity, and continuity,—may after all be to a large extent fictitious, having their origin not so much in nature itself as in the powers and limitations of the human mind. I have had occasion to point to this in the earlier part of this History, and to point out how the degree of certainty in the various sciences depends almost entirely upon the amount of abstraction to which they have attained, that the closer we approach the single facts, things and phenomena of nature as they present themselves in the actual world itself and not in the artificial world—such as the laboratory, the museum, or the dissecting-room,—the more we come, so to speak, to close quarters with nature itself, the more uncertain and imperfect becomes our knowledge. Such is notably the case with the phenomena of Life, be it in the Individual or in Society.

But there is another equally important feature peculiar to scientific knowledge, which has become more and more prominent during the nineteenth century, and with which the scientific student will always defy

the critical scholar. He can increasingly maintain that his theories, be they philosophically valid or not, are practically useful, that they *work*, that his methods are at least clear and definite, his path distinctly marked out, his conclusions logically consistent, that his knowledge is daily increasing, and that, above all, he can foretell in many cases what will happen, discover that which has been hidden, and that the practical applications and triumphs of technical science are the most eloquent testimony to the value of his pursuits, sufficing to dispel all critical doubts in the mind of any reasonable person.

15. Peculiar strength in their practical utility.

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the object of scientific research, the facts and processes of nature, are not really accessible to human criticism. Criticism implies a standard from which we can judge the object of our reflection. It further implies that what we criticise might have been different. Now we have no standard from which we can judge Nature herself, and we have no justification for the assumption that facts and events in the natural world might have been different from what they are. Nature is simply what she is, and if we attempt to pass judgment upon her phenomena we transcend the limits of natural knowledge, we import considerations which are foreign to science. Nature may be an object of curiosity, of admiration, wonder, or awe; she is not an object of criticism. Criticism is only possible where we can apply such categories as true or untrue, good or bad, beautiful or ugly, useful or useless. These categories, however, contain a reference to the human mind. Nature

16. Besides, man cannot judge nature.

by herself is neither true nor untrue, neither good nor bad, neither beautiful nor the reverse, neither useful nor useless.

Our statements and observations of nature may be true or false, the things of nature may be beautiful to us, the beholders, natural things and events may be good and useful for our purposes or the reverse; but all such considerations import into our reflections a foreign, subjective, or personal element which the purely scientific view must get rid of. Although therefore the writings of scientific authorities have been subjected to severe criticism, this criticism does not affect nature herself—that is, the object with which science has to do—but only the methods of the human mind, which subjects nature and natural things to the mental processes of observation, registration, measurement, and calculation. These processes can be conducted correctly or incorrectly, elegantly or inelegantly, usefully or uselessly, and are therefore subject to criticism. In fact, criticism means a reflection of the human mind upon itself. It is an introspective process. In the course of history the stage of criticism has only been reached when and where a large amount of mental work, of thought in the widest sense, has accumulated. Wherever this accumulated mental work, this body of thought, has itself become an object of contemplation, criticism has set in. In the course of the history of thought we have three great critical periods, which coincide with the age of Socrates in antiquity, the age of Descartes in the seventeenth century, and the great critical movement of the nineteenth century.

17. Criticism a reflection of the mind on itself.

18. Three critical periods.

Of these three periods the last interests us at this moment. As mentioned above, its representatives took the word "criticism" in the widest sense, and it may be said that in length of duration it has far exceeded any earlier critical period. It has now lasted more than a century, and we cannot say that we have yet emerged from it. The critical movements of former times were quickly followed by renewed creative activity, by novel constructive efforts, by the dogmatism of new systems and schools of thought.[1] It is true that the critical movement so splendidly represented in Germany by Lessing (1729-81) and Kant (1724-1804) was followed by the great productive era of classical literature and a brilliant succession of speculative systems of philosophy which for the greater part of half a century forced into the background the workings of the critical spirit. These workings, nevertheless, proceeded without interruption, and became so much the more evident and effective when the productive powers of German poetry, literature, and philosophy had exhausted themselves. Although therefore the beginning of the great critical movement in Germany may be placed in the middle of the eighteenth century, its full effect upon the whole of German thought and culture did not become evident before the middle of the nineteenth century. Since then it has reigned supreme, leaving almost the whole of the constructive work of thought to the workers in the fields of

19. From the last we have not yet emerged.

[1] Matthew Arnold, in the Essay quoted above (p. 97 note 3), looked in this manner upon the critical spirit as paving the way for the creative spirit. This statement is borne out by the experience of former periods of criticism, but, as I mentioned in the text, the critical movement which still prevails has not as yet shown any signs of making room for a creative era of thought.

exact science. We may ask the question: What is the reason that, in former instances, the critical movement was so soon superseded by constructive efforts, whereas modern criticism, notably in Germany, has become a growing, all-destructive, and dominant current? The answer to the question is this: Criticism in former times was not really methodical; it was casual, in many cases brilliant, but it was not conducted on any fixed principles, and was therefore easily overpowered by novel and daring speculations and by that enthusiasm of creative effort which is always absent in purely negative movements.

20. Its methodical character.

The critical movement both in the age of Socrates and in the age of Descartes developed very rapidly into scepticism, which, as it marks the last stage of the destructive movement of thought, has not in itself the germs of any further development, and is usually followed by a complete reaction in favour of an uncritical acceptance of some dogmatic position. Kant was the first great thinker who desired to interpose between the sceptical stage—which had been reached in England and France through the influence of Locke and Hume, of Bayle and Voltaire—and a new positive philosophy, which he had in view, a methodical examination of the ways and means by which the human mind could arrive at certainty and knowledge. He laid the foundation of a special philosophical discipline which has latterly received the name of "Erkenntnisstheorie" (theory of knowledge) in Germany, and which has become domiciled in England under the name "Epistemology." But neither Kant, in the purely

philosophical, nor Lessing, in the wider field of criticism, was really radical enough. In their critical attempts they did not go to the root of the matter. Their successors have tried to improve upon them and to penetrate deeper into the recesses of all mental life and activity. With what results we shall see in the sequel. The reasons why both Lessing and Kant halted, as it were, half-way in their critical discussions were probably twofold. To begin with, they had an overwhelming material to deal with, all the inherited systems of ancient and modern philosophy and all the products of ancient and modern literature and learning, all the creations of ancient and modern art and poetry. In the middle of the eighteenth century, when Lessing and Kant started on their literary enterprises, the means of acquiring a tolerably comprehensive view of the great field of the mental labours of the past were exceedingly meagre. It was the time when the French Encyclopædists started the first attempt to arrange methodically the whole body of accumulated knowledge and learning; in fact, it was the beginning of what I have termed before the age of the encyclopædic treatment of knowledge and learning which lasted for a century.[1] This attempt to arrange methodically and to make inventory of knowledge went parallel with the critical movement. During that period we find continually that the greatest critics had to interrupt their critical work in order to gather the necessary information without which criticism was impossible or premature. We find this notably in the work of Lessing. And

21. Obstructions to it.

[1] See vol. i. p. 34.

still more is it the case with his great younger contemporary and follower Herder (1744-1803), who, starting with so-called critical dissertations in the manner of Lessing, was very soon drawn away into new and unexplored regions which it was more interesting, useful, and congenial to his mind to explore than to criticise.

The second fact which interfered with a thoroughgoing criticism and impeded the free development of the critical spirit was this, that German literature and thought had for some time past been moving in a restricted area, had been under the dominating influence of special schools of taste and thought. Out of these limited regions, prescribed in literature by the canons of French taste and in philosophy by a mutilated version of Leibniz's ideas, the German mind broke loose under the influence of English literature and philosophy.

22. Winckelmann's reform of art by criticism.

At the same time Winckelmann (1717-1768) initiated in Germany quite a new era of artistic reform through his anonymously published 'Reflections on the Imitation of the Grecian Works in Painting and Sculpture' (1755). Through the discovery in Germany of those great artistic creations, which had been previously disregarded, of the glories of Grecian sculpture by Winckelmann on the one side and of the titanic and elemental greatness of Shakespeare by Lessing on the other, the purely critical attitude was changed into that of a comparison of the modern French creations with those of ancient Greece and of the Elizabethan period of English literature. As so frequently afterwards, the purely critical were changed into comparative studies,

the historical took the place of the analytical treatment. In the desire for something freer, better, and greater, it was more natural to turn to the long neglected but recently discovered models of ancient and modern times than to develop something entirely original and novel. For it must not be forgotten that, whilst Lessing and Kant were the two great representatives of the critical spirit in the wider sense of the word, they were not essentially negative minds, and that they opposed the purely sceptical and destructive movement of which Voltaire in France was the most brilliant and popular exponent. Their object was not to destroy but to build up, to lead taste into new channels and to establish philosophy upon a firmer foundation; thus they were more attracted by Rousseau, his gospel of nature and his educational ideals, than by Voltaire, whose flippancy and artificiality were opposed to their innermost convictions. In fact, they had definite ideals. They initiated what we may call the age of ideals, which governed the German mind for the greater part of a century. It may have been difficult at that time to express in words what these ideals really consisted in, and more easy for their upholders to say what they were not, what they opposed and disapproved of. But Lessing and Kant had a strong faith in the existence of eternal standards of the true, the beautiful, and the good, and they strove for a general recognition and appreciation of them.

23. Ideal of humanity: its phases.

If, in the light of history and subsequent events, we ask ourselves the question what this ideal which they were striving after consisted in, we meet with an

expression which, ever since the times of the Renaissance and the Reformation, has been adopted by very different schools of taste and thought. It is the term Humanity. This term used to characterise a movement during the sixteenth century of which Erasmus and Melanchthon were the great representatives on the Continent. It was used to define the liberal studies of the Protestant Universities in this country and abroad. Still later the ideal of humanity was the term introduced to characterise the classical works of German literature in their contrast to the productions of the age of enlightenment (Aufklärung).[1] A century after we come again across

[1] The history of these two movements of what is termed in Germany "Humanismus" or "das Ideal der Humanität" has been written in recent times by Fr. Paulsen in his important 'Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den Deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart' (2 vols., 2nd ed., 1896, 1897). He there distinguishes two periods in this movement of thought in modern history. He deals both with the older form of "Humanismus" in the second half of the fifteenth century, which came to an end at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and with the second or more recent form which started in the middle of the eighteenth, and as he maintains is coming to an end at the present time. Regarding the ideal of culture developed in the former period he gives the following definitions: "The aim of education as it was developed under the influence of 'Humanismus' and the Reformation during the sixteenth century consists in: literary culture and confessional orthodoxy or, to use the formula of Jos. Sturm, 'litterata pietas.' Literary culture is manifested in 'eloquence,' that is, in the ability to write classical Latin in prose and verse. To this the older humanistic teaching is directed; imitation of the ancient orators and poets is the road to eloquence. The second epoch, the epoch of 'Neuhumanismus,' is primarily characterised by giving up this aim. The Latin imitation-eloquence and imitation-poetry had, in the course of the seventeenth century, become obsolete; into their place there now stepped first of all the French and alongside of it the German poetry and eloquence, themselves an imitation of Roman literature. From the days of Klopstock, Lessing, Herder, Goethe, there arose an independent German literature, the poetry of original genius. This was enthusiastic for Greek literature as the more original literature compared with the Roman. It heralded the Græco-German 'Humanismus.' Under its influence a study of Greek language and literature becomes the main object and professedly the main subject of instruction in the German Higher Schools. Through it the object of classical studies is changed; the aim of the Neo-humanistic school work is not imitation, either in the Greek or in the German language, but the culture of mind and taste through intercourse with the ancient authors in every branch of literature" (vol. i. p. 3).

The ideal of humanity in the classical literature of Germany is also brilliantly dealt with by Hettner in his 'Literatur-Geschichte' (quoted vol. i. p. 50), and by Carl Schmidt in his 'Geschichte der Pädagogik' (ed. W. Lange, vol. iv., 1876). It will be seen from this extract from Paulsen that German "Humanismus," neither in its earlier nor in its later form, had any sympathy with the contrast emphasised in Auguste Comte's 'Religion of Humanity,' namely, the opposition to religion with a personal Deity. It is also quite different from what has been termed "Humanism" in the new Oxford School, which would more appropriately be termed "Personalism" if this word had not already been appropriated by Renouvier for the religion of his Neo-criticism.

the term in the later writings of Auguste Comte, and in our days the word is being used by a young school of thinkers in Oxford who have come under the influence of the original writings of the late Prof. Wm. James.

The fact that the critical labours of Lessing found a first resting-place in an admiration of the Greeks, notably Sophocles, and of Shakespeare,—an admiration which was transmitted, deepened and widened, by Goethe and the Romantic school,—has exposed the whole of German literature to the remark that it was largely an imitation of the ancient classics on the one side, and of Shakespeare and the English on the other. As a matter of fact, it was only through the personality and originality of the small number of its greatest representatives that the German mind, after going through the school of the ancients and of Shakespeare, emancipated itself and rose to the production of a few works of the highest order, equalling, though not excelling, the great models which were its masters. To follow up this development would, however, lead us far away from the history of the critical movement, and belongs really not

to the philosophical portion of this History but to that which will deal with individual and poetical thought. It may here suffice to say that this deeper movement consisted in a still greater widening of the meaning of Criticism: it meant not only literary, philosophical, theological, and æsthetic criticism,—it meant Criticism of Religion, Morality, and Life. It is represented in England by Coleridge, Carlyle, and Matthew Arnold, in France by Renouvier.

The influence of Lessing and that of Kant did not run in the same channels. That of the former was most marked in the domain of general literature and of historical studies. In these two directions the influence of Kant was scarcely felt, or only indirectly asserted itself. But in the dominion of philosophy and theology the influence of both thinkers was combined, although their direction was by no means identical. So far as philosophy is concerned, the purely critical movement which emanated from Kant, and which down to recent times has prevented the due appreciation of the positive side of his philosophy, was to a great extent opposed by the peculiar turn which philosophical thought took largely under the influence of Lessing. For it was one of Lessing's great merits that he drew attention to the forgotten and neglected works of Spinoza. In fact, it has been maintained by F. H. Jacobi and by several of Lessing's biographers that Lessing was a Spinozist. At any rate, whether this was so or not, the discussion over the point which sprang up through Jacobi's publication of a conversation which he had with Lessing shortly before the death of

24. Lessing's revival of Spinoza.

the latter on the subject of Spinoza, drew attention to the works of that remarkable man, and introduced him to the notice of such original minds as Herder, Goethe, Fichte, and Schelling. In fact, it may be said that Spinoza was to the poetical mind of the great German classics a much more congenial thinker than Kant. The philosophy of Spinoza from that moment became and has remained one of the great agencies, not to say sources, of inspiration in the development of the idealistic systems which for fully thirty years pushed the critical philosophy of Kant into the background.

25. Kant and Spinoza the poles of German thought.

It has been truly said that Kant and Spinoza form the two poles around which the deeper thought of Germany at that time revolved.[1] This twofold attraction started about the same time, for Kant's 'First Critique' appeared in the year 1781 and Jacobi's 'Letters on the Doctrine of Spinoza' appeared four years after, in 1785. But the very different ways in which Kantism and Spinozism made their appearance — the former in a strictly philosophical treatise, the latter in a literary discussion[2]—correspond to the abstract logical character

[1] "A momentous coincidence willed it that just at the time when the 'Critique' of the all-destroying man of Königsberg began to make headway, the most firmly jointed and effective of all metaphysical systems, the type itself of dogmatism, became known in Germany: namely, Spinozism. Through the controversy between Jacobi and Mendelssohn, which referred to Lessing's position with regard to Spinoza, the doctrine of the latter had become the subject of the most lively interest, and this through the deep contrast that exists between them. Kant and Spinoza became the two poles around which the thought of the following generation revolved" (Windelband, 'Geschichte der Philosophie,' 4th ed., p. 475).

[2] It appears that Goethe during his Strassburg period became acquainted through Hamann and Herder first with the writings of Giordano Bruno, and was led from them to occupy himself with Spinoza, one side of whose doctrine, the mystical and pantheistic, attracted him. He could not agree with Bayle, who speaks of the

of the former as compared with the vague, even mystical, meaning of the latter. That Kantism was not as abstract a doctrine as it *prima facie* appeared to be was made abundantly clear by the publication of Kant's later writings, which attracted not only philosophers by profession but also poetical minds like Schiller and even Goethe. On the other side, the strictly logical, not to say mathematical, formalism of Spinoza repelled his earlier admirers, such as Lessing, Goethe, and Herder. It was clearly brought out and appreciated in its consistency and in its ultimate conclusions at a much later

impiety and absurdity of Bruno, and treats Spinoza not less unfairly. In the year 1773 Goethe wrote the Fragment entitled 'Prometheus,' in which some passages are quite in the spirit of Spinoza, and he tells us in his 'Autobiography' ('Dichtung und Wahrheit,' bk. 14 and 16) how Spinoza became a common and uniting subject of interest when, in the year 1774, he met F. H. Jacobi. Having only cursorily dipped into Spinoza himself, Goethe tells us that, whilst repelled by Lavater's orthodoxy and Basedow's didactics, he experienced an inner harmony with Jacobi's manner of approaching the Inscrutable for which to some extent he had been prepared by "assimilating the attitude of thought of an extraordinary man." "This man who impressed me so decidedly, and who was to have such an important influence on my whole way of thinking, was Spinoza. For, having everywhere searched in vain for a means of culture for my own perplexing self, I at last came into contact with 'The Ethics' of this thinker. . . . A large and liberal view into the sensuous and moral world seemed to be opened out to me. But what attracted me most in him was the boundless unselfishness which appeared in every one of his sentences." Goethe also refers to the totally inadequate article on Spinoza in Bayle's celebrated Dictionary,—"a book which through erudition and acuteness was quite as estimable and useful as it was, through gossip and sermonising, ludicrous and harmful." In the year 1780, not long after the meeting of Jacobi and Goethe, the former paid a visit to Lessing, and being desirous to learn more about Lessing's opinion regarding Spinoza, entered into a conversation with him which he introduced by showing Lessing a copy of Goethe's 'Prometheus.' The purport of this conversation Jacobi, after the death of Lessing, published in his 'Letters on the Doctrine of Spinoza' (1785). This created an enormous sensation, and no doubt promoted very much the study of Spinoza, who had, in a one-sided manner, been considered by the popular philosophy of the day as an atheistic writer. This feeling was entirely reversed by the leaders of the New Thought.

date. A great authority on Spinoza, who, for the first time, put before the English public an exhaustive study of his personality and teachings, sums up his appreciation of this remarkable thinker in the words: "Spinozism, as a living and constructive force, is not a system but a habit of mind, and as science makes it plainer every day that there is no such thing as a fixed equilibrium either in the world without or in the mind within, so it becomes plain that the genuine and durable triumphs of philosophy are not in systems but in ideas. Wealth in vital ideas is the real test of a philosopher's greatness, and by this test the name of Spinoza stands assured of its rank among the greatest." [1]

As these words express most clearly likewise the position which in this History I am taking up, not only to philosophical but also to scientific thought, it may be well to note here that the breaking up of the strict logical formalism introduced into German philosophy by Wolff, and continued by Kant, through the Spinozistic thought of viewing everything *sub specie æternitatis*, marks one of the great characteristics not only of German Idealism but indeed of the whole of the classical and romantic literature in that country from 1780 up to 1840,—a characteristic which is totally absent in contemporary philosophical literature in France as well as in this country. English philosophers about the year 1860 began to make a serious study of modern German Idealism, starting with Hegel and going back to Kant as its origin. Twenty years later they recognised that

26. Spinoza and German idealism.

[1] Sir Frederick Pollock, 'Spinoza: His Life and Philosophy,' 1st ed., p. 408.

it is quite as necessary, for the understanding of this remarkable movement, to go back to Spinoza,[1] who, if not forgotten, was certainly neglected and egregiously, not to say shamefully, misrepresented[2] by eminent writers in both countries. And, anticipating, we may go a step further in mapping out philosophical currents on the Continent, notably in Germany, by remarking that the current of philosophic thought which set in, in the middle of the nineteenth century, in opposition to the Hegelian attitude, may not

[1] This interest in Spinoza produced four important publications. Leaving out what was done by G. H. Lewes, who was probably led to Spinoza when writing his 'Life of Goethe,' and by F. D. Maurice, who inherited Coleridge's interest in him, also Matthew Arnold's brilliant Essay (1865), we meet with the first fairly impartial and lucid exposition of Spinoza's teaching in J. A. Froude's article in the 'Westminster Review,' 1854. But foremost among all stands the work of Sir Frederick Pollock, from which I have just quoted. It appeared in the year 1880, and gives in addition to an account of his life and philosophy a complete bibliography of English and foreign books on Spinoza in the Introduction, and a history of Spinozism in the twelfth chapter, "Spinoza and Modern Thought." Almost simultaneously James Martineau had occupied himself with Spinoza, and brought out in 1882 'A Study of Spinoza.' In the last chapter of this treatise special attention is drawn to his work as a critic approaching the biblical records from an historical as well as a philosophical point of view. A few years later, 1888, there appeared in Blackwood's Philosophical Classics a volume on Spinoza by John Caird. This treatise, which deals with the "apparent inconsistencies" and "underlying unity" of his system, is written from a point of view influenced by Hegelian thought, which at that time was prominently represented in this country by the author and his brother, Edward Caird. These four works in the English language may be said to have corrected the many misrepresentations and misunderstandings regarding Spinoza's person and teaching which abounded in the earlier literature of this country.

[2] There seems no doubt that Malebranche and Bayle between them must be blamed for having, through their superficial treatment of Spinoza, prevented for a long time an adequate estimation of the importance of his doctrine, not only among their countrymen—such as Voltaire, Montesquieu, and the Encyclopædists—but also in this country, where, for instance, even so temperate a thinker as David Hume betrays a lamentable ignorance of the subject, calling Spinoza a "famous atheist" and his fundamental principle a "hideous hypothesis" ('Treatise of Human Nature,' part 4, sec. 5).

incorrectly be described as an importation into the critical atmosphere then everywhere prevailing of the spirit of Leibniz. The foremost representative of this widely different "habit of thought" is Hermann Lotze. On the other side, the strictly logical monism of Spinoza, as detached from his mystical pantheism, has latterly found favour among prominent representatives of Naturalism, or even Materialism. Be this as it may, Lessing and many of his followers certainly found in the philosophy of Spinoza a resting-place and refuge from the prosaic moralising and shallow rationalism of the Deists in England and the Encyclopædists in France. Compared with these Spinoza rose before them as an inspired writer, as one who looked at the great life problems not from a utilitarian and narrowly moralising point of view but *sub specie æternitatis*.

Now though Spinoza is commonly instanced as a decided dogmatist in opposition to Kant's criticism, and though Kant himself knew little of Spinoza and never mentions Lessing, these three thinkers nevertheless contributed, each in his way, to cultivate an important field of modern research which, perhaps more than any other, exhibits the workings of the modern critical spirit. Each in his way helped to establish what has been termed the Higher Criticism in Theology. The two great critical movements in modern German Theology, Higher Criticism as applied to the biblical records on the one side, and the philosophical interpretation of religious beliefs on the other, can both, to a large extent, point to Spinoza, Lessing, and Kant as their earliest representatives.

27. Spinoza, Lessing, Kant, and the Higher Criticism.

Lessing was not a university professor; he moved in wider literary and artistic circles at Berlin and Hamburg, and at last became librarian at Wolfenbüttel. His influence was not that of an academic teacher; like Leibniz before him, he did not gather around him a circle of pupils. Accordingly criticism with him was not reduced to a teachable method, but remained an original and personal feature of his literary genius. It was especially in his style that he marked an era in German literature.[1] In this respect he resembled Diderot in France, for whom he had the greatest admiration. As for Kant, his academic activity moved in the traditional courses of philosophical teaching, and his peculiar method was made known to the world mainly through his writings. His pupils

[1] Carlyle in his Essay ('Edinburgh Review,' 1827) on the "State of German Literature," being a review of two books on German literature by Franz Horn, says of Lessing: "It is to Lessing that an Englishman would turn with readiest affection. . . . Among all the writers of the eighteenth century, we will not except even Diderot and David Hume, there is not one of a more compact and rigid intellectual structure who more distinctly knows what he is aiming at, or with more gracefulness, vigour, and precision sets it forth to his readers. He thinks with the clearness and piercing sharpness of the most expert logician; but a genial fire pervades him, a wit, a heartiness, a general richness and fineness of nature, to which most logicians are strangers. He is a sceptic in many things, but the noblest of sceptics; a mild, manly, half-careless enthusiasm struggles through his indignant unbelief; he stands before us like a toilworn but unwearied and heroic champion, earning not the conquest but the battle; as indeed himself admits to us, that 'it is not the finding of truth, but the honest search for it, that profits.'"

In spite of this appreciation of Lessing and of his style, which "will be found precisely such as we of England are accustomed to admire most," Lessing is probably, of all the German Classics, the one who is least known, read, or written about, either in France or England. This is partly owing to the fact that he is characteristically German, having, next to Luther, done more than any other writer to create modern German style, of which he is one of the very few really great representatives, but still more owing to the fact that in all his critical writings he was a pioneer, and that, as such, his views have been either largely developed or superseded by those who followed him.

and followers, who soon filled to a large extent the philosophical chairs at the German Universities, were less interested in studying and promulgating his peculiar method than in expounding a few characteristic points or doctrines which for a long time became the watchwords of the Kantian School in a very uncritical fashion. Such were, *e.g.*, the doctrine of the Ideality of Time and Space, of the Noumena (or) things in themselves) as opposed to Phenomena, of the difference of the theoretical and the practical Reason, of the supremacy of the latter, and of the Categorical Imperative as the fundamental principle of Ethics. The really critical work which Kant began, and which he only carried out to a very limited extent, was followed up by such men as Reinhold and Fries, and later by Herbart; to some extent also by Schopenhauer, but in the case of the latter, as well as of Herbart, from original and independent points of view which they had gained. The exclusively critical task of deciding as to the powers and limits of the human intellect and the nature of scientific knowledge was taken up as a definite problem much later on, partly as a continuation and confirmation of Kant's views, partly also in opposition to them. The solution of this problem was very much assisted and influenced by two independent lines of research. The first of these was the analysis of the methods of science, of which John Stuart Mill was the great representative; the second was the revival of Aristotelian studies, in which Trendelenburg of Berlin was the principal leader. It was only after these different lines of research had been pursued for some time that the new critical discipline of Epistemology

(*Erkenntnisstheorie*) was established and named by Eduard Zeller (1862). Since that time it has become and remained a favourite subject for lectures at the German Universities.[1]

II.

The great influence of the critical spirit in Germany, of which we have considered Lessing to be the first and most liberal representative, did not emanate either from him or from the great heroes of the classical period in German literature, but made itself felt only when it became introduced into academic teaching as a definite method, when it became domiciled at the German Universities. This took place, about the time when Lessing published his first critical writings, at the University of Göttingen. It there met another important tradition, which assisted, and in many ways strengthened it: the connection with English literature and learning. Many academic teachers contributed there to introduce and establish what may still be considered the highest standards of academic teaching and method. For our purposes it will be sufficient to single out a few names as leaders and representatives of the critical method which then already received the name of the "Higher Criticism."[1] These names were J. M. Gesner (1691-1761), C. G. Heyne (1729-1812), and J. G. Eichhorn (1752-1827). I select these three names, as from them emanated two prominent streams into which the critical spirit poured its refreshing as well as its devastating waters, namely, classical criticism (philology) on the one side, and biblical criticism (exegesis) on the other.

28. Representative higher critics.

I have already on a former occasion (vol. i. p. 164) mentioned how the foundation of the University of Göttingen marked an era in the history of German thought. It not only initiated the modern conception of liberal studies in Germany, it also gathered into a focus intellectual developments which had before been

29. Göttingen and the critical spirit.

[1] It may here be mentioned that Lotze forms in this respect an exception among modern German philosophers. In many passages of his writings he has denounced what, he maintains, has been falsely considered to be Kant's real object, by "drawing attention to the inevitable circle in which a theory of knowledge must move." Most clearly has he put this in one of his last deliverances ("Philosophy in the Last Forty Years," 1880, 'Contemporary Review'): "It is no matter whence our ideas come, and how they form themselves within us psychologically, but what is of consequence is to know whether, when we have them, we may halt with them, or must go farther and necessarily make judgment upon them, in order to secure the complete harmony of our reason with itself and with the given facts, the only goal which is at all attainable by us" (reprinted in 'Kleine Schriften,' ed. Peipers, vol. iii.)

[1] Higher Criticism is frequently distinguished from Lower Criticism. The latter is occupied mainly with the text of writers, its emendation, purification, and restitution: Higher Criticism introduces the historical and philosophical aspects. It studies the genesis, historical surroundings, and antecedents of its subject, and advances to an interpretation of the meaning of prominent writers, notably the ancient Classics and the Holy Scriptures, aiming, in the last instance, at a reconstruction of the thought and culture of important periods of history. This Lower and Higher Criticism is, as I have already remarked, quite different from that criticism which is allied to rhetoric on the one side and to the history of literary taste on the other—two distinct studies which have in modern literature been carried on consistently and continuously only in France. Prof. Saintsbury in the work already referred to (*supra*, p. 96) separates this criticism from that kind of criticism I am now dealing with, which is, in its development, though not in its origins, a characteristic creation of the modern German mind. For this criticism, with its philological, philosophical, and theological branches, Prof. Saintsbury has evidently only scant appreciation (see *loc. cit.*, vol. i. p. 4). On the term Higher Criticism, as connected with Bible studies, see H. S. Nash, 'The History of the Criticism of the New Testament' (1900), especially p. 12, &c.

geographically separated. It inherited the taste for classical studies, of which Thuringia and Saxony had been the traditional homes.[1] With this it now united the study of English literature and learning.[2] It also stood in intimate connection with the polite literature of Germany,[3] one of the earliest organisations of the new

[1] A beginning had been made in this direction already by the foundation of the University of Halle (1693). But "free inquiry" was there still hampered by Wolff's Rationalism on the one side and Francke's Evangelicalism on the other. Speaking mainly of philological studies, Professor Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff says (Lexis, 'Die Deutschen Universitäten,' vol. i. p. 458): "It was first of all the foundation of the University of Göttingen (1737) by the electoral House of Hanover, which was at the same time the reigning House of Great Britain, that created an epoch in the history of philology."

[2] This influence was prominently represented at Göttingen by a remarkable man, who forms a unique figure in German literature. This was G. Chr. Lichtenberg (1742-1799). He was Professor of Natural Philosophy, and his name is preserved in the History of Science through the Lichtenberg figures of Electric Discharge, the memory of which has been revived in recent times through Lord Armstrong's work on 'Electrical Discharge in Air and Water' (1899). But though a much valued scientific teacher, his importance lies in this, that he is one of the few great humourists in German literature, forming a link between the British humourists—Swift, Sterne, Defoe, and others—on the one side, and Jean Paul on the other. The union of scientific studies with polite literature is rare, especially in Germany. But that country possesses another prominent example in more recent times, in G. T. Fechner — a thinker little known in this country except as the founder of psycho-physics. Lichtenberg was a very popular writer, and many of his witticisms have survived in popular literature. Cast into the shade through the creations of the classical literature of Germany, and more or less forgotten about the middle of the nineteenth century, his memory has been revived again by the republication of his Collected Works, and notably by a collection of extracts from them by Ed. Grisebach (1871), the well-known editor of Schopenhauer, and himself a humouristic writer of merit. It was especially the great actor Garrick and the painter Hogarth who became known to Germany through Lichtenberg's 'Letters' and 'Explanations.' It is interesting to see how ideas on the relation of philosophy, science, and religion now current, flitted prematurely through the mind of Lichtenberg more than a century ago.

[3] The importance of Göttingen as a centre of literature, as well as of science, is little appreciated, especially in foreign works dealing with German thought and literature. Nevertheless, what is termed the Göttingen school marks an important development in the polite literature of the country, from which emanated much that has been of great value. Histories of German literature, like those of Gervinus and Hettner, give full information on this subject. The migration of the centre of German literature, as distinguished from science and learning, from Göttingen to Weimar, was followed by independent growth on both sides. The literary and poetical genius of the nation liberated itself from the oppressive influence which academic learning or scientific ideas have frequently exerted in other literatures. On the other side, science and criticism were for a considerable period thrown upon their own resources, which led to much original work of the highest order, but also to a deterioration of style and a greater estrangement from polite literature than has been the case either in this country or in France. To mention, however, one instance in which the Göttingen school made a lasting impression on German literature, we need only refer to J. H. Voss, who, much influenced by Heyne's teaching, betook himself to the translation of Homer. His work has become a classic, much more than translations in any other country, and has domiciled the hexameter as a form of poetic diction in Germany. Voss's 'Luise' and Goethe's 'Hermann and Dorothea' are other examples.

literary spirit, the "Hainbund,"[1] having been founded in its midst. During the last third of the eighteenth century the University of Göttingen launched into existence the methodical treatment of classical, historical, theological, legal, and economic studies in such a way that in all these five branches the great teachers of Göttingen became the founders of definite schools which gradually spread over the whole of Germany and of the German-speaking countries. Criticism which before that, and in other countries, had frequently degenerated into scepticism or wasted itself in polemics, lowering itself not infrequently to personal invective, became in the hands of the great Göttingen professors and their pupils an academic method and an instrument of

[1] Founded 1777 by Boie. The term "Hain"—the forest, copse, or grove—plays a great part in German mythology, and in the Germanising school, of which Klopstock in the later part of his life became a centre. This term, as expressive of the religious and poetical cult of the Ancient Teutons, was opposed to Parnassus as the home of the Greek Muses, and was chosen as the name of the school of German poetry which originally exalted Klopstock and opposed the Franco-classical style represented by Wieland. On the occasion of their early gatherings they decorated Klopstock's portrait and works with laurels, while they burnt and otherwise defaced the writings of Wieland.

30. Criticism an instrument of education.

education. For it was mainly under influences coming from Göttingen that a change in the higher education of Germany took place. This consisted in taking the leadership in the learned schools out of the hands of theological and placing it in the hands of classical teachers. Under the enlightened guidance of these the German gymnasium attained its great influence, which has lasted for nearly a century. The mental discipline and intellectual atmosphere at these schools during that period was really owing to the workings of the critical spirit in the wider sense of the word; of free inquiry, based upon methodical study: it took the place of the theological spirit, which had ruled before but has had in the end largely to give way to the ruling of the scientific spirit in the narrower sense of the word that is synonymous with the term exact or mathematical.[1]

[1] All this is brought out very clearly in Paulsen's work mentioned above (p. 116 note). As it deals mainly with the teaching in the learned schools, it casts only side glances at literary criticism on the one side and theological on the other. Those who wish to convince themselves at first hand of the part that criticism has played in German thought and literature, and how, for the greater part of the century, it ruled supreme at the German Universities, need only refer to the histories of the different sciences published by the Munich Academy (1864, onward). Note especially the volumes by Dorner, Protestant Theology; Bursian, Classical Philology; Benfey, Comparative Philology; Wegele, Historiography; Roscher, Economics; Bluntschli, Staatswissenschaft; Zeller, Philosophy. Lotze's volume on the 'History of Aesthetics in Germany' is a unique example in the whole series of a different treatment of an important subject, inasmuch as little attention is given to the influence of criticism, and much more to the constructive ideas which made themselves felt in that field of inquiry.

Another publication to which I am much indebted, and which, though not professedly a history of the critical movement of thought, yet leaves the impression of its supremacy on the mind of the reader, is the history of the German Universities written for the Exhibition at Chicago ('Die Deutschen Universitäten,' 2 vols., 1893), and edited by Prof. W. Lexis. It contains a valuable general Introduction by Paulsen. The different subjects are treated in the order of the different Faculties of the German Universities, under a large number of headings, by leading representatives in each department.

The necessity of becoming an educational instrument had a twofold influence upon the development of criticism in the wider sense of the word. Criticism had to afford a mental discipline to the learner, and it had to become communicable and teachable. With these objects in view, it became specialised and more or less reduced to forms and methods. In the course of time it also became more and more evident that criticism could be carried on from two entirely different points of view. These were not clearly separated by the earlier representatives of the Higher Criticism. In dealing with mental phenomena, such as the literatures and culture of the past, and with opinions and bodies of doctrine which have been handed down, we can pass judgment upon them either from the purely philosophical or from the historical point of view. The first point of view implies the existence of definite standards and clear principles; the latter leads us to the great problem of historical genesis. In the first instance we refer the subject we are interested in to standards and principles which we must either assume or demonstrate; in the latter case we connect the object of our study historically with its antecedents and surroundings in time and place. Considerations of both kinds were before the minds of all the great critics in ancient and modern times; but they were not clearly separated, they were introduced promiscuously. It is one of the most marked characteristics of the learned literature of the nineteenth century, especially in Germany, that in the course of its development the fundamental difference of historical and philosophical criticism has been brought

31. Difference of philosophical and historical criticism.

out. Accordingly, we find in all the different fields into which the stimulating, and frequently destructive, waters of criticism have flowed, a growing differentiation of the historical and the philosophical points of view. In theology, and what has more recently been called the science of religion, we have the historical school and the philosophical school. The first tries to find its sanction, the justification of its doctrines, in their historical origins; the latter looks for their philosophical meaning and value. In the study of law, termed in Germany jurisprudence, we have early in the century the opposition of the historical school founded by Savigny to the older philosophical school represented by Thibaut.[1]

[1] Nowhere has the critical spirit in its quest for leading principles of research or for the origin and genesis of existing doctrines been more evident in Germany than in the older science of jurisprudence and the more modern science of sociology. To the latter, as a creation of European thought during the nineteenth century, I shall have special opportunity to refer in a subsequent chapter; the former may be mentioned here as a striking example of the working of the critical spirit, exhibiting an enormous amount of learning little known in this country, though not wanting in dramatic incidents. Among the latter I may mention a controversy which began in the early years, and reached something like a conclusion at the end of the century. The beginning is connected with the celebrated names of Thibaut (1772-1840) and Savigny (1779-1861); the end with the completion and introduction of the German Civil Code (1888). Thibaut belonged, as one of the latest representatives, to the school of legal studies of which Samuel Puffendorf, of European renown, is considered the founder. It aimed at establishing the so-called "Naturrecht" or Natural Law, "the principles of which were taken to be a measure for the value of the existing Roman Law" (E. Eck, in Lexis, *loc. cit.*, p. 301). "When, after the conclusion of the War of Liberation and of the French supremacy, a feeling of German unity was kindled, many, and among them not the least patriotic, saw in the establishment of a German national code of law a desirable object, and one which was at the time also attainable. This movement found its most prominent spokesman in the Heidelberg professor of Roman Law, Thibaut, who gave it emphatic and eloquent expression in his pamphlet on 'The Necessity of a General Civil Code for Germany' (1814). He was opposed by no less an authority than F. C. von Savigny, who in his treatise 'On the Task of our Age for Legislation and Jurisprudence' furnished the programme of the historical school" (E. Strohal, in Lexis, *loc. cit.*, p. 327). In it he successfully opposed the idea of such a codification, and maintained that the most "pressing task consisted rather in the historical understanding of the ruling jurisdiction." His position has been criticised as too supremely academic and unsympathetic towards the practical demands of the age. Nevertheless it remained victorious for a long time in scientific circles, though practically of little effect, seeing that even the "Code Civil," which Napoleon had forcibly thrust upon a large district in Western Germany, remained in popular force and favour. On the other side, the programme of Thibaut was revived when, on the 22nd June 1874, the German Imperial Diet charged a commission of eminent jurists with the drafting of a civil code. The first outcome of this was submitted to the public in the year 1888, and has since, after being subjected to elaborate criticism and emendation, passed into law.

[1] I wish to remind my readers that I am dealing with the diffusion of the critical spirit, and am not attempting even a mere sketch of the history of Higher Criticism in Germany. Such would have to take special note of a large cluster of studies peculiar to the German universities, but which are only very incompletely, if at all, cultivated in the learned schools of France and England. It is not only that all German universities contain a legal faculty; such existed in early times already in the French university system of the Middle Ages, and has from this likewise been transferred to the Scottish universities. The German universities contain, in addition, special faculties and curricula for the study of what are termed "Cameralia," the word camera, or chamber, being used in the sense in which it has survived in such terms as "Chamber of Deputies," "Chamber of Parliament," "Chamber of Commerce," &c. Students of Cameralia are such as prepare specially for the lower and higher positions in the administration. They are incorporated in the ever-widening circumference of the philosophical faculty, or they constitute, as at Strassburg, Würzburg, Munich, and Tübingen, separate faculties, which have incorporated in various ways such of the legal branches as are of special importance for administrative purposes (see Lexis, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. p. 279, &c.) Their studies, termed in German "Staatswissenschaften," approach on the one side branches of legal study such as "Staatsrecht," and on the other side the statistical sciences, which in the course of the nineteenth century have become more and more mathematical. With such a very definite conception of the training which the lower and higher officers and servants of the State require, it is interesting

In economics, we have the great historical school, of which Roscher may be considered the foremost representative, and the earlier dogmatic school, which dates back to the great influence of Adam Smith. In the many and far-reaching studies which deal with public or private ethics or the problems of the state and government,[1] we have the two opposite tendencies, seeking for

historical or psychological origins and sources on the one side, for philosophical or actual justification on the other. In general it may be said that the interest has gradually moved away from the philosophical or purely theoretical to the historical treatment in all these and many other departments. This tendency has been very much strengthened, not only from outside by the view which has been independently established in the natural sciences under the influence of Darwin, but also from inside, *i.e.*, in the very heart of the learned schools themselves, upon which the spirit of the Hegelian philosophy, with its motto "that everything real is reasonable," has consciously or unconsciously exerted an enormous influence. This contrast between what we may call the historical and the philosophical treatment has also existed in that great cluster of studies, in that stupendous edifice of learning which the genius of the German nation has erected in the course of the nineteenth century—classical philology. Only here the opposition to the broad historical treatment of classical studies which emanated from Göttingen has not been what we can term philosophical, but chose rather for its foundation the systematic and methodical study of the two classical languages. It is, however, interesting to note that the greatest exponent of this the most influential of classical schools abroad, Gottfried Hermann of

32. Two modes of treatment in classical philology.

to note that a profession which deals practically with such matters has not received as yet any independent recognition or standing in Germany. I refer to what the more practical tendencies of this country have created as the special profession of accountants and auditors. The duties and qualifications of this specifically British body of professional men are still difficult to explain to foreigners. I believe that in most cases the duties of the auditor are performed in Germany by members of the legal profession, who have all a university training.

Leipzig (1772-1848), got his philosophical training in the school of Kant.

From what was said in the introduction to this portion of the history of thought, on the importance of language in the study of philosophical problems, it will be seen that the position taken up by the great representatives of what has been called "Sprachphilologie" was quite natural and consistent. Language itself, notably the highly developed languages of classical antiquity, forms a firm basis from which we can penetrate into the meaning and ideas of ancient civilisation in its most perfect examples. In the two classical languages, the mental achievements of two great ages, upon which all modern civilisation is grafted, have found a definite expression. The study of these languages, of the literatures of Greece and Rome, of the words, flexions, syntax, and metrical forms which they contain and exhibit, thus affords the best introduction to the study of antiquity. The emendation of corrupt texts, conjectures as to doubtful readings, rehabilitation of missing passages, all that is usually comprised in the term text-criticism, furnishes an enormous field for research, and gives ample opportunity for the exercise of ingenuity and the application of learning. It marks a well-defined object, upon which both master and pupil can direct their attention, and, under favourable circumstances, assist each other. No subject can form a better opportunity for the work of education and training in the higher sense of the word. The exercises are concentrated upon an object which is sufficiently defined and compact to counteract vagueness, and yet sufficiently

flexible to lead to a variety of emendations and interpretations, forming a very suitable opportunity for oral discussion and combined work.[1] This was recog-

[1] "On a philosophical foundation Hermann appears to us as the φιλόλογος κατ' ἐξοχήν, as a philologist in the real sense of the word, *i.e.*, as the propounder of the λόγος in its twofold and inseparable nature, *ratio* and *oratio*, thought and word in one; the former representing the inner, the latter the outer side of the activity which constitutes the essence of Mind. A thought becomes fully apparent only when it is spoken; the word without the full content of the thought is an empty sound. From this peculiarity of Hermann's nature, combined with his absolute truthfulness, there follows with psychological necessity his indifference towards everything that cannot be clearly thought and spoken, . . . and even out of this peculiarity there sprang with the same necessity the comprehensive conception which Hermann had of his science, and which he followed throughout. Language is to him the highest artistic production of the human mind; hence it appears, in spite of its natural origin, frequently as the result of conscious incisive thought. Thus voice and language are the picture of mind and life. Language exists, therefore, not only to be empirically used, but also to be rationally understood; it has its definite laws, which it is the object of science to discover in general and in detail. In this way Hermann conceived of language at a time when there could yet be no mention of a general science of language. The languages of the two civilised peoples of antiquity —foremost the language of the Greeks—are as such alone worthy of study, but still more so as the means of giving us an understanding of the greatest masters who have ever lived, for their written monuments are the greatest works of art which we possess; and they are, further, likewise the best —indeed, the only means by which we can understand also the other monuments; they alone speak to us; other monuments without them remain to us dumb. Thus the correct understanding and the thoroughgoing interpretation of the ancient authors is the main task of philology; criticism and exegesis are indissolubly united. . . . In this sense also Hermann is the model of the genuine philologist."—('Gottfried Hermann,' by H. Koechly (1874), p. 13, &c.) In the same sense a much later writer says: "There still remains what the nineteenth century, especially also in Germany, has considered to be the very kernel of philology—criticism and interpretation of authors. To this also has reference the much-lauded philological method, which came to be appraised as being the best preparation for all the mental sciences, just as formerly Latin used to be considered in the schools. . . . The belief in the possession of a method as an ever-ready sorcerer's wand was the most precious gift that the numerous pupils of Ritschl received from this teacher, whose fascinating personal activity can only be compared with that of Hermann. He who reads, *e.g.*, Ritschl's 'Parerga' and Haupt's earliest 'Berlin Programmes' has indeed the sense of a quite peculiar confidence through a dialectic which certainly produces at times quite insignificant results; at times also such as have since been found to be erroneous. These writings will as little become antiquated as Bentley's dissertation on the 'Letters of Phalaris' or Lessing's 'Antiquarian Letters,' and will continue to be the student's introduction to method" (see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, in Lexis, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. p. 471).

nised by the great teachers of text-criticism in Germany, who, following the example of Richard Bentley, introduced his methods into their philological seminaries or training schools. These reached their highest development and most perfect organisation first under Hermann, and then under the greatest among his independent followers, Friedrich Ritschl (1806-1877). The philological seminary of the latter has become a model for the highest form of university instruction.

33. Criticism as practised by Hermann and Ritschl.

And yet it cannot be denied that in the larger movement of thought this criticism of texts, with all its elaborate and ingenious machinery, forms only a temporary resting-place. In this respect we can compare it to the temporary stages which in scientific thought have furnished firm foundations for great scientific developments. As such we had to regard, for instance, the atomic theory, the older undulatory theory of light, or the dynamical theory of gases. None of these theories, any more than the theory of gravitation, can be regarded as ultimate foundations, though they for a long time furnished convenient, well-defined, and practically useful standing-ground for research, and will continue to do so for teaching purposes, even after their merely preliminary character has become scientifically recognised.

In opposition to the grammatical and textual studies which formed the main part of Gottfried Hermann's labours, we have in Göttingen the development of Gessner's and Heyne's seminary under the influence of

F. A. Wolf (1759-1824), who was the first to inscribe himself as a student of philology, and who was also the first to define philology as the Science of Antiquity. Through him classical and archæological studies were transported from the University of Göttingen into the Prussian state. Wolf's greatest activity, through which he created an era in the historical and classical studies of Germany, belonged to the years 1783-1806, at the University of Halle. He explained his ideas on the encyclopædic treatment of the studies of antiquity in an essay (1807) which was dedicated to Goethe. He saw in the art and culture of the two classical nations the grasp and firm hold which they had attained of the highest aims of humanity, and in the communication of this conception to the younger generation the means of elevating them above the narrow arena of ordinary life and petty circumstance. Wolf lived in intimate friendship with Goethe and Schiller and inspired Wilhelm von Humboldt, through and in whom the study of language and literature was brought into immediate contact with the objects of government, administration, and higher education. It was largely through Wolf's influence that the idea of founding the University of Berlin matured in the mind of his great friend. When in the year 1806 the University of Halle was closed owing to the Napoleonic occupation, the plan of a University in Berlin was formed; it offered to Wolf as well as to many others among the greatest teachers of Germany a new sphere of activity. As Ritschl represents the highest development of that line of activity and classical learning which was initiated

34. Encyclopædic aims of F. A. Wolf.

by G. Hermann, so the programme sketched by Wolf was elaborated by his pupils and followers; but it is significant that, whereas the former school, which was characterised by concentration and logical acumen, found a centre and its classical expression in the one person of Friedrich Ritschl, the school of Wolf, which was characterised rather by breadth than exactitude of view, spread out into a number of branches represented by men of very varying ability and interests, among whom in the first generation may be mentioned Niebuhr, Böckh, Welcker, Otfried Müller. The two schools represented by Hermann in Leipzig on one side, by Wolf and Böckh in Berlin on the other, carried on for some time the celebrated feud of the "Sprachphilologen" *v.* the "Sachphilologen," but it is gratifying to know that the two great masters themselves, Hermann and Böckh, who, according to the statement of the latter, stood in the remarkable relation "of a friendship maintained by mutual recriminations," ended their lives with the expression of mutual appreciation and personal esteem.

35. Sprachphilologen and Sachphilologen.

The critical spirit reached its highest development in the hands of representatives who, like Hermann and Ritschl, knew how to circumscribe the field of their research, how to define their object, and how to concentrate their attention and ingenuity. Most of the texts of the classical authors were at that time in a state of great corruption and mutilation. The work of editing and restoring these neglected relics, the study of the remains of antique life, the work of extricating and reviving, the collation of manuscripts, the deciphering

of inscriptions, formed a large and fairly well-defined task which occupied the many pupils of Hermann and Ritschl for the greater part of the century.[1] A large portion of this work could be carried on by those whose main duty was to devote themselves to higher instruction at schools and universities. As such it had a great and elevating influence upon the teaching profession, which no one knew better how to exert, recommend, and

[1] Many striking incidents might be quoted ; one will suffice to show the zeal with which these studies were carried on and the dramatic interest which attached to purely philological work such as the restoration of ancient texts. Hermann had, in an open letter addressed to Ritschl in 1837, expressed his doubts as to the principles, differing from those of Bentley, which had been employed in an edition of one of the Plays of Plautus. Ritschl had in the meantime undertaken the examination and collation of the Plautine palimpsest which had been recently discovered by Cardinal Mai in the Ambrosian Library of Milan. These labours had convinced Ritschl of the correctness of Hermann's views, which amounted almost to a divination. "I still remember," says Koechly (*loc. cit.*, p. 46), "the immense impression which Ritschl's celebrated letter to Hermann on the Ambrosian codex produced upon us students. Written in 1837 in Milan, the letter appeared in August in the same periodical ('Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft'). A few months before this the Professor-elect of Archæology, Adolf Becker, had started his course in the customary manner with a public disputation; . . . the dissertation which he defended . . . was mainly intended to uphold the traditional Plautine text against the ingenious audacity of Hermann's metrics and its consequences. It was natural that the old teacher—his official opponent—and the new professor should hit each other pretty hard; whereby the contest ultimately resulted in the establishment of a difference in principles. . . . Hermann adhered to the principles and conclusions of his metrical doctrine, Becker appealed to the traditional text of Plautus in the Palatine manuscripts which, on the whole, appeared to him to be correct. We had followed the contest with the greatest attention, with eagerness we expected the decision of Ritschl, who at that moment was occupied in Milan with the thorough deciphering of the Ambrosian text. And the decision arrived; it was that letter which did honour as much to the writer as to the receiver, that letter in which Ritschl, from the correcter tradition of the Ambrosian text, proved that Hermann's ingenious divination, in spite of apparent arbitrariness and audacity, had nevertheless hit upon the right thing,—that it had, in short, in spite of all rational and methodical calculation, celebrated a splendid triumph. What joy on our side, what embarrassed silence on the other!"

organise than Friedrich Ritschl himself. Under this influence not only did the few remaining classical schools in Thuringia and Saxony become the models upon which secondary education in the middle and south of Germany was reformed, but the exclusive character of these older schools was removed[1] and a universal system of educa-

[1] Among these the three most celebrated and influential were Pforta, Meissen, and Grimma. Many of the leaders of the sciences of antiquity and history had been themselves alumni of these celebrated high schools, among them notably Hermann himself and his pupil Fr. Thiersch. The latter undertook the reform of the high school system in Bavaria, and published interesting polemical records on this important side of his own activity. In these he came into conflict with the less exclusively classical system which was being introduced from Berlin in the high schools of Prussia and North Germany. The leader of this movement, himself in later years largely dependent upon Ritschl's advice, was Johannes Schulze (1786-1869), who in 1818 undertook the leadership of higher instruction in the Prussian Ministry under Altenstein, whose right hand in educational matters he remained up to the year 1840. He had himself studied both theology and philology, had been at Halle a member of F. A. Wolf's seminary, and an enthusiastic hearer of Schleiermacher's lectures. His experience was very wide and varied. For some time a teacher himself, as well as a preacher, he possessed to the end of his days an almost "convulsive liveliness" and the capacity of enthusiasm for things and persons. After living in the literary circles at Weimar he came, when called to Berlin, under the influence of Hegel, whose lectures he attended together with other privy councillors, considering that for educational purposes a comprehensive study of philosophy in its latest system was most suitable. "To this end," he says, "I attended, from 1819 to 1821, during two evening hours daily, all Hegel's lectures on Encyclopædia, Logic, Psychology, Philosophy of Law, History of Philosophy, Philosophy of Nature, Philosophy of Art, History, and Religion, and did not shirk the trouble to impress upon myself the contents of all these lectures in carefully elaborated lecture notes. Hegel used to visit me after he lectured, and then, or in the course of a ramble, to enter into my questions." And Schulze specially remarks that Hegel was to him at all times a faithful, wise, and unselfish counsellor in matters of higher instruction. See for further detail and quotations from an enormous literature dealing with the reform of the high schools in Germany, Paulsen's 'History' (*ante*, p. 116 note), 2nd ed., Book 5. According to Paulsen, the Prussian system under Schulze was more liberal in facilitating the entrance into the curricula of the high schools of other than purely classical studies such as Modern Languages, Mathematics, and Natural Sciences. These schools thus formed a transition to the more modern type.

tion introduced for all those whose schooling extended beyond their thirteenth or fourteenth year. One of its most important results is to be found in the complete destruction of that difference of class which clung to the few older and celebrated classical schools. These resembled in some ways the public schools of England, through which class distinctions are still intentionally or unintentionally upheld.[1]

For the moment this subject is for us only of collateral importance, our present object being to follow the critical spirit in its various developments. That, applied to the study of the classical authors, it led to the establishment of a rigid method and a strict discipline was one of its chief recommendations in the eyes of educationalists. This brought about its wide-spread introduction in the learned schools. In the year 1872, thirty-eight headmasters and thirty-six professors were counted as belonging to the school of Ritschl.[2] But at that time the critical spirit

[1] The difference of class which in England is expressed by the term higher and middle class was, through the teaching at the older Fürstenschulen of Saxony, exhibited rather in the distinction between classical and non-classical education; the absence of a thorough knowledge of Latin in reading, writing, and poetical composition being considered by many as equivalent to an absence of real culture. This standard shut out not only the uneducated, the industrial, and the tradesman, but also those who possessed merely literary attainments such as polite learning and proficiency in modern languages.

[2] Of Ritschl's enormous activity and extraordinary personal influence both at Bonn and later in Leipzig, a full account is given in Otto Ribbeck's 'Life of Ritschl' (2 vols., 1879-1881; see especially vol. ii. pp. 42, 299, 408, &c., also the long list of eminent classical scholars who were trained in Ritschl's seminary, p. 560, &c.) A very interesting and spirited picture of Ritschl's personality and influence during the heyday of his career is to be found in the Biography of Fr. Nietzsche by his sister E. Förster-Nietzsche (3 vols., 1895-1904). It is, however, interesting to note that Nietzsche, in spite of his admiration for Ritschl, had some misgivings that the value of the method might be overestimated, and the drift given through it to philology one-sided (see vol. i. p. 282, &c.) His manuscript notes of the year 1868, there quoted, close with the following sentence: "Where may the fructifying power of philology lie so that we may become somewhat reconciled with her and admit that out of all this immense exertion some germs have sprung up? Wherever these studies touch upon something of general human interest. Thus her fairest triumph is comparative linguistic with its philosophical perspective." This is hardly spoken in the spirit of Ritschl himself.

did not rule supreme; by its greatest representatives, and even by those who took the extreme view and opposed the more liberal and vaguer conceptions which grew up in the school of Wolf, criticism was regarded as a means to an end, namely, the reconstruction of the culture of classical antiquity or, in more modest phrase, of the texts and works of the classical authors. Something positive was to be done, something definite was to be attained. The result was that critical labours were very frequently cut short and reconstructions attempted long before the necessary material had been collected or the sifting process carried far enough. The preliminary nature of their constructions was probably not always clear to the minds even of such men as Bentley when he wrote his letters on Phalaris, of Niebuhr in his fanciful reconstruction of early Roman history, or of Ritschl in his rehabilitation of archaic Latin and the text of Plautus. What are now looked upon as merely brilliant examples of method, were to their authors the very aim and object of their studies, and not merely tentative results of subjective criticism and ingenuity.[1] At a much later date, when the histori-

[1] See specially on this point what Wilamowitz says in Lexis, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 472, &c.

The great Niebuhr himself, whose celebrated reconstruction of earlier Roman History made, especially in this country, so great a sensation, but has hardly stood the test of subsequent research (see Wilamowitz, *loc. cit.*, p. 464, also Wachsmuth, 'Einleitung in das Studium der

cal spirit had spread over other fields of research, we find a similar stimulating audacity in the direction of premature and problematical constructions. A notable example is furnished soon after the Darwinian points of view had gained favour, in such works, *e.g.*, as Haeckel's 'Generelle Morphologie' (see *supra*, vol. ii. p. 347, s. 99). If we now ask the question: What was it that stood in the way of the unimpeded march of the critical spirit, what was it that checked and tempered it in its greatest exponents, we may say that it was the influence of those high ideals which lived in the minds of the great heroes of the classical literature of Germany and which, through their original creations, influenced even those more methodical searchers and thinkers who were most inclined to draw a sharp distinction between the highest fruits of academic method and erudition on the one side and the dilettante creations of the purely literary genius on the other.[1]

Alten Geschichte,' 1895, p. 29), had stated already, in the preface to the first edition of his Roman History (1811), that criticism alone was not sufficient. "We must try to separate fiction from falsification, and strain our gaze so as to recognise the lineaments of truth liberated from those retouchings. The removal of the fabulous, the destruction of what is deceiving, may satisfy the critic; he only desires to expose a deceptive story. . . . The historian, however, requires something positive; he must discover at least some probable connection and put a more plausible narrative in the place of that which he has had to sacrifice to his conviction" (quoted by Wachsmuth, *loc. cit.*, p. 28).

[1] See for instance what Niebuhr himself says, in the year 1826, reviewing his early labours after fifteen years (Pref., p. ix):—

"Towards the beginning of the present century a new epoch dawned for our nation. Superficiality nowhere gave satisfaction: empty words, half understood, had no longer any currency: but neither did mere destruction, in which the past age had indulged, satisfy any longer: we strove for definiteness and positive insight, as our ancestors did; but the latter had to be true instead of illusory, like that which had been destroyed. We now possessed a literature worthy of our nation and language; we had Lessing and Goethe; and this literature comprised, what no other literature had done, a large portion of that of the Greeks and

36. Ritschl and Liebig compared.

We may compare the philological seminary of Heyne and Wolf, of Hermann and Ritschl, in the great influence which it had upon all humanistic studies, with the corresponding influence which the chemical laboratory of Liebig at Giessen had upon scientific research. In many ways also the personal influence and activity of Ritschl resembled that of Liebig; both were masterful personalities; sovereign minds, capable and desirous of exerting a commanding influence; both were masters of method, which they perfected if they did not create it; both were led by ideal aims and opened out large fields of research, which required the co-operation of many talented pupils whom they inspired; both had also an eye for the practical application of their theoretical ideas: Liebig showed this through the emphasis he laid upon the economic value of the researches which he led, Ritschl in the reform which the instruction at the universities underwent through the labours of his pupils and through his talent of organisation which he also manifested in various other directions; both also showed unmistakably an intolerance of mediocre work, an impatience with mercenary labours and the *βανανσία* of the scientific or literary tradesman. Their influence upon the highest university training in Germany cannot be overestimated, but it was also unique and cannot be

Romans, not in the way of imitation but as a second creation. For this Germany is indebted to Voss, whom 'the grandson's child and grandchild' must praise as a benefactor: from whom starts a new era for the understanding of antiquity; for he knew how to discover in the classical authors themselves what they took for granted, such as their notions of their gods and the earth, their life and household; he understood and interpreted Homer and Virgil as if they were distant contemporaries separated from us only in space. His example acted on many, on me from early childhood, as indeed did also the personal encouragement of this paternal guest."

repeated. It was a product of the idealism of the age, and it led itself to developments which superseded it. The educational work commenced by Liebig has been used more and more for commercial and industrial purposes. We shall now see what was the fate of the critical methods perfected and used with signal success by Ritschl. It has been truly said that the refined dialectic which is to be found, *inter alia*, in Ritschl's Parerga, is not a monopoly of classical philology; Lachmann, *e.g.*, who handled this art in a masterly manner, edited not only the works of Lucretius but also old German manuscripts, as well as the works of Lessing; in fact, "every editor must handle this method whatever be the language of his text. Although therefore the ancient texts make peculiarly complicated demands upon the editor, philology, if confined to criticism of texts, ceases to be necessarily tied to classical antiquity. The view that it should be so is untenable though historically intelligible."[1] Accordingly the methods of Hermann and Ritschl, which were matured whilst dealing with classical texts, have been introduced into all the modern branches of philology, notably at the German universities. We have there Germanic, English, Romance, Oriental, Indian, and other philologies.[2] The rapid widening of

37. Extension of methods from classical to other branches of philology.

[1] Wilamowitz, *loc. cit.*, p. 472.

[2] A very interesting and comprehensive account of the gradual growth of these other philologies, of the diffusion of criticism over the whole study of languages, literature, and antiquities all over the globe, will be found in the second volume of Lexis, pp. 475-549. There the reader will also find what an important part the University of Göttingen played in these studies, which belong almost exclusively to the nineteenth century: also the connection through Göttingen teachers, notably through Heyne, with English literature is well brought out. See especially Professor Brandl's report on "English Philology at the German Universities."

the circle of studies—which Ritschl and others viewed not without apprehension that the method might suffer—was assisted by the much larger circle of interests which from the beginning characterised the programme of F. A. Wolf. The multitude of problems involved in the vast study of antiquity, which embraced archæology, history of ancient art, palæography, the study of ancient commerce, industry, and administration, &c., counteracted in many instances that concentration of talent and ingenuity upon which the older criticism of texts prided itself so much. The enormous material had a tendency to lead to that kind of erudition which was represented in earlier ages by the great French school of philologists of which Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) was considered the most prominent representative, but it also encouraged premature generalisations with the legitimate desire to grasp the vast material and to bring some kind of unity into studies which would otherwise have fallen asunder. A similar influence came from an entirely different quarter, mainly through the growth of comparative philology. This can be said to take its beginning with the introduction of the study of Sanscrit. It is marked by the appearance, in the year 1816, of F. Bopp's work, 'On the System of Conjugation of Sanscrit compared with that of the Greek, Latin, Persian, and Germanic Languages.' In the year 1819 Jacob Grimm published at Göttingen the first part of his German Grammar. A. F. Pott's etymological researches followed in 1833, Benfey's Grecian Root-lexicon in 1839. But the first to utilise these researches for the purposes of class-

38. Bopp and Grimm.

ical philology and to establish a connection between the latter and comparative philology was Georg Curtius (1820-85), whose influence as teacher equalled that of the great classical masters, and whose Greek Grammar has become a standard educational work in this country as well as abroad.

39. Extension to historical studies.

The philological seminary with its characteristic feature of textual and higher criticism was in the course of the century imitated by similar institutions in other departments of learning. Such were the historical studies, in the narrower sense of the word, within which the academic influence, but also the exclusiveness, of Georg Waitz is prominent. In jurisprudence, *i.e.*, in the law faculty, these seminaries with their exegetical exercises were introduced in the middle of the century, first at Halle; they exist now at nearly all the German universities. In the departments which deal with economics, statistics, and administration, the first seminary was started at the University of Jena in 1849. Since that time they have become very general. There are also archæological, philosophical, and even art seminaries. The work in these institutions or training schools is more defined and severe in proportion as the subjects they deal with are themselves circumscribed, or as a definite, practical end and aim exists for which the pupil is to be trained. Such is the case in the study of law, and in some branches of those sciences which in Germany are comprised under the name of "Staatswissenschaften." In other departments, such notably as history and philosophy, where neither of these two features is well-

marked, the introduction of a strict system is more difficult. Criticism with its defined methods is there limited almost entirely to the study and emendation of manuscripts and texts and to interpretation of authors and documents, *i.e.*, to an introduction of those exercises which form the groundwork in the older philological seminaries. In the same degree as it has been found necessary to extend the field of research beyond the precincts of the universities, the rigid application of critical methods has relaxed. In many instances the work of specialists and practical experts, of explorers and travellers, of untrained amateurs with the assistance of large capital, has accumulated, at random, such an enormous amount of new material, usually out of the reach of the academic teacher, that the process, as it were, of digestion, of critical arrangement and sifting, has hardly begun. In the light of these vast and overwhelming discoveries, the results of earlier scholars and students who worked in a restricted area with small means and scanty material appear naturally insignificant and immature. Conclusions which they drew with much confidence from narrow premises and insufficient data have been disproved; whilst conjectures which at one time appeared fantastic and were ridiculed by men of the school have unexpectedly turned out to be true. All this has tended to bring the critical methods, or what is now called higher criticism, into some discredit, as a line of research which has no finality, and succeeds only in matters of detail; or, where larger problems are at stake, only by the aid of leading ideas and commanding points

of view which have themselves outrun criticism, being the spontaneous outcome of the inspired and divining genius.

This has notably been the case in the treatment of larger historical subjects, and is probably the reason why the historical literature of Germany till within recent times cannot be compared with that of France and of Great Britain. It is only since the time of Niebuhr, who was followed by Ranke and his school, that Germany has produced historians who have had great influence outside of Germany: this reputation rests not so much and perhaps not mainly upon the critical preparation of the material with which they dealt, as upon the general aspects from which their histories were written. These were not gained exclusively through critical studies, but were imported, as it were, from outside and combined with vast erudition, which itself was acquired through academic training. To mention only a few examples: Fr. Chr. Schlosser (1776-1861) wrote the history of a period, the eighteenth century, from a philosophical point of view. He was one of the first who, on a large scale, showed the connection and mutual influence of politics and literature as it characterises the period of enlightenment, the philosophical century. Schlosser's point of view was adopted and enlarged by his disciple G. G. Gervinus, who was the first to conceive the idea of writing the history of the poetical genius of a nation, treating of the same in its spontaneous development and its dependence upon external conditions: a conception which could only have grown up under the inspiration

40. Broader view of history since Niebuhr.

of Lessing, Herder, and the classical literature of the beginning of the nineteenth century. The greatest example of the fruit of German erudition and philological criticism in union with the large philosophical aspects which the first third of the century produced were the historical works of Leopold von Ranke, beginning with his 'History of the Popes' and continued through his 'German History at the Time of the Reformation' and his 'French and English Histories' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In these works Ranke dealt, from a universal point of view, with the great political, literary, and religious agencies which were at work in the formation of modern Europe. No other historian of modern times had shown so much combined erudition and critical acumen in handling the enormous volume of documentary evidence which became accessible when the archives of Europe were for the first time opened. But this alone would not — as Ranke himself admitted — have sufficed to found and secure his reputation, had it not been for the art of historiography which he possessed. The artistic side did not suffer, as it did in many other German historians, by the weight of material on the one side or by abstract philosophical reflections on the other.[1]

41. Leopold von Ranke.

[1] A great deal has been written not only in Germany but also in other countries concerning the real methods of Niebuhr as well as quite recently on the "Ideas" of Ranke. What was in both a result of artistic genius and insight has now to be dissected and analysed as biologists have endeavoured to find out and define the principle of life by dissecting and analysing living organisms. In both cases the living principle disappears under the hands of the critic, as, indeed, it was not produced by synthesis. So far as Niebuhr is concerned, his views regarding early Roman history have been criticised and discussed in this country—where he produced quite as great an impression as in Germany—notably by Sir George Cornewall Lewis in his 'Enquiry into the Credibility of Early Roman History.' Among recent German writers we find, *e.g.*, the statement that the

How little the standpoint and the methods of pure criticism are able to deal with larger historical subjects is nowhere more visible than if we consider two historical works which have had a considerable influence and reputation outside of Germany; they themselves differ from each other greatly in their general character and in the historical conception of their authors. These two works are Theodor Mommsen's 'Roman History' and Ernst Curtius' 'Greek History.' I will deal first with the latter. Ernst Curtius (1814-96) was brought up under the influence of that conception of the task of philology which had been elaborated in the school of F. A. Wolf mainly by Böckh (1785-1867), Welcker (1784-1868), and Otfried Müller (1797-1840). The life-plan of the latter, to write a comprehensive history

42. Ernst Curtius.

whole of Niebuhr's conception regarding the sources of the Republican History of Rome "can, of course, not really be proved, but that it is supported by the analogy of German and Italian Chronicles, the development of the Florentine Chronicles especially serving as an example" (Wachsmuth, *loc. cit.*, p. 30). And Wilamowitz (in Lexis, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 464) says: "Niebuhr's greatness lay, certainly not in his Roman History, which he did not continue beyond the age about which no real history can be written; it lay rather in this that he, for the first time, carried in his mind a comprehensive picture of the history of the old world, which, in spite of all the casualty of reports preserved or lost, he formed for himself out of the large connections of events and political forces." The same writer refers also to the overwhelming impression which must have been produced by his Lectures on Ancient History at Bonn, where he exchanged the activity of statesmanship and diplomacy for that of a professorial chair. But Richard Garnett tells us ('Encyclopædia Britannica,' 9th ed., p. 493) that the notes of Niebuhr's Lectures on Ancient History and Geography "disappointed expectation," and "would not of themselves have made a great reputation." As to Ranke, I shall, in a later chapter, have an opportunity of dealing with the school of historiography which has arisen in Germany in opposition to what is termed the school of Ranke; here it may suffice to refer the reader to the careful analysis of Ranke's method in O. Lorenz's 'Die Geschichtswissenschaft,' vol. ii., 1891; also the Articles by W. Freytag on Ranke's 'Conception of History' in the 'Archiv für Systematische Philosophie,' vol. vi. p. 129, &c.; p. 311, &c.

of Greece, was, owing to his premature death whilst on a visit to that country itself, frustrated, only preliminary studies on the 'History of Hellenic Tribes and Places' having been published.[1] But this plan was to some extent carried out in later years by his friend and pupil Curtius, who was the first German historian after Niebuhr to qualify himself for his task by spending a considerable time away from the books and lecture-room of the professor, on the very scenes where the great events which he was narrating had taken place. In this respect he may be compared with A. von Humboldt (1769-1859) and Carl Ritter (1779-1859), who both in a peculiar and original manner did more than any other of their contemporaries to widen the horizon of the man of science as well as that of the historian.[2] During his

[1] Vol. i., 'Orchomenos' (1820), vol. ii., 'The Dorians' (1824)—Eng. trans.

[2] Ernst Curtius occupies a unique position, as he was not only a historian and an archæologist, but belonged to that small number of scholars who combine with their scholarship a poetical and artistic comprehension of the totality of the subject they treat. It is remarkable that his important description of the Morea ('Peloponnesus,' a historico-geographical description of the Peninsula, 2 vols., 1851-52), which is considered to be his greatest work, is little known, having been out of print for many years. In it he connects himself with writers of an entirely different order, such as Georg Forster, A. von Humboldt, and Carl Ritter in Germany, in whom the descriptive view and the artistic conception of nature and landscape is much more developed than the critical. Through this rare mental gift he stands in close relationship to many British travellers, notably to William Martin Leake (1777-1860), who on his military and diplomatic visits to Turkey, Greece, and Egypt during the early part of the century had gathered a large amount of topographical and antiquarian knowledge which he published in a series of Works on Athens (1821), Asia Minor (1824), the Morea (1830), and Northern Greece (1835). Of him Curtius himself says ('Alterthum und Gegenwart,' vol. ii. p. 319): "William Leake occupies in the history of science, indeed we may say of modern civilisation, an important position, which deserves so much more acknowledgment as the man himself was so modest and unassuming in his work. But we dwell with peculiar interest on such scholarly endeavours as stand apparently in no connection with the labours of others; which originated through accidental circum-

lengthened residence in Athens and his travels all over Greece and the Grecian Archipelago, as also through his subsequent repeated visits to these countries, Curtius formed for himself a vivid picture of the topographical, geographical, and ethnographical characteristics of the Grecian landscape, of the soil, the climate, and the localities that produced the different Grecian races which together formed Ancient Greece with its different centres of civilisation, in Sparta, Asia Minor, and Athens, in Olympia and Delphi. From this comprehensive point of view which had been prepared by some of the English historians and travellers, and which was entirely in the spirit of his teacher, Otfried Müller,[1] Curtius undertook

stances, but stand, nevertheless, in a large historical connection, and arose, as it were, with a certain necessity. . . . He devoted his life to the rediscovery of the Old World, which has its history quite as much as the discovery of the New World, and for which Leake was the true Columbus. . . . He is an intellectual relative of Rawlinson, Layard, Sir Charles Fellowes, who have rediscovered whole worlds of ancient culture, and if England may be proud of anything, it is of the fact that whilst on the Continent the devastating spirit of the Revolution was still dominant, there a high-minded and enlightened enthusiasm for Grecian art had captured the first intellects of the nation."

[1] As also of Carl Ritter, who, together with his more celebrated contemporary, A. von Humboldt, established what I have termed the panoramic view of nature. He is considered to be the greatest geographer the nineteenth century has produced. If Humboldt's view of nature was essentially cosmical, Ritter's was more strictly confined to the terrestrial aspect. "The last and highest truths of the geographical sciences find expression in the recognition that the formation of the surface of the earth and the difference of climate depending thereon have governed the development of our species and defined the changing homes of human culture in such a way that a glance at the terrestrial landscape leads us to see in the distribution of land and water, of plains and heights, a definite—we might say an intentionally prescribed—course of human affairs. Since Strabo, down to our century, nobody approached these deep secrets. Besides the many thoughtful ideas which A. von Humboldt expressed or suggested, the greatest revelations have come from the mouth of Carl Ritter, of whom we may well say that he has put a soul into our natural knowledge of the earth, that he, for the first time, suspected in the aspect of the different continents, which he termed the great individuals of the earth, secretly active personalities, or that he at least traced their activities in the

to write the history of Greece down to the end of the classical period. It is an artistic conception, born in the mind of a poetical nature, and it is embodied in language the beauty of which has few rivals in modern German prose literature. Details of this poetical conception, which may be compared with that of a great landscape painter, had been given to the world in Curtius' earliest work on the Peloponnesus, and were subsequently further elaborated in a series of addresses which he, as "professor eloquentiæ," delivered at Göttingen and Berlin. There, with the touch of an artist, he showed the finer mouldings of the Grecian mind as it appeared to a loving and enthusiastic admirer of the noble side of Grecian culture. That such a work as

history of the human race" (O. Peschel, 'Geschichte der Erdkunde,' 2nd ed., Munich, 1877, p. 16, &c.) "He revealed to us that the ancient world, in which all continental phenomena appear sharpened, exhibits more powerful outlines than the New World, which is poor in contrast, like all creatures of the ocean, for water, he remarks, removes individuality. Europe, on the other side, slim and delicately formed, with stretching out members and deep penetrating water-courses, appears as a continent with higher organisation, as a thoughtfully planned nursery of human society" (Ibid., p. 812). Ideas similar to these lived in the mind of Ernst Curtius. With Ritter he had also in common the religious point of view; for the method of the latter "did not lie," as he himself says, "in the truth of a logical notion but in the totality of all truths, *i.e.*, in the domain of faith. It rests on an inner intuition which is formed during his life in nature and the human world" (Bögekamp, 'Karl Ritter,' 1860, p. 8). If Curtius, on the one side, assimilates much of Ritter's conception, on the other side he had also a full appreciation of that artistic and poetical view which the study of the ancient world of Greece had produced in many of the leading thinkers of the classical period, and which found expression in a transient phase of Schelling's philosophy. Though Curtius had as little sympathy with the logical systems of contemporary speculation on the one hand as he had with extreme criticism on the other, he nevertheless admired Schelling's view as laid down, *e.g.*, in his celebrated Discourse (1807) "On the Relation of the Plastic Arts to Nature." We may also trace an intellectual kinship between Curtius and a thinker of a very different order, the eminent naturalist, Karl Ernst von Baer, for some of whose writings Curtius expressed much appreciation.

that of Curtius could not have come out of the school of Hermann or Ritschl is evident. Those who represented the ideals of that school had ample occasion to find fault with the want of erudition and critical acumen, which—it goes without saying—can never be great and deep enough in any historian. Some of Curtius' favourite theories, notably those referring to prehistoric times, were put down as fanciful and premature, but we may now ask, were the constructions of David Strauss in his 'Life of Jesus,' nay, even the views of Niebuhr, less so? Subsequent scholars have disposed of the constructions of the two last-named authors, whilst many of the ideas of Curtius may still await the final verdict of the archæologist.

The historical labours of Curtius must convince us how little the purely critical process could have produced such work. For an explanation of Curtius' literary genius we have to look to the traditions and inspirations of the classical age of German literature. The work of Mommsen introduces us to entirely different courses of thought, which crossed and intermingled with the methods of the criticism of texts and documents. In order to bring unity into his view of Roman history, Mommsen started from that bequest of Roman civilisation which has, especially in Germany, exerted the greatest influence on modern life and society: the great edifice of Roman law. This had been a favourite study at the German universities, where it formed, alongside of purely philological, and later on of mathematical studies, one of the principal subjects of mental discipline.

43. Theod. Mommsen.

The foundation of Mommsen's Roman History was

prepared by him in two great undertakings which occupied him during the larger part of his life, and which, from a learned point of view, will probably entitle him to greater and more lasting renown than the history, which he wrote at the request of a prominent Berlin publisher. This formed, together with Curtius' 'History of Greece' and some other text-books and editions of classical authors, the first attempt to put before the educated public the results of learned labours in a popular and attractive form. The two lines of study referred to resulted in the publication of his work on 'Roman Constitutional Law,' and in his edition of the 'Latin Inscriptions.' As stated above, Roman law, as the foundation of the Roman State, formed for Mommsen the key to Roman history. But there was another influence which formed the background of his historical conceptions. This was the peculiar position which he took up with regard to the political events of his time. Political views had already, before his time, played a great part in German historiography. In most cases, however, a strong political bias, exhibited in favour of or against the existing *régime* and generated under the influence of the startling events which followed the great French Revolution all through the nineteenth century, sufficed to place their authors outside of the pale of genuine scholarship, which should be founded on the unbiassed results of historical criticism. Ranke had kept singularly aloof from the politics of the day; his works really grew up on the older foundation of the idealism of the first third of the nineteenth century to which I have so often referred. Mommsen was probably

44. Political temper in Mommsen.

the first great German historian in whom an unrivalled mastership in the critical methods and an unparalleled erudition was mingled with the modern political temper.[1] He had lived through the great political crisis of the middle of the century which had swept away all the older landmarks, many of the great aspirations of the earlier period, and also that religious spirit which—in an unconfessional and unorthodox form—lived in the great heroes of the classical epoch and in those who were inspired by them.

In the General Introduction to this work I have used the word Religion as denoting what is to us of the deepest personal concern, our innermost faith and convictions, finding expression in individual subjective thought; not infrequently also in poetic or artistic creation. In this sense I may now refer to that

[1] "In Mommsen's Work the whole receives a peculiarly vivid colouring which evidently stands in connection with the political mood which recent experiences had produced in many patriotic minds. The 'Ideologues' are ridiculed with caustic bitterness, and again and again we are told with an impetuous accent that only those can count on a statesmanlike influence who understand how to calculate calmly and to utilise existing political forces. Conspicuous is the contrast with the solemn gravity and the old-fashioned stiffness of what has been called 'dignity of historic style' . . .: men and things are conceived with fresh immediateness and brought out with drastic vivacity. In particular the active persons are not mere shadows, but are full of pulsating freshness of life. . . . In all this the polemical tendency which pervades the whole work makes itself felt with an energy characteristic of an opposition based upon fundamental principles. . . . The political estimate of the whole development of the Roman Republic in its different phases produces everywhere original and suggestive points of view; . . . the defects of the republican constitution are pointed out; the events of the last century are placed in quite a new light as preparatory to the military monarchism of Cæsar; the importance of which is pictured with evident preference. . . . The educated public in Germany which had lost nearly all interest in home labours referring to the ancient world was won with one stroke for Roman history" (Wachsmuth, 'Einleitung,' &c., p. 48 *sqq.*)

influence which tempered criticism in all its greater exponents during the first half of the century in Germany as the religious or spiritual influence of German idealism. I emphasise again that I do not limit the term "religion" by any strict dogmatic or confessional, by any orthodox or rationalistic definition. From this background of a religious conviction which found its expression sometimes in traditional forms, more frequently in poetical or philosophical rendering, historical criticism in Germany liberated itself more and more through and after the revolutionary crisis of the middle of the century. From that time the religious influence loses its tempering and controlling effect. Inasmuch, however, as criticism alone is not sufficient to lead to any definite results or any positive view in any extensive department of learning, other influences had gained ground, of which the political, the naturalistic, and the industrial are the most prominent. In no department of knowledge which, through the great battle of free inquiry with tradition, was rescued during the first half of the century from the control of inherited views, have these modern influences shown themselves more prominently than among recent German historians. To follow this up is not my present task; for it would be necessary to enter in greater completeness and detail into the development of German historiography,[1] which, as has been said, begins to be of

45. Liberation of historical criticism from religious influence.

[1] Readers who are interested in this will find full information in F. X. von Wegele, 'Geschichte der Deutschen Historiographie' (1885, p. 975 to end); in O. Lorenz, 'Die Geschichtswissenschaft' (2 vols., 1886-91); in the chapter on "Mediæval and Modern Historiography at the German Universities," by Theodor Lindner (Lexis, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 549 *sqq.*); and lastly, in Ernst Bernheim, 'Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode' (1st ed., 1889; 6th ed., 1908).

general European interest only in the third decade of the century.[1] For the History of European Thought it is important, but also sufficient, to show how the critical spirit entered more and more into regions of research and learning which, before that time, were cultivated without the conscious application of any definite method. To do this I have, as it were, merely sampled an enormous material, having dealt with a few prominent representatives—such as Niebuhr and Ranke, Ritschl and Mommsen—who are now recognised by authorities all over Western Europe, or with others—such as Carl Ritter and Ernst Curtius—who exhibit what is peculiarly characteristic and unique among the contributions of the German mind to this department of European thought.

In one of the later chapters of this section I shall have an opportunity of showing how philosophical criticism has latterly approached, among other subjects, the historical problem also from a different side, having been led to deal with it as one of the principal aspects of a much larger question, of what I have termed "the problem of society."

III.

As stated above, we may trace back philosophical criticism, or criticism par excellence, to the writings of Kant. They appeared somewhat later than those of Lessing, whom we have regarded as the first representative in Germany of that critical movement which,

[1] By Lord Acton, in the 'English Historical Review,' vol. i. p. 7.

in the form of literary, philological, and historical criticism, permeated, and ultimately dominated, the scholarly literature of that country. One of the first fruits of that other and independent line of thought which we trace back to Kant was the appearance in the year 1791 of Fichte's anonymously published 'Criticism of Revelation.' It created such a stir that it was in the beginning taken for a work of Kant himself. It was followed, in the year 1793, by Kant's work, entitled 'Religion within the Limits of Pure Reason.' In these writings, as also in those of many other followers of Kant and Fichte, an idea was more systematically worked out, which we find already in Lessing, and in a vaguer form in Herder: the idea of regarding religion in its historical development, and especially revealed religion, as an educational process, which, under Divine guidance, has led mankind on to a purer morality and a more spiritual life. This idea was worked out from various points of view, more or less poetically, intellectually, ethically, or spiritually, according to the personal bias and tastes of different writers. From the position taken up in this respect by Lessing, Herder, Kant, and Fichte, the way could easily be found into all shades of orthodoxy or rationalism, of deism or supernaturalism, of theism or pantheism, of a prosaic moralising or a poetical idealisation.

46. First application of criticism to religion by Fichte and Kant.

As history has shown, none of these ways remained untrodden,[1] so great was the perplexity in which thinkers found themselves involved, so great the desire

[1] This is fully brought out in the 'History of Protestant Theology in Germany' by J. A. Dorner (Eng. trans. by Robson and Taylor, 1871), see vol. ii. pp. 293-344, and especially the retrospect, pp. 345-47.

to find a way out of it.[1] It is therefore not surprising to see how other courses of thought which bore on the same subject were hailed with interest or with enthusiasm as they presented themselves about the same time, *i.e.*, at the end of the eighteenth century. Among these must be mentioned, as perhaps the most important and fruitful, the appearance of Schleiermacher's 'Religious Discourses' (1799). These discourses were published with a significant sub-title, as addressed to the "educated among the despisers" of religion. It is not my intention to enter now into an adequate consideration of Schleiermacher's views, which will occupy us fully on a future occasion, as they mark probably the most important attempt during a long period to get out of

47. Schleiermacher's Religious Discourses.

[1] This perplexity is well brought out by Reinhold in his 'Letters on the Kantian Philosophy,' which appeared in two volumes in 1790 and 1792. They are admirably analysed in Kuno Fischer's work on 'Fichte and his Predecessors,' which forms the fifth volume of his 'History of Modern Philosophy' (see especially p. 54, &c.) Kant started in his first 'Critique' with a purely logical problem which he expressed in the abstract question: How are synthetical judgments *a priori* possible? His answer to this question was partly logical, partly psychological. A strictly scientific examination of the solution he gave belongs, as I stated above (p. 125), to a much later period, when both logic and psychology had been much further developed. Kant's age was hardly prepared to give an exhaustive and satisfactory reply; but the abstract question presented itself to that age in various concrete forms which were intelligible to the reasoning of a much larger circle of educated persons. Among these, three problems stand out most prominently: 1. How is scientific knowledge possible? 2. How is morality or moral obligation possible? 3. How is religion possible? That scientific knowledge did exist — notably mathematics and natural philosophy — there was no doubt; that a moral code must exist, and that this is closely connected with a higher or spiritual view of things, was not denied,—neither by such destructive sceptics as Voltaire in France, nor hardly even by such radical thinkers as David Hume in England. The more practical forms in which the abstract question of Kant presented itself, the desire to have a philosophy which made it intelligible how science (presupposing a natural order), a supreme law of conduct (presupposing a moral order), and religious belief could exist together and in harmony, appealed at once to the age in which Kant lived.

the purely critical position. In this connection, where I am occupied in following the movements of the critical spirit, it is important to note that these addresses put into the foreground a new problem which lent itself as much to philosophical as to historical treatment. It is characterised by the endeavour, already latent in F. H. Jacobi's writings, to look upon religion from a psychological point of view. All the many attempts to investigate and define the place which belongs to religion in the life of the human soul, individually or socially, down to such recent writings as those of F. B. Jevons, William James, and Wilhelm Wundt, can be traced to their beginnings in the work of Schleiermacher.[1] Religion was there looked upon as a psychological phenomenon, and it is only in proportion to the culture of psychological studies themselves—which constitute a principal feature of nineteenth century thought—that the problem of Schleiermacher has been seriously attacked.

48. Criticism of religious origins.

But there is another movement of thought which had grown ever since the middle of the eighteenth century, and which was represented at the University of Göt-

[1] The books written in Germany with titles such as 'Das Wesen der Religion,' or 'Das Wesen des Christenthums,' have been legion. They are much rarer in the French and English languages. In the latter Dr F. B. Jevons' 'Introduction to the History of Religion' (1896) deserves special notice, as does also the late Prof. Wm. James' 'Varieties of Religious Experience' (Gifford Lectures, Edinburgh, 1901-2). Both these books have received much attention also in German literature. The latter work is purely psychological, with a strong leaning towards modern physiological psychology. Unfortunately "a later work" which was promised, and which would have dealt more exhaustively with the author's own views, has not been published. On the other side Dr Jevons' book deals more with that side of religion upon which anthropological psychology has thrown some light. Prof. Wundt's large work on 'Anthropology' ('Völkerpsychologie,' vol. i. 1900, further vols. 1905 and 1909) is still incomplete.

tingen by the writings of the Orientalist J. D. Michaelis (1717-91), and more prominently by Eichhorn, whom I mentioned above, as being, alongside of Heyne and Wolf, one of the principal leaders in historical criticism. The vaguer attacks which had been made all through the eighteenth century, both in England and notably by Voltaire in France, upon the historical books of the Old Testament and the truthfulness of the Mosaic records, received a more tangible form and a definite starting-point through the anonymous publication in 1753 of a work entitled 'Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il parait que Moyse s'est servi pour composer la Genèse.' The book was written by a French physician, Jean Astruc (1684-1766), otherwise well known through a variety of medical works. Eichhorn at Göttingen was the first to draw attention to Astruc's important discovery of the twofold name under which the Divine Being is introduced into the Mosaic records—viz., alternately as Jehovah and Elohim. This discovery the author had made use of to demonstrate the twofold origin of the sacred histories, and to separate them into two records, which partly agreed and partly differed from each other. The most important work in which Eichhorn made the beginning of what is now called Old Testament exegesis was his 'Introduction to the Old Testament,' which appeared from 1780 up to 1824 in four editions, latterly in five volumes.[1] In this

49. Eichhorn as successor of Astruc.

[1] With Eichhorn "the interest in these (Old Testament) studies is only to a small extent theological, nay, hardly even religious, but almost exclusively archæological, literary, and critical. The contributions towards a comprehension of the antiquities of the Bible as they could be gathered from the manners and customs of the present Orient appear here as the principal thing." Also in the study of the Mosaic records following Astruc, criticism "has so little notion of the prevailing spirit which is to be found also in apparently heterogeneous portions that it sees the solution of the problem in accepting a number of unconnected and irreconcilable fragments" (E. Krautsch in Lexis, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 181). It is interesting to note that from the Göttingen school, and especially from Michaelis, emanated the plan of exploring the countries of the East in the interest of theological science. This led to such travels as those of the elder Niebuhr and others which were supported by the Danish Government.

[1] Siegfried in 'Deutsche Biographie.'

work, which exerted a great influence all through the century on biblical studies abroad, he is considered as having, for the first time, assumed the truly scientific position in the larger sense of the word, having applied "the principles of philological and historical criticism, the use of which he had learnt under Heyne in the domain of archæology, to the study of the Old Testament."[1] This beginning of biblical criticism, which was not applied methodically to the books of the New Testament till much later, had for a considerable time but little influence upon religious, theological, or even philosophical thought, which was rather under the influence of the purely philosophical writings mentioned above or of the poetical views elaborated by Herder.[2] Appar-

[2] In this connection it is important to draw attention to Herder's relations to Göttingen, especially to Eichhorn, and how he and the latter represent two sides of biblical study, the poetical and literary on the one side, the critical and archæological on the other. That Herder himself recognised the difference is evident from his correspondence with Eichhorn, and is fully dealt with in R. Haym, 'Herder,' 2 vols., 1880-85 (see vol. ii. p. 166 *sqq.*) Herder's most important work in this direction was that on the 'Spirit of Hebrew Poetry' (1782). Although, as is stated in the Preface, the position taken up is original, it was no doubt to a considerable extent suggested by an English writer whom Michaelis in Göttingen had brought prominently before the German literary world, namely, Robert Lowth (1710-87), Bishop of London, who, as Professor of Poetry at Oxford (1741), delivered 'Prælectiones Academicæ de Sacra Poesi Hebræorum.' These were published in Latin in 1753. A second edition appeared in 1763, and was republished at Göttingen, with Notes by Michaelis in 1770, and translated, with the Notes, into English by G. Gregory (1787). Though Lowth is now recognised as one of the pioneers in the

ently Schleiermacher was the first to come under the influence of both movements and to give to them a new and original expression.

Through the doubts which he threw out regarding the authenticity of the First Epistle to Timothy (1807), he has been considered to have inaugurated a new line of criticism—viz., the literary criticism of the books of the New Testament. It is not unlikely that he would have occupied in critical theology the position which he himself aimed at, doing for theology what Kant had done for philosophy, had it not been that the interest of religious thinkers was attracted in a different direction. This came from the side of the Hegelian philosophy,[1] which for a time kept theological speculation spell-bound. It was only after the fascination which Hegel exercised on many minds was removed, and many expectations had been disappointed, that the influence of Schleiermacher made itself felt in wider circles. The change, which amounted almost to a crisis, in German theology, was brought about in the year 1835 by the publication of D. Fr. Strauss's (1808-74) 'Life of Jesus.' This work furnishes another proof of the correctness of a remark I have had frequent occasion to make, how little the higher criticism alone is capable of dealing in a comprehensive manner with any large subject or any great problem; how necessary it is to import the

50. Influence of Hegel.

51. David F. Strauss.

literary and critical study of the Old Testament, the impression he made abroad was much greater than in England. Together with Macpherson's 'Ossian' and the 'Percy Ballads,' he had a very important influence upon German literature.

[1] It is interesting to note that the year in which Schleiermacher published the critical investigation mentioned in the text was also the year which brought forth Hegel's first great work, the 'Phenomenology of Mind.'

unifying principle from some other region of thought. In the case of Strauss's work, the larger aspect was gained under the influence of the philosophy of Hegel, which has had such a dominant influence, consciously or unconsciously, and for good or for evil, upon so many other prominent students of history. Strauss, who was brought up in the narrow surroundings and contracted views of the Tübingen theological training-school, went for the completion of his studies to Berlin, where he came under the influence of both Hegel and Schleiermacher, two luminaries of the first magnitude, who moved in separate orbits.[1] Thus it came about that the

[1] A great deal has been written upon the distinct and very different positions which were prepared and represented respectively by Hegel and Schleiermacher in German thought, and especially in German theology. For a long time the importance of Schleiermacher as a philosopher was neglected in favour of his theological influence. This was owing, to a large extent, to the fact that he published no works on pure philosophy, and that his position, so far as the latter is concerned, was known only through his oral teaching and to a small number of philosophers, among whom Brandis and Ritter are conspicuous, and spread into wider circles only through the posthumous publication of his Lectures. The principal reason, however, must be found in this, that Hegel absorbed all philosophical interest, and that even after this interest had gradually almost disappeared, nevertheless nearly all historians of modern philosophy belonged to the school of Hegel and were inspired by him; the historical labours in Schleiermacher's school being mostly directed to ancient and mediæval speculation. "Schleiermacher was infinitely different from Hegel in his personality as well as in his teaching. The two never stood in close connection though they were placed so near to each other in their common activity at the newly founded University of Berlin, the centre of German scholarship, from which at that time an unparalleled fructifying power spread over the whole of recently liberated Germany. Among the first minds of the nation, which were here assembled, these two men stood in the first rank. But they came in contact only to repel each other; a deep-seated antipathy filled them to the last. Strauss somewhere compared two theologians, Daub and Schleiermacher, in the radical difference of their character, with Homer's heroes, Ajax and Ulysses. Perhaps this comparison might with the same right be applied to Hegel and Schleiermacher. For as Hegel's peculiarity was substantial thoroughness, which penetrated into the last ground of things, into the unexplored depths of the Universe; so, on the other side,

categories of Hegel's metaphysics were applied in the mind of Strauss to the theological subjects which were dealt with in Schleiermacher's lectures.[1] From Hegel Strauss adopted the speculative principle of his work. This may be variously expressed. For Strauss it took the form of the immanence of the Divine Spirit in the world. This signifies that the Divine Spirit works in the world from inside, not from outside, that its activity is orderly, continuous, and connected, excluding everything that is miraculous as an external influence, as a casual interference or interruption. How this idea was worked out by the interpretation of the gospel records as mythical creations, and how the whole conception was upheld by a formidable array of critical and exegetical erudition, need not occupy us at the moment. It is sufficient to emphasise the fact that it was by no means a sober, critical investigation, but rather a speculative construction, under the sanction of the canons of Hegel's philosophy, which made Strauss celebrated; perhaps also not less the fact that what appeared abstruse and unintelligible in Hegel was set out and

Schleiermacher was in life and learning the representative of subjectivity, the man of the most restless mobility, of biting wit, as well as easily stirred feeling. There was in him a wonderful elasticity and agility of mind. . . . To state it concisely, there was in him a rare combination of deep and sublime religious feeling, of mysticism, in the best sense of the word, and of an intensely mobile logical intellect" (see Carl Schwarz, 'Zur Geschichte der Neuesten Theologie,' 3rd ed., 1864, p. 29, &c.)

[1] Notably to the 'Life of Jesus,' on which subject "Schleiermacher was the first to deliver lectures full of dissolvent scepticism and with great power of combination. Principally in order to hear them David Strauss—then a lecturer on theology—went in 1831 from Tübingen to Berlin. They gave him the strongest impulse to his later destructive work" (Ibid., p. 28).

applied in a lucid form and in elegant language by his pupil.[1]

The effect of Strauss's work was enormous, and not less so because the conclusions he came to were premature. To the more sober-minded, who were aware how in many instances Strauss had forestalled

[1] Allowing that the greater part of Strauss's work has become obsolete through subsequent criticism, the Introduction to the first volume and the Conclusion to the second are still well worth reading by those who desire to receive information on two points. First of all, we get in the Introduction a vivid picture of the perplexity and unsettlement which had penetrated into theological circles through the influence of English deism, German rationalism, lifeless traditional orthodoxy, and the Kantian philosophy. We also learn how the idea, which Strauss professes to have worked out in its completeness, the mythical or legendary character of the biblical records, had been prepared, but only partially applied, by previous religious and philosophical thinkers. What he means by the mythical point of view he defines himself. (1st ed., Introduction, p. 75.) "Putting everything together, little stands in the way of finding the mythical in all parts of the Gospel Story. The word 'myth' will, however, give as little umbrage to sensible persons as any mere word should ever do; for all the ambiguity which, through the suggestion of heathen mythology, clings to that word, should disappear through the explanation, according to which the myths of the New Testament are nothing else but quasi-historical representations of genuine Christian ideas grown through unintentional poetical legends." Further, in the Conclusion to the second volume (p. 729), Strauss refers to Schelling and Hegel as the leaders of that recent philosophy through which the narrow conception of the relation of the Deity to the world, as also the purely moralising theory of Kant, had been overcome. "If God is conceived as Spirit, there is contained in this statement, as man also is spirit, that both are not essentially different. . . . God is not conceived as the rigid Infinite over and outside of the Finite, but as entering into the latter; the Finite nature and mind being His external appearance out of which He ever returns again into unity with Himself. As little as the human exists truly only in its finitude; as little has God reality only in His self-contained Infinitude. But the Infinite is only truly Spirit when He unfolds Himself in finite spirits; as the Finite Spirit is likewise only real if He dives into the Infinite. The real and true existence of the Spirit is therefore neither God alone nor man alone, but the God-man." With these two presuppositions—the legendary envelope which surrounds the biblical records and the Hegelian conception of the idea which he himself compares with Plato's Ideology — Strauss with much erudition expounds and explains all the main incidents of the Life of Jesus.

results to support or refute which would take a long period of research and much sifting of material which had hardly yet been brought together, the correct thing seemed to be to postpone the verdict on the many cardinal questions which he had raised and to pursue patiently the work of historical criticism; subjecting the books of the New Testament to the same methodical examination as had been practised for some time already with reference to the books of the Old Testament, and still more in the philological treatment of the profane classics. For a considerable time this work was carried on in the "Tübingen School," at the head of which stood Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792-1860), who, after the death of Schleiermacher in 1834, may be regarded as the most prominent leader in German theological science. His publications had already begun ten years before Strauss's work appeared. In the same year with the latter, Baur published a work on Christian Philosophy of Religion.[1] This work may be considered, as much as that of Strauss, to be an outcome of Hegel and Schleiermacher's combined speculations. Like Strauss in his 'Life of Jesus,' Baur, in this work, professes to continue and to carry out, more consistently, views which had been prepared by his predecessors,[2]

52. F. C. Baur.

[1] 'Die Christliche Gnosis oder die Christliche Religions - Philosophie in ihrer Geschichtlichen Entwickelung,' Tübingen, 1835.

[2] Among these he mentions three: René Massuet, a Benedictine Monk (1666-1716), the editor of the Works of St Irenæus and St Bernard; J. L. von Mosheim (1694-1755), one of the celebrated early professors of the University of Göttingen, author, among other writings, of a 'History of Heresy' (2 vols., 1746-48), and J. A. W. Neander (1789-1850), the well-known historian of the Christian Religion and Church. It is especially in connection with the early sects of the Gnostics and their position to the orthodox doctrine of the Church, that Baur develops his wider conception, that a comprehension of the Gnostic view can only be found "in the idea of philosophy of religion itself, as it belongs to the essence of such philosophy again and again to enter upon the same path which had been trodden by the ancient Gnostics" (*loc. cit.*, p. 9), a view which Baur had already explained in his inaugural dissertation of the year 1827.

and to trace the endeavour to fathom philosophically and systematise the Christian doctrine, from the beginning which was made by the Gnostics, through the patristic and scholastic philosophies of the middle ages down to the theosophy of Jacob Böhme, and from him to Schelling, Schleiermacher, and Hegel. It was one of the first and most important elaborations of Hegel's grand conception of historical development. The same idea was followed out in a series of works—down to the year 1860—on the historical development of separate Christian dogmas and ultimately of the Christian Church itself. "The characteristic feature in these works is that the history of ecclesiastical and especially dogmatic development is considered as a necessary mental process which is dialectically carried on; that, however rich the details may be, no single feature has as such any value, but only if it is placed in the whole and considered as a moment in the process of the general idea which governs everything. Thus the philosophical treatment of history is here taken seriously and based on the foundation of so much learned research and acute combination that the ordinary reproach of abstract constructions which is rightly advanced against so many of Hegel's disciples is silenced in the presence of such an author and such labours. Nevertheless, though Baur is favourably distinguished among other members of Hegel's school by his genuine erudition, it cannot

be denied that in his case also a certain dualism becomes evident, a general aspect being frequently only a ready-made logical category, in which the single facts are caught as in a loop, being like a label externally attached to them."[1]

Strauss was well aware that historical criticism forms only one side of the critical process, that it must be supplemented by philosophical criticism. Ever since Jacobi and Schleiermacher raised the question as to the psychological origin and essence of faith and religion, it has become indispensable for every philosopher to answer the question regarding the nature of religion and its relation to other mental processes. The conception which Schleiermacher insisted on, that faith has an independent origin in the human soul alongside of the intellectual and active powers, that, in consequence, religion occupies a region for itself among human interests, was for a long time lost sight of, owing to the absence of a truer and fuller psychology. Notably in the philosophy of Hegel, religion was looked upon as a purely intellectual process, which process found its consummation in philosophy. Belief was an inferior stage in the development of thought, which must be superseded by knowledge. This process of the self-destruction of faith in its progress towards knowledge was worked out by Strauss in detail in his second great work, on 'Christian Dogmatics in their Historical Development and in their Battle with Modern Science.' In this work he tries to show how the general process

[1] Carl Schwarz, 'Zur Geschichte der Neuesten Theologie' (3rd ed., p. 149, &c.)

of dissolution of faith through thought, of religion through philosophy, is manifested historically in the dissolution of the various dogmas. "The real critique of the dogma is its history. It is first of all to be found in a naïve and indefinite form in the Scriptures; in the analysis and closer definition of it the Church splits into factions, which may develop into heretical extremes; then comes the fixing of it in the symbols, and these are elaborated into theological dogmas; but gradually criticism awakens, the mind distinguishes itself from the reality which it has assumed in the doctrine of the Church. The subject retires from the substance of its beliefs and negatives them as truth. This is only done because the mind has discovered another truth, though in an undeveloped form; and all now depends on this, whether this new speculative truth is the same as the old dogmatic truth, or whether it is foreign and opposed to it, or lastly, whether a middle way can be found."[1] A large section of German theologians were for a long time occupied in looking for this middle way. Strauss himself indicated a solution by adopting the Hegelian formula, according to which "the Divine Being is not a personality, but becomes personal through an infinite process of personification."

With Baur, as well as with Strauss in his earlier writings, criticism was limited to exegetical work on the one side and to the interpretation of existing texts and historical records in the light of some philosophical idea or of some unproved but plausible generalisation on the other. With them criticism had not penetrated to

[1] 2 vols., 1840-41. The quotation in the text is to be found vol. i. p. 71.

the philosophical foundations upon which they built their constructive attempts. They lived, like so many other of their contemporaries, under the spell of Hegelian speculation; but this spell was to be broken, the very foundations themselves, on which they built, were to become the subject of a not less unsparing logical or philosophical criticism. This process of philosophical criticism culminated in the work of another disciple of Hegel's: that of Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-72), whose 'Essence of Christianity' (1841), followed (in 1845) by his 'Essence of Religion,' produced in this line of criticism a crisis similar to that produced by Strauss some years earlier in historical criticism. If the Divine Being, according to Hegel and Strauss, is not a person, but an infinite process of personification, this means that the Divine becomes identical with the Human, because in human history alone do we meet with this process of development. We are thus obliged to identify Divinity with Humanity: we are led to the religion of Humanity and to Feuerbach's definition of religion "as the relation of Man to himself, *i.e.*, to his own Being, but as if it were another Being."

53. Philosophical criticism: Feuerbach.

54. Humanistic interpretation of Hegel.

It is needless to remark that the Hegelian view was capable of another and quite different interpretation. The process of personification of the immanent spirit can also be looked upon as the gradual manifestation in time and history of the Divine Mind, which was there from the beginning and only hidden to the human observer. From this point of view the highest form of human life and thought is not an analogue of the flower in which the life of a plant is consummated and eventually

55. Another interpretation.

consumed; it is more like the mind of a poet or an artist which manifests itself to the world in its creations, but does not exhaust itself in them. The latter, as the more likely view, was adopted by those who considered themselves the true disciples and followers of Hegel, and it was also the formula which proved to be so fruitful and inspiring in the hands of many of the greatest representatives of historical research. This view has been elaborated in many forms in German philosophical and theological literature up to the present day, though, it must be admitted, with decreasing vitality.[1] At the

[1] The literature of this school of thought is very large, but not having apparently exercised any influence outside of Germany it does not really belong to a History of European Thought. Several works have been written in which these speculations are fully discussed. To them I must refer readers who are desirous of learning more about the now almost forgotten school of "speculative theology." Foremost stands the very spirited book of Carl Schwarz already referred to. It is extremely well written, but it comes from a period when the real, though small, value of speculative theology was not quite clearly recognised. The author still stands with one foot in speculative philosophy and expects from it a regeneration of theological science: see notably his account of the philosophies of the younger Fichte and of Weisse, who are about the only contemporary religious philosophers who escape his trenchant and well-directed criticisms. Still more immersed in the speculative aspect is J. A. Dorner in his 'History of Protestant Theology,' the only book, I believe, belonging to this class which has been translated into English. For an English reader it will probably suffice to read such passages as that introductory to the chapter on Schelling, Hegel, and Schleiermacher (vol. ii. p. 357 *sqq.*), to feel convinced how little religious interest, in any other than the German mind, could feel itself attracted by such a line of thought. Dorner is himself likewise still immersed in speculative theology. From quite a different point of view is written the posthumous publication by H. R. von Frank ('Geschichte und Kritik der Neueren Theologie,' 1st ed. by Schaarschmidt, 1894, 4th ed. revised and continued by Grützmacher, 1908). The author belongs to the positive or orthodox school of theology, and has accordingly less sympathy with the avowed, or implied, tendency of the opposite school to base theology on — or support it by — philosophy. His criticisms are, however, in general much more cautious than those of Schwarz. The book has the further advantage of being written at a time when the belief in constructive systems of philosophy had almost entirely disappeared, and when the opposite school, under the influence of A. Ritschl, had likewise broken away from philosophical traditions.

time when Feuerbach published his celebrated treatise, the view he took had much to recommend it in the eyes of many intelligent persons, and it must be admitted that it has gained much support from that other great movement of nineteenth century thought, which has alone resisted the disintegrating action of the critical spirit: the astounding progress of natural philosophy under the influence of the exact or mathematical methods. The latter had, at the time when Strauss's and Feuerbach's writings appeared, at last attained to a firm position in German thought and become domiciled at the German universities. Moreover, it had done so with a silent disregard of—or in ostentatious opposition to—that current of thought which, through the systems of Schelling and Hegel, had for a long time the upper hand in the German mind. There now resulted from all this an open conflict, which is usually termed the materialistic controversy. It broke out about the time when a general wave of radicalism swept over Continental Europe, — an open revolt, without any very definite programme, against the spirit of reaction which had gradually supervened in all the larger and smaller German States, and which had allied itself in single instances with Hegelian philosophy and ecclesiastical orthodoxy. The result

56. Materialistic controversy.

From a purely philosophical point of view we have the elaborate work of Arthur Drews ('Die Deutsche Spekulation seit Kant,' 2nd ed., 2 vols., 1895), which deals specially with the central problems of the Absolute and of Divine Personality, and treats of theological as well as of purely philosophical writers. Although the author leads up to the idea of the "Unconscious," which he traces like a red line through all previous speculation down to its clear enunciation by E. von Hartmann, his historical analysis, like that contained in Hartmann's own critical and historical works, is extremely minute and instructive.

was a general unsettlement of religious and political beliefs, which was followed by two distinct tendencies in German thought. The first and more popular tendency manifested itself among those who felt the need of some practical philosophy which should take the place of those doctrines that had, through the conflict within the schools themselves or through the attacks of criticism, lost their stability and the hold which they once possessed over the thinking mind. It showed itself in the readiness with which they threw themselves into new systems, in the hope that these would afford some relief in the general perplexities with which they were surrounded. Of the various new philosophies put forth, two stand out as having apparently captured and retained the attention of large classes of thinking persons. Neither of them grew up within academic circles, in which they have never found a real home. They are: the materialistic philosophy, the gospel of which is Ludwig Büchner's 'Kraft und Stoff' (1855), and the philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer, which, though of much earlier date, did not become generally appreciated till after the death of its author in 1860.

From this, the effect upon the more serious thinkers, who in the German universities presided over and led the higher education of the nation, differed widely. To them it seemed necessary to discard as premature all attempts to solve by an omnipotent formula, after the manner of Hegel, the great fundamental problems which presented themselves. They therefore discarded all hurried generalisations and advocated a sober examina-

tion and survey of the large field of new knowledge and research which had been opened out from many sides during the first half of the century. This survey had to be undertaken with a pronounced regard for those higher ethical and religious interests which were in jeopardy through the scientific, philosophical, social, and political convulsions of the middle of the century. By far the most important representative of this attitude, which, moreover, was very widespread, was Hermann Lotze (1817-81), who was better qualified than any other thinker of that time to do justice to the many potent influences and constructive ideas which had sprung up in such abundance between the years 1780 and 1850. To find the rationale of all this accumulated thought was indeed a task to which few were equal. Most of those who in essentials probably agreed with Lotze's great aim, betook themselves to the cultivation of more restricted regions. They succeeded in establishing, in the widest sense of the word, the spirit of free inquiry or of historical and philosophical criticism which had, up to that date, been loudly proclaimed, but had usually been hampered in its full and free development by the overpowering influence of certain dominant ideas which, mainly through the literature of the great classical period, swayed the German intellect.

57. Renunciation of premature solutions: Lotze.

Also the several systems of philosophy which the classical period of German literature had produced or suggested furnished new material for the critical process, both from an historical and from a logical point of view. Their principles had to be justified or refuted, their historical antecedents and logical foundations had to be

examined and laid bare. In fact, what Kant had attempted to do, but only imperfectly performed, had to be done on a larger scale and with more abundant material. In addition to this, that province of philosophy which had been neglected in favour of metaphysical constructions, the analysis of the human mind, had been cultivated afresh by Herbart and Beneke. Almost simultaneously, but independently, the modern science of empirical psychology took a fresh start in this country as well as in Germany. Shortly after this revival had taken place through Herbart in Germany, through Mill and Bain in England, a new impetus was given to these studies by the appearance, in 1860, of Fechner's "Psycho-physics," which seemed to hold out the prospect of introducing into philosophical discussions that definiteness and methodical treatment which had done so much for the natural sciences. It is therefore not to be wondered at that about that time the general cry arose for a "return to Kant." The leader of this so-called Neo-Kantianism which, however, differed as much from Schelling and Hegel as it did from Plato and Spinoza among earlier, and from Lotze among modern thinkers, may be considered to be Friedrich Albert Lange, whose 'History of Materialism' appeared in many editions and was translated into several languages. The tendencies of this line of thought were strengthened by a general movement which had its origin equally in historical, logical, and psychological studies; it was prepared independently in England and in Germany, it resulted in the definition of a new and independent philosophical discipline, termed

58. Return from metaphysics to psychology: Herbart.

59. Fechner's psycho-physics.

60. Neo-Kantianism: F. A. Lange.

Erkenntnisstheorie, the theory of knowing, or Epistemology. All these recent developments, however much they may differ amongst each other, have this in common, that they are an outcome of the modern critical spirit, of that professedly free and unprejudiced inquiry into the historical, logical, and psychological foundations of the whole structure of knowledge and belief as it has grown up in history or as it presents itself to individual minds. Criticism, in fact, had at this stage arrived at the study of fundamentals and origins. With these it is still everywhere occupied, without any immediate prospect of arriving at such tolerable unanimity as would secure the foundation for any generally acceptable system of philosophy.

61. Influence of Darwin and Riemann.

The study of origins and fundamentals at which the process of critical examination had thus arrived about the year 1860 met with great encouragement and support from two independent lines of research which had their beginning within the region of the exact and natural sciences. These were started by the appearance, in 1859, of Darwin's 'Origin of Species,' and by the posthumous publication, in 1868, of Riemann's dissertation (written already in 1854) on the 'Hypotheses of Geometry.' The latter was immediately followed by Helmholtz's equally important paper on the "Data which lie at the Foundation of Geometry." In fact, the study of origins and fundamentals had been taken up by men of science independently of the critical movement in philosophical and historical thought, and contributed very largely to the strengthening of the critical movement. For a moment the hope existed that here at last, in these two very different regions, a firm foundation and universal principles had been discovered which would work in with the general tendency of philosophical thought as it was announced in the critical works of Kant, temporarily pushed aside by the idealistic movement and recently revived by the proclamation of the necessity of a return to Kant. It was then remembered that Kant himself had made the existence of geometrical and dynamical knowledge a starting-point in his critical attempt to refute the scepticism of Hume, and it was only natural that this appeal to the certainty of mathematical knowledge should be repeated and urged afresh in the light of the mathematical investigations which led Riemann, and the physiological which led Helmholtz, to the critical study of our space-conceptions. On the other side, it was also remembered how Kant was one of the first to study the mechanism of the universe from a genetic point of view, and that in one of his three 'Critiques' he put into the foreground the study of teleology—*i.e.*, of final causes and of purpose in the living creation, a feature the mechanical explanation of which was suggested in the 'Origin of Species.'

It is not necessary at present to do more than merely refer to the enormous literature and the endless discussions which during the last third of the century circle round the problem of the foundations of mathematical knowledge on the one side and of the principle of organic evolution on the other. It is sufficient at present to note how criticism in all its branches has been influenced by one or the other of these lines of

research, or by both combined, as we shall have abundant opportunity of showing in detail in the following chapters.

It is of greater importance for my present purpose to bring under the preliminary notice of my readers the fact that in the course of the last forty years the attitude of the critical mind towards this problem of fundamentals and origins, of the foundations in thought and the beginnings in time, has gradually and radically changed. The confidence with which, from many sides, the ideas of Darwin and Helmholtz were received, has gradually vanished, so far at least as the hope is concerned that on those lines of research any finality may be attainable. The study of origins appears to us now to mean, not the study of the beginnings, but only that of an endless process without beginning or end; the genetic process has reduced itself to a genealogical record.[1] Nor has the study of foundations and fundamentals revealed to us any secure basis of thought; it has rather indicated that even the seemingly most certain of sciences, geometry and dynamics, rest upon conventional assumptions, as indeed David Hume had already foreshadowed. At the end of the century, the critical process has thus not realised the expectations with which both in theoretical and practical questions it was methodically started a hundred and twenty years ago. Rather it has resulted in a general unsettlement favourable both to scepticism and pessimism, and to a

62. Unsettlement due to criticism.

[1] From this point of view the title of Darwin's work is really misleading, as it deals with the problems of transformation and descent rather than with that of origin—a problem which, as Darwin himself admitted in later years, was really insoluble.

general distrust and agnosticism with regard to the powers of the human mind, by any form of methodical thought, be it scientific or philosophical, to arrive at that certainty which, if not theoretically necessary, is at least practically indispensable in order to secure definite aims and steadfastness of purpose in practical life.

In dealing with the subject of this chapter,—the growth and diffusion of the critical spirit or of the spirit of free inquiry,—my readers will have noticed that only little reference has been made to the course which philosophical thought has taken outside of Germany. It is only through a few great names belonging to France and Great Britain, that in the course of the nineteenth century German thought has been influenced at all. This explains why the histories of modern philosophy which have appeared in Germany have up to quite recent times taken little notice of the contributions of French and English thinkers during the last hundred years. It is only since Auguste Comte's and Herbert Spencer's systems have become known in Germany that German students of philosophy have realised the fact that both England and France had developed systems of their own, which had but little, if any, contact with German thought. This is notably the case as regards the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, who professedly did not study the system of any other contemporaneous thinker, and, in fact, declared that he refrained from reading any philosophical work from which he found that he differed on perusal of the first pages. Nothing is more striking than that the author

63. Philosophical thought outside Germany.

64. French and English philosophy little known in Germany.

of a system of philosophy which emphasises progress and evolution, should concern himself so little about other earlier or later lines of thought; in one word, that he should show so little genuine historical interest or critical spirit. The followers of Herbert Spencer might retort that, if their master was deficient in the spirit of historical criticism, contemporary German philosophy on the other side was suffocated by it, and that the only original thinker in Germany after the middle of the century, Hermann Lotze, was likewise averse to the historical method and treated the history of philosophy in a purely subjective manner.

65. French and English philosophy uncritical in the German sense.

From the German point of view, the contemporary philosophies of France and England are mostly unscientific in the larger sense of the word, which is identical with saying that they have till quite recently been uncritical. This does not imply that they have not occasionally produced brilliant ideas, or that they have not succeeded every now and then in coining philosophical terms which have become the shibboleths of great schools of thought and instruments for the handling of large and original conceptions. The reasons why French and English thought has been deficient in that methodical, continuous, and exhaustive treatment which characterises German philosophical and historical learning during the nineteenth century are manifold. For a long time after David Hume had discouraged metaphysics, the philosophical interest in England centred in definite problems, mostly suggested by the social and industrial condition of the nation, or reverted to an analysis of the data of common-sense, preparing the way and gathering

large materials for the modern science of psychology. Through the first-named tendency it came into intimate relations with French philosophy, from which it had, indeed, already during the eighteenth century learnt much in economic science. In France the rupture with all the traditions of the past which was produced by the Revolution urged the necessity of reconstructive work in two distinct and opposite directions, of which the one relied upon the rehabilitation of older authorities, whilst the other trusted to empiricism.

Nevertheless, it may be said that the critical spirit has entered fully into the philosophical literatures of France and England during the last quarter of the century. In France the philosophy of M. Renouvier has adopted the name of Neo-Criticism. It emanated from Kant's 'Critique,' which it remodels in important points.[1] Before Renouvier, critical and historical studies in philosophy had been largely cultivated in the school and by the pupils of Victor Cousin.[2] In England by far the most important philosophical works, outside of the writings

66. The philosophy of Renouvier.

[1] I am inclined to think that no recent philosopher has grasped the meaning of Criticism in a larger sense than Renouvier. It is also significant that of the several larger encyclopædic works published in the three countries the 'Grande Encyclopédie' alone has an article on "Criticism," in which all the different sides of its function, as I have endeavoured to sketch them in this chapter, are referred to.

[2] Quite recently what may be called a new school of criticism has come to the fore mainly through the work of Dutch and French critics, beginning with Maspero and continued through the labours of Salomon Reinach, Ed. Dujardin, Maurice Vernes, Ernest Havet, and others. Mr Whittaker, in a recent work ('Priests, Philosophers, and Prophets,' A. & C. Black, 1911), has made an attempt to give a synoptic, as distinguished from a specialist view, of the results of the anthropological school of inquiry of religious criticism. He terms the latter the "new criticism" as distinguished from the "higher criticism," which is mainly the work of German and Dutch theologians, and has largely influenced theology in this country.

67. Recent critical tendency in England.

of Herbert Spencer, are either critical, such as Henry Sidgwick's 'Methods of Ethics' (1875), "Criticism of the Critical Philosophy" (in 'Mind,' 1883), F. H. Bradley's 'Ethical Studies' (1876), 'Principles of Logic' (1883), and 'Appearance and Reality' (1893), and James Ward's 'Naturalism and Agnosticism' (1899); or they are occupied with an analysis of the principles of the critical and allied philosophies. Among the latter I may mention two works which mark epochs in English thought: J. S. Mill's 'Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy' (1865), and Edward Caird's two critical works on the 'Philosophy of Kant' (1877), and a larger work in two volumes (1889).

68. Cousin's Eclecticism and philosophy of Common-sense.

What prevented the critical and historical spirit taking more complete possession of the philosophical mind in France and England at an earlier date were two distinct forms or phases of thought which for a long time ruled in their respective countries, and which, in one form or the other, have come to be characteristic features of the philosophic thought of to-day in all the three countries. I am referring to the Eclecticism of Victor Cousin in France and the philosophy of Common-Sense in Britain. The philosophical positions which may be characterised by the terms "eclecticism" and "common-sense" originated in the desire to counteract the sceptical tendencies of Hume's philosophy in England and the extreme form of the sensational philosophy developed by Condillac and his followers in France. German philosophers for a long time regarded both the eclectic and the common-sense philosophies as dilettante. In looking back, however, over the development of

philosophical thought during the nineteenth century, it cannot be denied that the free development of the critical process has not only been actually delayed or interrupted by the philosophy of common-sense in Britain, the eclectic school in France, and the idealistic school in Germany, but that even at the present day we have to resort to one or the other of the expedients offered respectively by idealism, eclecticism, or common-sense if we desire to relieve the purely expectant attitude which the critical method forces upon us; in other words, if we desire to arrive at some positive answer to the great philosophical problems. The renewed interest which has of late been taken in the systems of Hegel and of Leibniz and in the philosophy of the Scottish school proves the correctness of this observation. It has been truly said that at the end of the nineteenth century Philosophy has become international; we had occasion to make a similar remark with regard to Science. This stage of what we might call Co-operation in the higher regions of Thought was reached earlier by Science than by Philosophy. The first great scientific idea to be worked out by the aid of thinkers of all the civilised nations combined was that of which we treated in the earlier part of this history under the title of "The Physical View of Nature": the conception of energy. Somewhat later the working out of the Darwinian programme, the theory of descent, has still more closely united the thinkers in many countries. Co-operation in philosophical labours was established still later, and not till England had become thoroughly acquainted with Continental philosophy by studying, in a critical spirit, consecutively the philosophies

69. Philosophy becoming international.

of Comte, Kant, Spinoza and Hegel; not till Germany on her part had recognised the originality of Comte and Spencer, and France had by renewed study of Kant assimilated in an independent manner the principles of the critical philosophy. It is thus that we find philosophical criticism to have become at the end of the century a common meeting-ground for the philosophical thought in all the three nations. It is the spirit of the Kantian philosophy, only that critical inquiry at the end of the nineteenth century starts from beyond the premises which seemed to afford a firm foundation and starting-point to Kant himself. The new science of Psychology, towards which England was the largest contributor, is now cultivated by international co-operation; as likewise the critical examination of the fundamental conceptions and axioms in the exact sciences is prosecuted with equal interest and success in Germany, France, and England. In these two original branches of modern criticism we see how a deeper level is being reached from which to start afresh on the solution of the critical problem formulated by Kant.

70. Criticism the common meeting-ground.

Compared with this international work of critical exploration, the constructive efforts in all three countries, though numerous, are nevertheless insignificant. If in the writings of the most eminent thinkers of to-day we were to strike out all that is purely historical, polemical, and critical, how little would remain! And yet in this small total of constructive effort we can distinguish in the contributions of the three nations that traditional bias which has in the past been characteristic of their philosophical attitudes. The English mind, whenever hopelessly

baffled and perplexed to find a way out of the labyrinth of criticism, still resorts to the remedy which Hume so graphically describes in the closing pages of the first book of his 'Treatise of Human Nature.'

"Where am I, or what? From what causes do I derive my existence, and to what condition shall I return? Whose favour shall I court, and whose anger must I dread? What beings surround me? and on whom have I any influence, or who have any influence on me? I am confounded with all these questions, and begin to fancy myself in the most deplorable condition imaginable, environed with the deepest darkness, and utterly deprived of the use of every member and faculty. Most fortunately it happens that, since reason is incapable of dispelling these clouds, nature herself suffices to that purpose, and cures me of this philosophical melancholy and delirium, either by relaxing this bent of mind or by some avocation and lively impression of my senses which obliterate all these chimeras. I dine, I play a game of backgammon, I converse and am merry with my friends; and when, after three or four hours' amusement, I would return to these speculations, they appear so cold and strained and ridiculous that I cannot find in my heart to enter into them any farther."

To the Englishman the way out of metaphysics is still common-sense, the overwhelming evidence of the things around us. One of the latest and greatest of English thinkers, Henry Sidgwick, has given expression to this feature of the English mind in his recurrence to the philosophy of Thomas Reid. If we turn to France we find a preponderant inclination to revert to those

philosophies which are allied to or based upon exact, that is, mathematical thought: the philosophies of Descartes and Leibniz. Even leaving out the professedly positive philosophy of Comte, the French mind, in which, as we have seen, the scientific spirit is represented in its purest form, is involuntarily drawn to that attitude which is characteristic of the exact and natural sciences. Now we have seen in the earlier volumes of this History how in the course of the nineteenth century the method in the sciences has more and more tended to become one and the same, whilst the objects and fields of scientific research have become more and more diverse and widely separated, depending upon an increasing division of labour. The process of unification is going on from various well-defined centres, with little more than a far-off hope of ultimate and complete unification. This, however, if viewed philosophically, is the Eclectic state of mind in its highest form, which is not that with which the celebrated Eclecticism of Victor Cousin was so often and perhaps unduly reproved, an uncritical and unmethodical assemblage of unreconciled truths; but rather an orderly co-ordination of definite scientific aspects which, though preliminary, do not in their preliminary character militate against a closer approximation and an ultimate harmony. If we now, lastly, turn to German Thought, there is no doubt that, while standing on the common critical foundation everywhere recognised, it preserves, though to a diminishing extent, its traditional idealistic bias. The idealistic temper, though more and more overruled at the present time by industrialism and imperialism, still forms the ground-note. The ideals

incorporated in classical literature and the great philosophical systems of the first half of the century form still for the German thinker the place of refuge where he can find shelter and refreshment when he is fatigued by too much criticism and disheartened by materialism and pessimism. These ideals are still to him a real world which, as with Plato in ancient times, is spread above the world of common-sense. If we join this peculiarity of the German mind to a critical and eclectic survey of the facts of nature and history, we arrive at that kind of philosophy of which the system of Lotze may be considered to be the latest and greatest example.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SOUL.

I.

1. Philosophical and scientific thought again contrasted.

I HAVE had in the past many occasions to refer to the difference of scientific and philosophical thought. Entering now on a more detailed review of the progress of philosophical thought during the nineteenth century, it will be of use to emphasise again this difference. Philosophical thought proceeds invariably with the object of arriving at a comprehensive view of the subject it deals with and ultimately of the totality or connection of things.[1] Although therefore philosophical discussions may lead to matters of detail and confine themselves frequently to restricted problems, they would cease to be philosophical in the true sense of the word if they should rest content with such restricted and detailed discussions and not take note of their bearing on the great task of the unification of knowledge and thought.

2. Aim at unification.

In that portion of this history which traced the

[1] As I shall have repeated occasion to urge this distinction, which has become better defined in the course of the century, it may be of interest to note how two leading thinkers in the beginning of our period gave expression to this idea. Foremost stands Goethe, who with remarkable insight unconsciously anticipated many of the leading thoughts of the century which followed him. In that well-known tract, first published in the year 1790, on the 'Metamorphosis of Plants' ('Versuch die Metamorphose der Pflanzen zu erklären,' Gotha, 1790), he became a pioneer in a line of thought which at that time was rare, and which was fully recognised only when the phenomena of descent and environment, *i.e.*, of the contiguity in time and space or of the "Together" of things natural, had been brought into view, mainly through Darwin, in natural science. In subsequent writings, notably in the revision and republication of this tract in later years, we find a clear expression of the two aspects which nature presents to the contemplating mind, the purely scientific on the one side, the philosophical on the other. "If we regard objects of nature, but especially those which are living, with the intention of gaining an insight into the connection of their being and acting, we believe that the best way to arrive at this is through separation of their parts; as indeed this way really leads us a good space onward. We need only recall to the memory of all friends of knowledge what chemistry and anatomy have contributed to an insight and comprehension of nature. But these dividing operations, ever and ever continued, produce likewise many a disadvantage; the living is indeed analysed into elements, but it cannot possibly be brought together again out of them and animated. This is even true of many inorganic and not only of organic bodies. Accordingly we find among scientific persons at all times the desire manifesting itself, to recognise living things as such, to regard their external, visible, and tangible parts in their connection, to view them as indications of the internal, and thus to command, as it were, a view of the whole. How intimately this desire is connected with the artistic and imitative tendency need not be elaborately pointed out" ('Zur Morphologie,' Jena, 1807, Werke, Weimar edition. II. Abth., vol. vi. p. 8). In the latter sense Goethe has referred to the same idea in many passages of his morphological writings. The second prominent thinker who seems to have been impressed with this view is Auguste Comte, who had moreover the merit of coining a term which denotes the difference of the two aspects. Already in an early tract of the year 1825 ('Considérations sur les Sciences et les Savants'), he employs the term *esprit d'ensemble*, which he considers has been lost and can only be restored again by the positive philosophy. It is true that in his first great work he urges this aspect mainly when discussing the method of the biological sciences as compared with those sciences which deal with inorganic nature or with abstract mechanics. The translators of Comte's tract, which was reprinted by him at the end of the 4th volume of his second large work, in the year 1854, do not seem to have been able to find an English equivalent for this term. The best rendering of it seems to be that proposed by my friend, Prof. W. R. Sorley, viz., the synoptical view. The *ensemble* of things denotes their actual "Together" in nature, and is very different from that unification aimed at by Herbert Spencer and successfully carried out in what we may, in a restricted sense, call the scientific study of nature (see Eng. trans. of the 'System of Positive Polity, Paris, 1854,' vol. iv. p. 607).

development of scientific thought during the century, I followed an idea most clearly expressed by Herbert Spencer, according to which science is partially unified thought. There I took up those ideas and aspects under the guidance of which a partial unification of our knowledge of natural things has become possible. Now—in treating of the development of philosophical thought—I select those further conceptions which have been used to arrive at a more complete if not an ultimate unification of thought. As has already been stated in the introductory chapter to this section, these further conceptions are not to be found by looking around us and outside, but rather by looking inside, by introspection. They have become crystallised in certain terms or words familiar in all the languages of the civilised world.

3. General conceptions ancient and modern.

The conceptions under which we found it convenient to arrange the historical development of scientific thought were mostly known already to the ancients. Modern times, notably the nineteenth century, have more clearly defined them, increasing them indeed by one or two additional ideas—such as energy and the doctrine of averages. If we now look at the general conceptions, expressed in definite words, which have governed modern philosophical thought, we are still more struck by the fact that they are not of modern origin. Although the philosophical vocabulary has in the course of the nineteenth century enormously increased, it cannot be said that any novel central idea is to be met with. All that has been done by the enrichment of philosophical language has been to attain to a clearer definition and understanding of the hidden meaning which underlies those time-honoured terms, those traditional expressions which, almost from the dawn of thought, have not only governed philosophical reasoning but also embody all that is most valuable in poetry and literature. These time-honoured words describe in fact and tend to fix the eternal problems which force themselves upon the human mind, denoting its highest interests and aspirations. The problems of science may and will change with the progress of knowledge, with altered attitudes of thought, and with novel practical demands: the great problems of philosophy remain always the same. With the intention of emphasising this, as also with the desire to accommodate myself to the usage of language and common-sense and the interests of all intelligent readers, I propose to arrange my narrative of the courses and development of philosophical thought under well-known words or terms which will, without special definition, introduce us into discussions which have always been, and still are, of foremost importance. Such words, *e.g.*, as the Soul, Truth or Knowledge, Reality, Nature, Duty, Beauty, the Spirit, Society, &c., convey to the mind of every thinking person, without any laboured definition, an idea of some momentous subject immediately connected with our deepest interests and practical endeavours. The whole of philosophical thought can thus be arranged as the attempt to answer such questions as, What is the Soul? What is meant by truth, duty, reality, &c.? The adoption of such familiar words will serve a double purpose. It will connect philosophical thought with general literature and lan-

4. Words marking leading philosophical problems.

guage, neither of which can dispense with them; and it will also, to many minds, suggest a second very obvious reflection: a moment's thought will convince us that it is almost impossible to discuss separately any of the great problems indicated by those words; that the discussion of each leads involuntarily to that of the others, driving us onward to the conception of the Whole, the All, *i.e.*, to the discussion of the world-problem, the connection or actual "Together" of things. This is the highest, the central philosophical problem, the attempted solutions of which in the course of the nineteenth century I shall deal with in one of the last chapters of the present portion of this History. It will appropriately bear the title: "Of Systems of Philosophy."

5. The problem of the Soul or Psychology.

I have headed this first chapter which deals with a definite philosophical problem: "Of the Soul." I might have chosen several other words which would have equally introduced us into that portion of philosophical literature with which I am now concerned. Such terms would be, *e.g.*, the mind, consciousness, the inner world, &c. The province of philosophy with which I am dealing is usually in recent literature called Psychology. The oldest treatise on the subject is that of Aristotle, which bears the title περὶ ψυχῆς, De Anima. I have preferred to introduce the subject of this chapter by using the original term, which at once suggests problems, such as the nature of the soul, the fate of the soul, the whereabouts of the soul, and many others which command a continued interest, denoting some of the deepest questions which inquiring and thinking

persons may put to the philosopher. In the beginning of the century, both the word soul and the term Psychology were more frequent in the philosophical literature of Germany than they were in that of France or England. In the two latter countries, treatises on similar subjects were more commonly put forth under such titles as: On man, On the human mind, &c.; the word soul being more generally reserved for discussions referring to what we may term the emotional and spiritual side of human nature. That I nevertheless prefer to speak of the soul and not of the human mind or human nature, may be justified by the fact that the word soul introduces us at once into an historical discussion, which took place in the middle of the century in Germany, and which may be considered to mark one of the great changes that have come over our way of regarding all questions connected with the mental life.[1] What

6. The 'Seelenfrage.'

[1] A good account of this controversy is given by F. A. Lange in his celebrated 'History of Materialism' already referred to. This history traces the materialistic hypothesis from its beginnings in ancient philosophy, where it found a brilliant exposition in Lucretius' celebrated poem on the 'Nature of Things.' Lange then sets out the revival of materialism as it accompanied the rise of the modern scientific spirit, following it through the writings of Gassendi on the Continent and Hobbes in England, the peculiar combination of scientific materialism with religious belief in Boyle and Newton, in Hartley and Priestley, and its dying out in the writings of Toland in the course of the eighteenth century. From England the materialistic movement of thought spread into France, where it received a classical expression in the works of La Mettrie and Holbach. In Germany the great influence of Leibniz counteracted for a long time the materialistic in favour of a spiritualistic view; materialism, however, gained a permanent foothold in German thought in the middle of the nineteenth century, and this, under the influence of two distinct lines of thought. The first was that of French medical science, dating back to the writings of Cabanis and Broussais, and continued through Flourens, Magendie, Longet, and others. The second came quite independently through the reaction against the idealistic systems of Schelling and Hegel as well as through the development of certain elements in these. The philosopher who brought these in-

was called at the time "Die Seelenfrage" occupied the foremost place in philosophical discussions carried on both by philosophers and by naturalists. Psychology (in German "Seelenlehre") formed a kind of reaction in the writings of Herbart and Beneke against the then ruling philosophy of the mind, and, on the other side, it embodied, as notably in the writings of Lotze, the matured discussion of the materialistic hypothesis advanced by Vogt, Moleschott, and Büchner. As the stormy discussions which were then carried on in

fluences together was Lotze, who early recognised quite as much the necessity of purifying the principles of the biological and medical sciences as of gaining an independent foundation for an idealistic or spiritual view of things. In the former endeavour he went further than contemporary French thinkers by combating the conception of vital forces current among them. His connection with Rudolph Wagner as a contributor to the physiological dictionary edited by the latter, and as his colleague at the University of Göttingen, made this side of his writings accessible to medical students, whereas his simultaneous metaphysical and logical treatises (see p. 6 note, *supra*) remained unknown. The result has been that Lotze may be considered as having, in a way, both suggested and combated the extreme materialistic conception, being, later on, its most competent and thoroughgoing critic and opponent. The principal writings in which German materialism found expression are Moleschott (1822-93), 'Der Kreislauf des Lebens' (1852, frequently re-edited and enlarged); Karl Vogt (1817-95), 'Physiologische Briefe' (1845-47), 'Bilder aus dem Thierleben' (1852), and 'Köhlerglaube und Wissenschaft' 1854). The former was provoked by and opposed certain passages in Liebig's 'Chemical Letters,' the latter bore a similar relation to Wagner's 'Physiologische Briefe' (1852). The whole question led to a celebrated discussion at the German Naturforscher-Versammlung at Göttingen in 1854, where Wagner expressed himself in favour of a dualistic conception of nature, allowing both for mechanism and spiritualism—a view ridiculed by Vogt as a kind of philosophical "book-keeping by double entry." It created a flood of literature on both sides. Ludwig Büchner (1824-99) followed in 1855 with his well-known, frequently republished and translated treatise, 'Kraft und Stoff,' which held its own in Germany as the gospel of materialism till it was followed, and to some extent superseded, by Ernst Häckel's 'Welträthsel' (1899, and many following editions). There is no doubt that these two books have successfully originated and perpetuated among the middle class intellect of Germany not only philosophical materialism, but also a material as opposed to an ideal and spiritual view of the world and life.

Germany, and which were echoed in a more sober manner in French and English literature, mark probably one of the most important changes that have come over philosophical thought in the course of the century, it seems appropriate to start the history of philosophical thought with an account of the problems which centre in the word soul.[1]

[1] In order to assist my readers, I anticipate what will be more fully explained in this and following chapters, by defining the great change which I refer to in the text, in a telling phrase invented by Lange. He speaks of a "psychology without a soul." This truly indicates the position which most English psychologists before the middle of the century had already —though unconsciously and generally without denying the existence of the soul—adopted, and which has become almost universal among psychologists since that time. It corresponds to similar positions taken up in physics and biology since they have submitted to rigorous scientific treatment. The former does not now concern itself with a definition of matter nor the latter with a definition of life; see, *e.g.*, the Appendix to P. G. Tait's 'Properties of Matter,' quoted in an earlier volume of this History (vol. ii. pp. 388-425), and Huxley's article on "Biology" in the 9th ed. of the 'Ency. Brit.' Earlier biologists, such as Cuvier, attempted to give a definition of life. This task, as also the definition of matter, is now admitted to be not a scientific but a philosophical problem. In the same way, since psychologists have very generally put aside the question as to the essence of the soul, confining themselves to the description of psychical processes and phenomena, psychology has become an independent science, and is, as such, an introduction to, but hardly a branch of, philosophy. It is, however, well to remark, that we have in Germany a prominent exponent of the older position in Prof. J. Rehmke; see notably his small treatise, 'Die Seele des Menschen' (3rd ed. 1909), which is divided into two sections on the "Essence" and on the "Life of the Soul." Whilst revising the text of this chapter, which was written six years ago, I came across Prof. Henri Bergson's "Huxley Lecture" (delivered in Birmingham, 29th May 1911), and also the Report of his four Lectures "On the Soul," delivered October 1911 at University College, London. In the first-named lecture he complains that philosophers have gone away from vital questions such as: "What are we?" "What are we doing here?" "Whence do we come and whither do we go?" (see 'Hibbert Journal,' October 1911, p. 24). Accordingly, M. Bergson, ever since the appearance of his two earlier works ('Les Données Immédiates de la Conscience,' 1889, and 'Matière et Mémoire,' 1896), has been considered to represent a new school of psychology; see, *e.g.*, M. Boirac in the 'Grande Encyclopédie,' article "Psychologie": "Bergson et toute la jeune école qui le suit, maintiennent énergiquement l'indépendance et l'originalité de la psychologie en face des sciences proprement dites auxquelles on ne peut, selon eux, l'assimiler sans la défigurer ou plutôt sans la détruire."

7. Problems centering in this.

The discussions which centred in the materialistic controversy referred really to three separate problems which at the time were not kept sufficiently distinct. These problems were familiar to philosophical writers in all the three countries before the middle of the century, but it is useful to note that each of the philosophical literatures had been occupied up to the middle of the century pre-eminently with one out of the three problems. After the middle of the century, and no doubt to a large extent owing to the vehemence with which the controversy had been carried on in Germany, thinkers in each of the three countries found it necessary to take up a definite position with regard to all the three questions involved. In stating separately these questions as they have been more clearly defined in the course of the last fifty years, we shall at the same time acquire some insight into the separate character of French, German, and English thought during the first half of the century.

8. Empirical and rational psychology.

To begin with, the older German philosophy of the eighteenth century had already distinguished two kinds of Psychology, *i.e.*, two ways of acquiring knowledge on matters connected with the Soul or the inner life. Calling the doctrine which embraced these subjects "Psychology,"[1] it distinguished between Empirical and

[1] The term seems to occur for the first time in Germany, where Rudolph Göckel, or Goclenius (1547-1628), Professor at Marburg, published towards the end of the sixteenth century a work with the title ΨΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΑ. On this Mr Whittaker remarks: "I have met with the information that ψυχολογία first occurs in a false reading in Proclus. The true reading, if I remember rightly, is ψυχογονία. Goclenius may have picked up the word—at first or second hand—from Proclus; for in fact he applies it to the discussions which he has brought together on the old question of 'The generation of the soul.' If this conjecture is right, it is very curious: the names 'psychology' and 'metaphysics'—both so exactly adapted to the subjects—would have come in alike by a sort of historical accident." The word did not become current in French or English literature before the nineteenth century, and seems to have been introduced into the latter through Coleridge's connection with Germany, and into the former in the school of Victor Cousin.

Rational Psychology. Empirical Psychology professed to give a description of the inner or mental life, and in doing so it confined itself mostly to such methods and statements, and to the use of such terms as had already been laid down in Aristotle's celebrated treatise. This Empirical Psychology had been cultivated not so much in a methodical manner as by popular writings, among which the most brilliant were furnished by the French moralists from Montaigne and Pascal, through La Rochefoucauld and La Bruyère, down to Rousseau and Diderot. Lectures on this subject belonged to the recognised course of German University studies, and were as such delivered also by Kant, who—except for the distinction between thinking, feeling, and willing, to which he gave its subsequent importance by adopting it from Tetens — did not add anything very novel to the subject. Besides this Empirical Psychology, there was another definite philosophical science which was termed Rational Psychology; this treated of the highest questions, such as the nature of the soul, its fate, its destiny, its origin and future. It formed together with Cosmology and Rational Theology that large branch of philosophical inquiry which went under the name of Metaphysics. The relation of empirical and rational psychology may be compared with the relation which exists for instance between a treatise on the nature of things (such as the great poem of

Lucretius or the recent Philosophy of Nature of Schelling's school) and the modern natural philosophy which has grown up since the time of Galileo and Newton. Empirical psychology dealt with detailed facts and phenomena in the life of the soul, rational psychology dealt with questions of principle and with fundamentals. Whilst in Germany, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, little methodical work was done in empirical psychology, English, and notably Scotch, thinkers had devoted themselves almost exclusively to the cultivation of this field; many works of lasting merit having appeared, among which those of Thos. Reid and Dugald Stewart as representative of Scottish, of David Hartley and James Mill as representative of English, philosophy are prominent.[1] We may therefore say that in the beginning of the nineteenth century

9. At the beginning of the century rational psychology mainly studied in Germany.

10. Empirical psychology chiefly British.

[1] One of the most popular representatives of Scottish philosophy in the nineteenth century was Thos. Brown, whose Lectures were published in four volumes after his death in 1832, and had a wide influence, running through nineteen editions. It seems, however, that he was less original than his popular reputation would suggest, having borrowed much from contemporary French writers, notably from Destutt de Tracy, as has been remarked by Sir Wm. Hamilton, and more recently by M. Picavet ('Les Idéologues,' 1891, p. 494; also article, "Thomas Brown," in the 'Grande Encyclopédie'). With him occurs the term "physiology of the human mind," as expressive of what we now term Psychology, which may have been suggested as much through his acquaintance with French thought—a work with the title 'Physiologie de l'Esprit' having been published by M. Paulhan — as by his professional medical studies. He laid great emphasis upon the muscular sense, or sense of resistance, distinguishing it from touch, as an additional or sixth sense, and it is in connection with this much controverted point that his name still occurs in recent psychological literature. There is a short but appreciative notice of him by the late Prof. R. Adamson in the ninth edition of the 'Ency. Brit.' It is interesting to see how two very different thinkers (Brown and Lotze), both starting from medical studies, should have described their psychology as "Physiology of the human mind" or the soul. In more recent times the importance of Brown's philosophy has again been insisted on by Prof. Stout who, in a valuable series of articles ('Mind,' vols. 13 and 14) on Herbart and the difference of his psychology from that of the British or Associational school, has singled out Brown's exposition of the latter as deserving prominence, "because he expressly discusses and formulates many ultimate principles which in other writers are more or less blindly presupposed" (*loc. cit.*, vol. xiv. p. 1).

rational psychology had its home in Germany, empirical psychology in Great Britain. In addition to these two branches of research appertaining to the things of the inner world, to the life of the soul, a third and independent line of research had sprung up in France as the immediate outcome of the great development of the mathematical, natural, and medical sciences. The life of the soul was there studied in its outer manifestations, partly as a physiological and pathological[1] problem, partly also in those creations such as language, grammar, and logic, in which it has become, as it were, externalised. Cabanis and Broussais are representatives of the former, the Idéologues, notably Destutt de Tracy, of the latter way of thinking. The French school as represented by these thinkers preserved accordingly its independent position, whether compared with the purely introspective psychology in this country or with the metaphysical psychology of Germany. It took up such an extreme position, notably in the writings of Broussais, and was frequently supposed to be so much allied with materialism, that it provoked as much as it opposed the reaction which adopted the more moderate or commonsense attitude of the Scottish school; it was later also much influenced by some of the leading German meta-

11. French physiological psychology.

[1] D. de Tracy in his 'Éloge de Cabanis,' whose place he took in the Academy (1808), ventured to say that Cabanis had performed the double task which he had set himself, of carrying philosophy into medicine and medicine into philosophy (see Picavet, *loc. cit.*, p. 288).

physicians. It allied itself with the political tendencies of the Restoration.

These three distinct ways of approaching the phenomena of the inner world, *i.e.*, the life of the soul, came together in Germany and asserted themselves with equal strength about the fourth decade of the century, when after the death of Hegel the exclusive dominion of the metaphysical method began to be attacked. The most powerful and persistent opposition was carried on by Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841). But, although Herbart through his psychological writings did probably more than any other German philosopher of that period to counteract the one-sided idealism which then ruled supreme, he did not break with the metaphysical method: he still put into the foreground of his psychology definitions regarding the nature and the location of the soul. Inasmuch, however, as his psychological interest was primarily educational, and as in his early practical experience he had come in contact with the realistic tendencies of that great school of educationalists which was headed by Pestalozzi, he imported into his metaphysics a much greater knowledge and appreciation of actual realities than was to be found among his opponents. Accordingly he calls his philosophy Realism, maintaining that the main task of philosophy consists in a process of elaborating consistent ideas out of the frequently inconsistent and contradictory conceptions which are furnished by experience and common-sense. Philosophy was, so to speak, a clarifying process, the endeavour to arrive at clear and consistent notions. In his text-book of Psychology which was published in 1816, and still

12. Herbart.

more in his 'Scientific Psychology' (1824), he emphasised experience as the main foundation of the doctrine of the soul, but he significantly added to this principal foundation also metaphysics and mathematics. The object of the metaphysical inquiry was to arrive at a clear and consistent notion of the essence of the soul. The mathematical treatment was introduced in analogy with the then current mechanical foundations which had been gained for the physical sciences. Impressed with the fact that the inner life consisted in a continual movement of ideas (called in German *Vorstellungen* [1]), which

[1] It is probably through Herbart's influence that the recent school of introspective psychology in England, of which Prof. James Ward may be considered the leader and Prof. Stout the best known representative, has abandoned the older term Ideas—used since the time of Locke — for the more appropriate term Presentations. It is evidently a translation of the German "Vorstellungen," and permits of introducing the distinction between the mental fact or process of presenting and that which is presented; corresponding to the double meaning of the word "Vorstellung" as a psychical phenomenon on the one side and its definite content on the other. To a foreigner the use of the term "Vorstellungen" in Herbart's psychology with its two aspects occasions as much difficulty, whilst it affords at the same time as much helpful insight, as the term "Anschauung" in the philosophy of Kant and some of his successors. The rendering of the latter term by intuition was much less successful than the rendering of the former by presentation. Both terms have this in common, that they suggest a double aspect. "A presentation may be considered in two points of view, either as having intrinsically a certain qualitative content, or, mechanically, as a condition of change in the total mental system of which it forms a part. It is in the former way, not in the latter, that presentations are usually regarded by all who are not students of psychology. From this point of view, attention is fixed either on resemblance and difference and other relations constitutive of the presented content, or on its relation to objects which it is in some way supposed to represent. In either case there will appear to be an entire absence of anything that can be called agency in the presentations considered. Variations in our idea of a thing do not alter the thing itself, and resemblance and difference are not in any sense modes of interaction. Most persons find it difficult to grasp the conception of a psychological mechanism, because they habitually regard presentations purely as having a presented content. Nevertheless, the mechanical standpoint is a legitimate one, provided that its nature and limitations are duly recognised. Presentations act and react on each other in manifold ways. They exclude each other

rise, vanish, and chase each other, he conceived the plan of a psychical mechanics, divided into statics and dynamics. To these processes, *i.e.*, the conflict of ideas in the soul, he attempted to apply mathematical calculation through which the resultant intensities of the different ideas could be ascertained. Although the elaborate scheme of Herbart has in the main been abandoned, there is no doubt that he left upon German Psychology lasting marks of his work in two distinct directions. With an eye for the continual change and movement of ideas within the human soul, he attached much more importance to the tracing of this dynamical process than to a rigorous definition of the faculties of the soul, which was then current and which had been adopted even by Kant. Herbart probably did more than any other contemporaneous thinker to destroy the old faculty-psychology in Germany.[1] And secondly, in looking upon the conscious

from distinct consciousness, they reproduce each other, they support each other, and so forth. Now, the clear recognition of this distinction between presented and mechanical relation forms a leading feature in Herbart's psychology. He has embodied it in his use of the terms Presentative Activity and Presented Content, and he has made it the basis of his general method in dealing with psychological problems. He is perpetually inquiring what connection of presentative activities corresponds either to a certain connection of presented contents, or to feelings of pleasure and pain, or to desire. Now, if we turn to English writers, we meet with traces, but traces only, of this distinction. Nowhere do we find a thorough and consistent application of it, such as characterises the Herbartian system" (Stout in his article on "Herbart compared with English Psychologists," 'Mind,' vol. xiv. p. 2). It is interesting to see that a similar position is taken up by Renouvier in the 1st ed. of the 'Critique Générale' (part 1, sec. iii.): "Ce qui frappe d'abord dans la représentation, ce qui en est le caractère déterminatif, c'est qu'elle est à double face et ne peut se représenter à elle-même que bilatérale. Ces deux éléments que toute représentation suppose, je les signale et ne les définis pas en les nommant l'un *représentatif* et l'autre *représenté*.

[1] Herbart seems to have been led to his peculiar view through the influence of Fichte, who conceived of the mind as an original, assertive, and creative agent. Herbart, however, did not follow Fichte in his process of abstract thought through which the term Mind (Self or Ego) ceases to denote the individual and becomes a general or absolute mind, for Herbart was as much influenced by the individualism of Leibniz. He confines his ontology and psychology to that of individual beings, considering the conception of a general or absolute mind as an illegitimate abstraction. Accordingly he consistently opposes the higher Hegelian logic and psychology which, as it were, represents the life and thought of the Absolute, and he confines himself to the lower or formal logic, and to the psychology of individual human minds. The principal difference which existed between Herbart's psychological position and that of contemporary thinkers in this country was that Herbart, quite as much as the Idealists whom he opposed, came to psychology from the metaphysical point of view, *i.e.*, from the discussion of the problem of reality. This problem hardly existed for English and Scotch thinkers at that time. The Idealists, however, did not apply their metaphysical solutions of the problem of reality to that special reality which we call the Soul or the inner personal life of the individual, but dealt rather with cosmological and theological problems, as also with problems of human history and society. On the other side, the early educational interests of Herbart led him back to views current in the Leibniz-Wolffian school, which did not lose sight of the existence and independence of a plurality of individuals in the conception of an underlying unity or substance after the model of Spinoza. A new problem, however, existed for Herbart as it already existed for Leibniz — how is the plurality of existing beings (called by Herbart, "Reals") to be reconciled with the universal order? Leibniz had solved this problem in his "Monadology" by the conception of a central monad and the theory of a pre-established harmony. This solution Herbart does not adopt. For him the unity or order of the existing things and beings is that of a system, and as such he also conceives of the unity of mental life. This idea of a systematic unity, as differing from that of a substantial unity, has since the time of Herbart, and probably much through his influence, gained ground in modern psychology both in this country and abroad.

inner life as the playground of rising and vanishing ideas, he introduced the conception of the limit or threshold of consciousness, suggesting through this, if not elaborating, an idea which has since been variously worked out: that of the unconscious, the subconscious, and the subliminal.

13. Conceptions introduced by Herbart.

In addition to this, Herbart urged the necessity of conducting psychological inquiries by the exact method of observation, measurement, and calculation, and although he did not succeed in this endeavour he had a clear notion of what would be required in order to convert

14. Exact method.

psychology into an exact science. His followers in consequence adopted this term as characteristic of Herbart's school, and started in the year 1861 a periodical for exact philosophy. Of other developments which had their origin in Herbart's psychology I shall speak further on.

15. Beneke.

Almost simultaneously another German psychologist started in direct opposition to the current idealistic philosophy. This was Friedrich Eduard Beneke[1] (1798-1854). He did not succeed in impressing the German mind in the same way as Herbart had done, or in influencing philosophical thought. Yet he deserves to be specially mentioned in this connection as the only genuine representative in Germany of that important and original psychological school which had its origin in

[1] Beneke was influenced as much as Herbart by an educational interest, but he differs from Herbart, with whom he agrees in his opposition to idealism, by discarding all preliminary metaphysical discussions. For him psychology is the main part and foundation of all philosophy—much in the same way as philosophy of the human mind was considered in this country. The publication in 1822 of a work on 'Physics (not metaphysics) of Morality' ('Grundlegung zur Physik der Sitten'), drew after it the prohibition of his lecturing at the Berlin University, where he had, though unsupported by an official position, gathered a considerable audience. Beneke received verbally from the Minister Altenstein "an explanation that it was not single passages which had given offence, but the whole scheme, and that a philosophy which did not deduce everything from the Absolute could not be considered to be philosophy at all" (see Hertling in 'Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,' article "Beneke"). The supposition that Hegel personally influenced this remarkable decision can, according to Kuno Fischer ('Hegel's Leben,' &c., vol. i. p. 156), not be proved. It is rather a testimony to the enormous weight which Hegel's line of thought possessed in the eyes of statesmen like Altenstein, Johannes Schulze, and others. Beneke's view can be summed up in the statement that "the soul is a system of forces or faculties, under which name we have not to think of the faculties of the older psychology but of a systematic and completely unified complex" (ibid., vol. ii. p. 328). We are indebted to Prof. Stout for the first comprehensive appreciation in this country of Beneke's as well as of Herbart's psychology in his articles in 'Mind' referred to above.

this country,[1] where, up to the present day, it has preserved its fundamental characteristics, exhibiting an unbroken historical continuity. This is the genuinely introspective school of psychology. Its greatest representatives during the first two-thirds of the century are James Mill and Alexander Bain. Before entering on an

16. British introspective psychology.

[1] Beneke differed from Kant inasmuch as he did not admit that knowledge of mental phenomena or states revealed to us by the inner sense was merely phenomenal, as is the case with our knowledge of external things through the outer senses. On the contrary, he reduces all knowledge to that afforded by introspection and dealt with in empirical psychology. He therefore agrees to a large extent with English thinkers of the Associational school "on two fundamental points—(1) the dependence of all other branches of philosophy on psychology; (2) the dependence of psychology on introspection and, in the last resort, on introspection only. These capital points of agreement with English thinkers are at the same time capital points of disagreement between him and Herbart. Further traces of English influence in Beneke are perhaps to be found in his assiduous study of all facts likely to throw light on psychological problems, and at times also in his treatment of special questions. It must, however, be confessed that there was one lesson which he failed to learn from his favourite English writers. He did not learn from them to be cautious. . . . He claimed with reason the right of framing hypotheses to explain observed facts. But he pushed his hypotheses far beyond what the exigencies of psychological explanation required. . . . Nevertheless, it is right to treat him as a kind of link between English associational psychology on the one hand, and the psychology of Herbart on the other" (Stout, 'Mind,' vol. xiv. p. 25, &c.) The fact that Beneke did not accept the older view which considered the soul or mind as possessed of different faculties, but reduced the latter to mere dispositions which had to be developed by external stimuli, made his teaching even more acceptable than that of Herbart to educationalists; for the task of education as well as its value was clearly defined and emphasised. He had, accordingly, a considerable following among educationalists in Germany. On the other hand, von Hartmann emphasises the fact that "Beneke did not content himself with pointing to introspective phenomena as affording a secure and certain starting-point for psychology and philosophy, but that he went behind the phenomenal in search of unconscious origins and dispositions for the existence of which he could offer no empirical or metaphysical proof" ('Die Moderne Psychologie,' 1901, p. 11). There is, however, no doubt that Beneke's acceptance of psychical experience as ultimate and self-evident—giving the only knowledge of reality accessible to the human mind—is akin to a view which has found expression in quite recent times, though it can only be upheld by an altered conception of reality. Fr. Ueberweg (1826-71), the well-known historian of philosophy, was much influenced by Beneke, as notably in his 'System of Logic' (English translation by J. M. Lindsay, 1871).

account of this school, to which we probably owe the greater part of the important psychological work of the century, it may be interesting to refer briefly to the causes which prevented the purely introspective methods of psychology from ever receiving due recognition in Germany. The reason will probably be found in what may be called the essentially metaphysical turn of the German mind. The principal aim of all prominent thinkers in Germany down to the present day is to arrive at first principles, to lay firm foundations of knowledge and practice. This has seemed a necessary requisite because, ever since, through the political and ecclesiastical wars and controversies which followed the Reformation and accompanied the Revolution in Germany, not only the material progress of the nation had been arrested, the historical traditions and foundations of society destroyed, but also the fundamental beliefs criticised and variously attacked. This general unsettlement in the political, economical, social, and religious world urged upon thinkers as their first and paramount duty the laying and perfecting of solid foundations and principles. This was the task which Descartes had set himself in France, and which Leibniz, though in a less systematic manner, took up for the first time in Germany at the end of the seventeenth century. It has been considered as such by all prominent German thinkers down to the present day. It was most distinctly put forward by Kant and his immediate followers, and not less by those who stood in opposition than by those who professed to follow the lines which he had indicated.

So far as the special branch of philosophy with which

I am now concerned is affected, it might have appeared natural if the desire to make psychology, or the doctrine of the soul, a definite science, should have led out of metaphysics through observation of facts to that exact treatment which Herbart foreshadowed and which has to some extent—though on other lines—been realised in our days. Instead of that, the intermediate phase between the metaphysical and the exact treatment was, with the exception of Beneke, left out at the time. With the intention of arriving at the foundation of a reasoned or rational creed, and with the distinct assertion that the idealistic systems had failed to do so, it seemed natural to the German mind to take up those principles which had proved to be of such value in the exact and natural sciences. These had at the time of the collapse of the ruling idealistic philosophy attained to great prominence at some of the German universities; a new science, that of Physiology, had been founded by German thinkers, and great practical results in medical and industrial practice had already resulted mainly through the efforts of Johannes Müller and Liebig. To many enthusiastic inquirers and forceful minds nothing seemed simpler than to elevate the supposed elementary notions with which the natural sciences operated and which were in current use, such as matter and force, to the rank of fundamental principles for the mental sciences or even to that of articles of a new creed.[1] The errors

17. Attempt to base psychology on elementary scientific principles.

[1] It may be well to remark here that to follow the example of the natural sciences had been likewise the aim of the representatives of mental philosophy in this country at a much earlier date; the difference being mainly this, that it was the method and practice rather than the principles of the natural sciences which recommended themselves to British thinkers. This opened out the large field of ex-

which were committed by the logic of these thinkers were manifold, but two of them may be singled out not only as fatal to ultimate success but also as highly dangerous, inasmuch as their seductive nature prevented them from being readily detected, and because they were extremely difficult to destroy when once the popular understanding had given them an entry.

18. Errors of this procedure.

To begin with, the terms matter and force referred to notions which might appear clear to the popular mind, inasmuch as they were in daily use in common language, and as such seemed to convey a definite meaning. It was therefore an irony of fate that just about the time when these terms were placed at the head of a new philosophy and made the foundations, as it were, of a new creed, these same terms were being discarded from strict scientific treatises, and others being introduced which were capable of rigorous definition. The term matter was to be replaced in dynamical treatises by the word mass or inertia, and the word force had to give way to the less equivocal term, energy. Both mass and energy could be mathematically defined in terms of the measurable quantities, time, space, and velocity. It became quite clear in the course of the controversies carried on between the years 1840 and 1870, that the familiar term matter was not clearly definable, and that the word force was used to denote two entirely different conceptions. It was therefore unfortunate that in dealing with psychological questions, with things pertaining to the soul, two conceptions were placed at the head of the new doctrine which could not stand the test of rigorous definition.[1] The second error committed by the new school of thought was this, that in spite of all criticism which they rightly levelled against the vagueness of the older philosophy, they did not really break with the metaphysical method and resort to that method suggested by Beneke and to some extent by Herbart, the empirical method of introspection, but simply continued, on a lower plane, the same sort of abstract and *a priori* reasoning which they condemned in their opponents. By the time that this inherent defect of both idealism and materialism was recognised, another way had been opened by which access could be gained to the phenomena of the inner world: this was the method that studied them in their concomitant, physical and physiological manifestations. As I showed in former chapters,[2] the phenomena of consciousness began to be studied from the physiological side.

In the meantime, and only slightly influenced by German metaphysics, the introspective mode of dealing

perience and observation, whereas the introduction of the so-called principles or fundamental notions of physics and chemistry led rather to an abstract and contracted view of mental phenomena, to hasty generalisations, and, in the end, to purely verbal distinctions. In this country, in spite of the fact that the principles of exact science, the laws of motion, were first laid down and clearly defined in the 'Principia' of Newton, little was done to examine clearly and to define the range of applicability of these principles. Natural science was limited almost exclusively to observation and experiment. It was only through the French mathematicians, in the course of the eighteenth century, that the Newtonian principles were more clearly brought out, and only through Lavoisier that the conservation of mass, or rather the constancy of the weight of bodies, was made the foundation of modern chemistry. In Germany, on the other hand, the principles of dynamical and physical research were discussed in a philosophical spirit by Leibniz, in whom the tendency of the German mind to deal with fundamental questions was for the first time clearly exhibited.

[1] For a further discussion of the value of the fundamental notions of physical science for philosophical purposes, see chapter vi., *infra*, which deals with the philosophical problem of nature.

[2] See chapter xi., vol. ii. of this History.

with mental phenomena had been largely developed in this country, the results of this inquiry having found expression in the great psychological treatises of Alexander Bain (1818-1903),[1] which appeared shortly before the

[1] Of all philosophers during the nineteenth century Alexander Bain deserves pre-eminently to be called a psychologist. Others equally great in psychological analysis have nearly always been tempted to enter the arena of general philosophy, making psychology the fundamental doctrine from and through which metaphysical problems might be approached, or they have found psychology insufficient for this purpose. Bain moreover furnishes the best example of that tendency mentioned above (note 1, p. 23), of following in psychology the lead of the natural sciences. "Be it noted that Prof. Bain was, as most British philosophers have been, under the influence of the leading scientific conceptions of the moment. It may be affirmed generally that the advance in psychology in our land has very much followed the advance in physical research. The theory of sound, for instance, was the outstanding physical theory in the time of Hartley. Consequently he proceeded to interpret mind according to the analogy, and to represent the nervous process as simply propagations of vibrations as in sound. Chemistry, in like manner, came to the front in the days of Mill. Consequently the process of Association was interpreted in terms thereof—it was set forth as a kind of mental chemistry. So, in Dr Bain's time, physiology was attracting much attention, and the work of Johannes Müller, in particular, was greatly in evidence, and there was also an awakened interest in biology. Hence the physiological reference became prominent, and the method of natural history pointed the way to Dr Bain's mode of procedure" (Prof. W. L. Davidson in 'Mind,' 1904, p. 162). Prof. Sorley has, however, pointed out that the influence of physiology in Bain's writings is of a different kind from that in which chemistry influenced Mill: the latter being of the nature of analogy, whereas, in Bain, we find the tendency to explain mental facts and processes by physiological facts and processes. Bain's principal works ('The Senses and the Intellect,' 1855, 'The Emotions and the Will,' 1859) were written before the evolutionary theories of the influence of heredity and environment had been generally recognised. This further stage in natural science, fully established in this country only later by Darwin, led accordingly to a new scientific formulation in the region of psychology which is represented mainly by Herbert Spencer ('Principles of Psychology,' 1st ed. 1855, 2nd ed. 1870, 1872). It has been frequently remarked of Bain's writings, as likewise of those of Lotze in Germany, that they belong essentially to the pre-evolutionary period of thought. M. Ribot finds Bain deficient likewise in morbid psychology: "Je regrette, pour ma part, que M. Bain ait été si sommaire sur les phénomènes qui font la transition de la psychologie normale à la psychologie morbide (rêves, sommeil magnétique, &c.), et qu'il semblait si bien en état d'étudier. Mais le manque de méthode comparative est une des lacunes de l'ouvrage. Ajoutons-y l'absence trop fréquente de l'idée de progrès, d'où par suite l'étude dynamique des phénomènes a été quelquefois négligée" ('La Psychologie Anglaise Contemporaine,' 1870, p. 294). On the other side, it must be remarked that the mathematical treatment of psychical phenomena as it originated in Germany first through Herbart and more successfully through Prof. Wundt has never found much favour in this country. It is mainly through American writers that English psychological literature has been represented in this branch.

new school of psycho-physical research made its début in Germany. The British school had latterly benefited greatly by taking notice of the critical works of Kant and the physiological labours of Johannes Müller. It was mainly owing to Sir William Hamilton of Edinburgh, that the analysis of the intellectual constitution of the human mind, instituted by Kant in reply to the scepticism of Hume, received due recognition by one of the foremost representatives of the empirical school—John Stuart Mill.

The introspective school was not content to confine itself to purely descriptive work. It had elaborated a psychological theory of its own, which held a place in the labours of English writers similar to that occupied for a time in Germany by the theory of Herbart: this was the theory of Association.

19. Association-psychology.

The psychology of this school, usually termed association psychology, differed as much from the older faculty psychology as did the psychology of Herbart. It dates from the writings of Hume, perhaps even from those of Hobbes, as well as from those of David Hartley (1705-57). With the latter it starts from the idea already expressed by Locke, that the phenomena of the inner life can be traced back to sensations. But the way in which this idea was expressed suggested from the beginning a twofold development. It

did not only imply that the world of our senses supplies all the material for reflection and thought and the great development of abstract ideas, but also secondly, that this totality of sensations consists of separate elements into which it can be broken up, and out of which it can be put together again in the same way as we put together in chemistry physical bodies out of their elements. The first of these two aspects has been adopted by all the representatives of the empirical school, and also by those philosophers who make a definite distinction between the matter and the form of thought. But the second way of putting the truth which was implied in the sensational theory of knowledge led to a kind of atomism of thought, to what John Stuart Mill called a mental chemistry. We may say that the rigid views of the older faculty psychology were opposed in the German school of Herbart by emphasising the conflict and movement of ideas, these being conceived in analogy with mechanical forces, and that it was on the other side opposed in the English school of Hartley and James Mill by the attempt to show how the higher and more complex ideas were compounded out of simpler elements by the various processes of association.[1] The agency, however, which brought about this

[1] Prof. Stout in his analysis of Herbart's psychology has some valuable remarks as to the difference between the German and the British ways of approaching the subject. One of the principal differences lies in the much greater importance and prominence which both Herbart and Beneke, especially the former, attached to the unity of consciousness or of the soul. This characteristic of the inner life stands with Herbart in the foreground of psychological investigation; with contemporaneous British thinkers it is kept in the background, or rather implied. For Brown, "the unity of the mind is rather an abstract unity excluding difference, than a concrete unity including and connecting differences. Herbart also regarded the soul as a unity excluding difference. He even held this doctrine in a more rigid and uncompromising form than any other philosopher" ('Mind,' 1889, p. 18). "For Herbart, as well as for Locke and his successors, the unity of the mind was primarily an hypostasised abstraction of unity. But the German thinker differs from the English both in the manner in which he arrived at this conception and in the psychological consequences which he deduced from it. It was through exclusive reliance on the immediate evidence of internal perception that the countrymen of Bacon fell into this error. With Herbart, on the contrary, it was an integral part of an elaborate and highly speculative system of metaphysics. He was led by a process of abstract reasoning to maintain the simplicity of the soul in so absolute a sense that he was compelled to exclude from its intrinsic nature all variety and difference whatever, including even successive modification in time. Thus he cannot, like Locke, treat the mind as essentially a combining agency, or, like Brown, as a substance passing through a series of states. He is therefore unable to introduce into his psychology the metaphysical conception of the unity of the soul, except by transforming it, however inconsistently, into a conception of synthetic unity, which takes a twofold form in its application to presented content and to mechanical interaction respectively" (ibid., p. 19, *et seq.*) Herbart, as we know, was influenced by Leibniz. Now Leibniz in his well-known criticism of Locke laid stress on the fact that in mental science we have not only to do with what is in the intellect but also with the intellect itself. This puts the question of the combining agency or unity of the soul into the foreground. Herbart was further influenced by the mechanical sciences of his age. But in dynamical reasoning we deal with the composition of forces acting on a point and merging into a resultant. And it seems likely that putting these two aspects together Herbart found his way from the unity of the soul to the multiplicity of psychical phenomena under the conception of the play of different forces, whereas English psychologists, such as Mill, fastened rather upon the analogy of chemically different substances combining in the unity of a compound with different properties. In fact, Herbart thought mechanically, the Associationists, chemically.

union of simple into complex ideas was left very much in the dark; as in chemistry, for a long time, chemical affinity remained unexplained and obscure. Hume, in trying to account for the conception of cause and effect, for the inevitable connection which we recognise in the succession of phenomena, reduced this fundamental fact of all experience to the custom or habit which the repetition of the same sequence inevitably produces. Hartley, adopting a similar explanation, confirmed and strengthened it by supposing that this habit was acquired through the physical constitution of the nervous system. He held

in fact that sensation is the result of physical vibrations in the nerves, which leave behind them the tendency or habit of vibrating, this being the physical explanation of memory. Hartley took note of only one kind of association, viz., association by contiguity, sensations being together, either in space (synchronous) or in time (successive). James Mill took up the theory of Hartley, but he, like Hartley, confined himself to association in space (synchronism) and association in time (succession), whereas Hume had recognised three forms of association, viz., contiguity in time or space, resemblance, and causality.

20. James Mill's mental chemistry.

James Mill also laid stress upon the fact that, in the same way as in chemical compounds, the result or product may appear to be simple, and that the elements out of which it is compounded may from various causes become imperceptible. And he as well as Hartley attempted to show how simple mental states may, through the union with others, lead to apparently quite different states. For instance, disinterested love might have been developed out of originally selfish emotion. The principle of association was thus employed to bring unity and simplicity into the chaotic mass of the phenomena of the inner world, and it cannot be denied that the simplicity with which this complicated subject was thus represented did much to recommend the whole scheme. It was further elaborated with a very large amount of evidence drawn from original observation, as well as from physiological research,

21. Alex. Bain.

by Alexander Bain in his two well-known treatises mentioned above.[1] Bain, however, remedied in addition one

[1] See p. 27, note 1.

of the principal defects in the psychology of the empirical school, a defect which had been noticed not only in this country but also in France. Of this I shall speak later on.

In the meantime it will be of interest to draw attention to some of the general characteristics of the British schools of philosophy. There never has existed in this country, up to quite recent times, a ruling system of philosophy in the sense in which we may speak of the ruling systems of Descartes, of Leibniz, Kant, and Hegel abroad. It is quite true that Hobbes elaborated a system of philosophy and Berkeley suggested one, but neither had acquired any widespread following or currency. More than by systems of philosophy the British mind has been led by methods of thought. Such methods are, for instance, the inductive methods usually connected with the name of Bacon, the common-sense and the introspective methods usually connected with the name of Thomas Reid and the Scottish school. One of the results of this attitude of the British mind has been the absence of completeness and finality in many of the arguments of English and Scotch thinkers. In spite of great acuteness and originality, they have rarely pursued their leading ideas to their ultimate conclusions. Instinctively they have mostly been satisfied with the attitude peculiar to the natural sciences, where definite methods are employed and principles applied so long as they prove to be useful; being frequently abandoned when it becomes evident that their usefulness has come to an end. Thus, for instance, the division which in the Baconian

22. Want of system in British philosophy.

philosophy was set up between the knowledge of natural and spiritual things, amounted to a merely temporary division of mental labour, signifying a truce rather than a final reconciliation. This truce lasted for more than two centuries, when, in the end, it became evident that the growth of natural knowledge gained by the application of the inductive methods would entrench upon those regions which had been reserved to theology and to the formation and development of a practical creed. What the Germans call "zu Ende denken," the thinking out or pursuing of a course of thought into its remote conclusions, is a thing rarely practised in this country as it is abroad. As soon as any argument, however logical it may appear, comes into conflict with common-sense, or with strongly held beliefs, it loses its hold of the British mind in the same way as any theory in science would do as soon as it came into conflict with facts. The consequence is that many original lines of thought which were started in this country have, when adopted abroad, acquired quite a different complexion from what they presented in their native country. Examples of this are the appearance of Newtonianism in France and Darwinism in Germany. In philosophy the teachings of Locke led to sensationalism and materialism under the hands of French thinkers, such as Helvetius and Condillac. In the controversy between Leibniz and Locke's younger contemporary, Clarke, it was quite evident that the former realised more clearly the ultimate outcome of Locke's reasoning and the necessity of dealing with it. In this country these ultimate conclusions were probably first realised by Berkeley and Hume. The former replied

by a system of philosophy which remained unnoticed at the time, receiving merited attention only quite recently. Hume was content to leave matters in the state of special problems which he defined but did not attempt ultimately to solve. It must also not be forgotten that none of the great thinkers, from Bacon to Hume, were charged with teaching, *i.e.*, with imparting their ideas to younger minds. They held no official positions which necessitated them seriously to consider the educational side of their doctrines.

23. University teaching in Scotland.

The educational demand arose in this country prominently through the teaching at the Scotch Universities. These were, as I mentioned on a former occasion, modelled upon the continental system; on that system which obtained in France and the Netherlands. They were Universities in the true sense of the word. Their task was to cultivate the complete circle of knowledge. In this they differed, up to quite recent times, from the two great English universities, which excelled rather in a few special branches of knowledge, and which approached the ideal of a university, compassing the whole circle of learning and thought, only within the second half of the nineteenth century. The same peculiarity which has characterised the teaching at the older English universities, that it nursed excellence in single and unconnected branches of learning, is characteristic of all English thought as opposed to that of the Continent: it utters itself freely in works of individual excellence and originality, with little regard for systematic completeness. But wherever the latter, as expressed in the term "universitas," is attempted,

it becomes inevitable that subjects have to be treated and matters discussed, for which an assembly of even the greatest scholars cannot guarantee adequate and equal treatment. Du Bois-Reymond, the great physiologist of Berlin, has truly and honestly admitted this fact in saying that the teacher of physiology has indeed to teach a great many things which he does not know. We may express this fact, which has exerted an enormous influence upon the development of philosophic systems, and, indeed, on all comprehensive doctrines, by saying that the position of an official teacher imposes upon him obligations which the unofficial and extramural scholar has never to face. These demands, which the position of a university professor officially imposes, made themselves felt when the Scotch universities took up the teaching of moral and mental philosophy in the eighteenth century;[1] they were accentuated when that

[1] "The Parliamentary Commission for visiting the Universities, appointed in 1690 and following years, directed in 1695 the Professors of Philosophy in St Andrews to prepare the heads of a system of Logic, and the corresponding Professors in Edinburgh to prepare a course of Metaphysics. The compends drawn up in consequence were passed from one college to another for revision; there is no evidence that they were finally sanctioned, but they may be accepted as giving a fair idea of the instructions in philosophy conveyed in the universities of Scotland at the close of the seventeenth century — at the very time when Locke's Essay was finding its way so rapidly over the three kingdoms. Logic is called the instrument to acquire other sciences, inasmuch as it prescribes rules for rightly apprehending, judging, and arguing. . . . Metaphysics are said to be defined by some as a science of being as being; by others as a speculative science, which considers being in general and its properties and kinds as abstracted from matter. The benefits arising from the study of metaphysics are said to be, that treating of undoubted truths and axioms we are enabled by their assistance the better to discover truths generally and avoid errors. . . . That . . . it aids the understanding in every kind of learning, and specially in theology, in which use is made of metaphysical terms. . . . Such was the pabulum on which college youths fed during the century" (M'Cosh, 'The Scottish Philosophy,' 1875, pp. 22, *et seq.*)

crisis of thought had to be faced, which was marked by the writings of David Hume.[1] Similar demands presented themselves when in Germany the original but fragmentary ideas of Leibniz had to be worked into a system which should form the basis of university teaching. Again, the same practical problem had to be solved when during the Restoration in France the great teachers of philosophy had to meet the demands made upon them by the official system of higher instruction. The way in which this practical problem was solved differed in all the three cases according to the genius of the nation, the prejudices, the exigencies, and the surroundings of the age. There are two distinct ways in which the teacher of any large subject can make up for the deficiencies which his personal knowledge or that of his age must necessarily contain. No doubt both ways are generally resorted to. He can either appeal to custom and tradition, or he can extend the principles and ideas which have proved fruitful in the treatment of restricted fields to the whole of the region which he desires to cultivate. In the degree in which he gives more weight to the one or to the other of these methods, his teaching will become practical or abstract, conventional or revolutionary, satisfying on the one side

[1] We know that in 1744 David Hume was anxious "to be appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, but public sentiment could not bear the idea of one so sceptical being appointed a teacher of youth" (M'Cosh, p. 124).

"People have often speculated as to what Hume would have taught had he been elected Professor of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh. I believe he would have expounded a utilitarian theory, ending in the recommendation of the pleasant social virtues; speaking always respectfully of the Divine Being, but leaving His existence an unsettled question" (ibid., p. 153).

the inherent common-sense, on the other the ideal demands of our nature.

There can be no doubt which of the two courses was mainly favoured by those teachers of philosophy beginning with Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746) and ending with Sir William Hamilton (1788-1856), who together form the Scottish school of philosophy.[1] They all appealed to what was early called by them common-sense, a term which the historian of Scottish philosophy, James M'Cosh, has traced to the writings of Shaftesbury. With some correctness it may be said that the opposition to the theoretical movement in English philosophy which began with Locke and was continued by Berkeley and

24. Philosophy of common-sense.

[1] The history of this school has been written by James M'Cosh, who gives a very complete account of the different members and their teaching. He traces the beginnings of this school back to Bacon, Locke, and Shaftesbury in England, and includes a great number of names of local importance, but little known outside of their own country. The Scottish school, though it educated James Mill, led to an independent development when the latter left Scotland for London, where he came under the influence of Hartley's philosophy and Bentham's political theories. Besides, "it is not uncommon for Scotchmen, when they bury themselves in London, to lose their religious faith, which is so sustained by public opinion—as Mill would have said, by association of ideas—in their native land" (M'Cosh, *loc. cit.*, p. 372). He also abandoned Scottish metaphysics for the more fruitful and practical problems of economics and political philosophy. The other development which led Scottish thought out of the precincts of the native school came through Sir Wm. Hamilton who adopted some of Kant's doctrines and prepared the way for that more recent school of thought which centres in the names of T. H. Green and Edward Caird. In Germany the Scottish school is known only through the scanty information which Kant possessed of some—and these not the most important—of Hume's and Reid's writings. This was, however, enough to start in him an independent line of reasoning, so different from that of the Scottish thinkers that for German thinkers, with the exception of Beneke, Scottish philosophy lost all interest and attractiveness. As to the relation at the Scottish universities between theological and philosophical teaching, M'Cosh singles out Thos. Chalmers (1780-1847) as the principal thinker in whom the reconciliation between Scottish philosophy and Scottish theology was effected. Before his time there existed "a severance, at times an opposition, if not avowed yet felt, between the Scottish philosophy and the Scottish theology" (*loc. cit.*, p. 393).

Hume, started in the popular and elegant writings of Shaftesbury, but received a more professional expression in the writings of the Scottish university teachers.[1] The great problem with which they were concerned was to define what is meant by common-sense, and to what extent the appeal to common-sense is legitimate and ultimate. So far as the subject is concerned with which I am dealing at present, Thomas Reid, who occupies the central position in this Scottish school, appeals to common-sense against the scepticism of Hume, as immediately revealing to us two facts: the existence of an external world, and that of the soul. These two principles are elements of our original nature as it came from the hands of the Creator. Every sensation which I receive brings with it the belief in an external object and of myself, the experiencing subject. Reid, in fact, appealed to what in more recent philosophical phraseology are called the data of consciousness, and, in doing so, he opened out and cultivated the great field of observation of the phenomena of the inner world. He has been blamed for multiplying too much the number of these immediate data, but he and his followers have the merit of taking due note of the breadth and fulness of the human mind, of its active as well as its intellectual powers, and of counteracting the one-sided intellectualism and the exclusiveness of those who would find the solu-

[1] None of the principal representatives of the English, as distinguished from the Scottish school of philosophy, beginning with Bacon and ending with John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer, were university teachers. Like so many of the great naturalists and natural philosophers in England, they developed their ideas in treatises dealing usually with one or a few special problems without any attempt towards completeness or systematic unity. The latter appears for the first time, as has already been said, in Herbert Spencer.

tion of the philosophical or psychological problem in a single principle. It is true that they frequently seemed content with a description where others would seek for explanations, and that, as for instance in the lectures of Thomas Brown,—who, however, approximated, on many points, to the English school,—rhetoric frequently takes the place of argument.

In this country the labours of the Scottish school of psychology were to a great extent cast into the shade by the more critical and penetrating writings of James and John Stuart Mill, and by the new phase of thought which has its beginning in the last representative of the Scottish school. In the writings of Hamilton, and those of his disciple Mansel, the slowly elaborated arguments of the English and Scottish schools came into contact with the foundations of religious belief. The Bampton Lectures on the "Limits of Religious Thought" put an end, once for all, to that truce which Bacon had established between philosophical or scientific and spiritual knowledge.[1] But outside of

[1] The history of the earlier school of Scottish philosophy down to its latest representative, Sir Wm. Hamilton, has been written by Prof. Pringle-Pattison (Andrew Seth) in the first part of his Balfour Lectures. He there very lucidly deals with that special problem through which Scottish philosophy came into contact with German thought: the problem of knowledge. It is, therefore, not so much the psychology of the school, in which we are for the moment mostly interested, that he discusses. It is rather the problem of knowledge, which will occupy us in one of the following chapters. He shows that the influence of Kant upon Hamilton signifies a departure from the genuine spirit which pervades the earlier representatives of the Scottish school—notably the writings of Thos. Reid,—and he maintains that the agnostic conclusions of Hamilton and Mansel led "Scottish philosophers (to) set about a more careful revision of their premises" (A. Seth, 'Scottish Philosophy,' 1885; 3rd ed. 1899, p. 186). How this led, through a study of Hegel, to a philosophical position not unlike that occupied by Lotze in Germany, I shall have opportunities of showing in the sequel of this History.

this country the philosophy, and especially the psychology, of the Scottish school met with due recognition by the French philosophers of the time of the Restoration.

As is well known, and has been mentioned in the course of this History, the philosophy of Locke was introduced into France mainly through the influence of Voltaire, who made it, as well as the natural philosophy of Newton, a prominent subject in his 'Lettres sur les Anglais,' published in 1731.

25. British ideas carried over to France.

The new ideas which were contained in this philosophy fell upon a more genial soil in France, where everything was prepared to receive the seed of the mental revolution which they contained. M. Taine has eloquently set forth the reasons why the philosophy of the eighteenth century, which was born in England, met with its full development in France. "The new seed fell upon a suitable soil in the country of the classical spirit. In this country of logical reasoning it did not meet any of those rivals which choked it on the other side of the Channel, and it not only acquires immediately the force of the rising sap, but also the organ of propagation which was wanting. This organ is the art of language: eloquence applied to the most serious subjects, the talent of illuminating everything. The good writers of this nation express things better than those of any other nation. Their books teach little to genuine scholars, but it is by the art of language that men are ruled, and the mass of them, continually driven away from the sanctuary of the sciences by the severe style and the execrable taste of other learned works, cannot

resist the seductiveness of the French style and method."[1] Accordingly M. Taine maintains that "the fever of demolition and reconstruction remained superficial and momentary in England. Deism, atheism, materialism, scepticism, ideology, theories of the return to nature, proclamation of the rights of men, all the audacities of Bolingbroke, Collins, Toland, Tindal, and Mandeville, all the darings of Hume, Hartley, James Mill, and Bentham, all the revolutionary doctrines remained there, greenhouse plants confined here and there in the isolated cabinets of a few thinkers: in the open air they quickly degenerated after a short blossoming, through the heavy competition of the older vegetation which still occupied the land."[2]

This older vegetation was the inductive spirit, the healthy common-sense and the constitutional life of the nation which then already "slowly broadened down from precedent to precedent." Locke had something else to do than to work out a system of philosophy by drawing out with slender logic the extreme conclusions of a theory which worked with the two conceptions of sensation and reflection and started with the human soul as a *tabula rasa*. His writings on questions of government, on toleration, and education, had the object not of upsetting but of reforming the existing political and social conditions. The extreme consequences of his line of reasoning, drawn by Hume, were — when the appeal to common-sense was allowed — easily refuted by Thomas

[1] See H. Taine, 'Les Origines de la France Contemporaine' (L'Ancien Régime), 15th ed. 1887, p. 331, &c. The above quotation includes a passage from Joseph de Maistre referring to French style.

[2] Taine, *loc. cit.*, p. 330.

Reid and others by appealing to common-sense. To this school, which had to teach the youth of Scotland, common-sense included the universally admitted conceptions of an enlightened form of Christian doctrine. This had, in their country, received a very strong popular confirmation by the evangelical movement which opposed free thought as much as extreme clericalism, and which trusted to immediate evidences and inner light. This immediate evidence or common-sense told man that the world had a Creator, that he himself had a soul and a spiritual destiny. Such a broad basis of common-sense, such a fruitful field for social reform and popular instruction, did not exist in France. Writers of the most opposite schools have eloquently described the condition of things there. Not only M. Taine but Victor Cousin has described the reception which Locke's ideas met with in France, where the logical and systematic mind of Condillac reduced them to an extreme sensationalism which took no notice of all the surrounding conditions and the background of Locke's philosophy.

If we leave out this background and the evidence of common-sense, if we abandon, as Hume did, the doctrine of the substantial nature of the soul, the psychology which remains reduces the inner life to a passive receptivity, the mind to a *tabula rasa*, to a blank page which receives passively the impressions of the senses; and even the word reflection, which denotes the process by which general ideas and knowledge are formed, does not help us to understand the two great facts of the inner world: its unity and its activity. Hume recognised the difficulty, but he contented himself with

leaving it standing as an insoluble dilemma. In France the successors of Condillac early recognised that the theory which reduced all inner life to an automatic occurrence with the semblance only of a spiritual reality was neither theoretically nor practically satisfactory. Practically the opponents of the Revolution saw in the anarchy of the latter the proof that something was wanting which should govern and direct the aimlessness of human actions when abandoned to complete freedom. This something they found in the return to that authority which in church and society had been destroyed by the Revolution. It was the philosophy of pure reaction, it found its classical expression in the writings of Joseph de Maistre (1754-1821). This position led to no further philosophical development, but only to an attempted rehabilitation of the spiritual despotism of the Roman Catholic church with its dogma of infallibility. But the followers of Condillac, notably Cabanis (1757-1808) and De Tracy, actuated by a truly scientific spirit, pointed out what was wanting in Condillac's system, which emphasised unduly the passive and receptive side of the inner world, being mainly interested in an analysis of the processes of understanding and reasoning. These had, through the enormous development of the mathematical and abstract sciences during that period, absorbed by far the greater and the most original part of the intellect of the age. Condillac had in the second edition of his 'Treatise on Sensations'[1] already pointed out one of the defects in his earlier edition; he incidentally makes the remark that our knowledge of external things as outside

26. Reaction and development.

[1] Ravaisson, pp. 13, 14.

of our sensations has its origin in the reaction from outside against our own activity, and De Tracy had significantly added that the principle of our action is the will and that the latter is our personality. "Within the torrent of our sensations there is nothing but appearance, there is neither a self nor a not-self; surfaces as it were without an inside or an outside; through the consciousness of our own willing we learn at once ourselves and something other than ourselves: that there are on this side and on that side of sensations an inner world and an outer world: two realities opposed to each other and which, in the act of concurrence, touch and penetrate each other."[1] As M. Ravaisson says, it was tantamount to finding again the soul itself below the passivity of sensations, which since Hume seemed to explain everything.

27. De Tracy and the idea of activity.

By referring to this principle of activity, the point was defined at which psychology would separate itself as a mental science from the physical sciences that threatened to absorb it.[2] Both positions, that of re-

[1] Quoted by Ravaisson, 'La Philosophie en France au XIX^e^ Siècle,' 1868, p. 13, &c.

"Sous la passivité des sensations, qui, depuis Hume, semblait tout expliquer, retrouver l'activité, c'était, sous le matériel, retrouver l'esprit même. Forte de cette découverte, la philosophie devait bientôt se dégager de la physique, sous laquelle Locke, et Hume, et Condillac lui-même l'avaient comme accablée. Deux hommes surtout y aidèrent: Maine de Biran et Ampère."

[2] This point is well brought out by M. Ferraz in his 'History of French Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century' (vol. iii., 'Spiritualisme et Libéralisme,' p. 55 and following). "Les philosophes écossais croient que, si les sciences morales sont moins avancées que les sciences physiques, cela tient à ce qu'elles ne suivent pas la méthode de ces dernières; qu'elles la suivent donc et elles ne tarderont pas à les atteindre. Or, la méthode des sciences physiques consiste à observer les phénomènes matériels et à déterminer par induction les lois qui les régissent, sans se préoccuper ni de leurs causes ni de l'essence de la matière. Les sciences morales devront donc, de leur côté, se borner à observer les faits psychologiques et à en induire les lois, sans s'inquiéter ni de leurs

ducing the study of the phenomena of the inner world to a study of natural phenomena, and that of looking upon them as constituting a reality within themselves, were represented in France during the first half of the nineteenth century by prominent and original thinkers. The first thesis aimed at including psychology within the new science of biology which had been founded in the beginning of the century by Bichat. For its adherents the word soul had no meaning. The second strove to establish psychology and all the mental sciences upon an independent principle, maintaining the reality and substantiality of this principle. This would amount in the end to a definition of what is signified by the term soul and its synonyms such as mind, spirit, the inner and the higher life.

28. Maine de Biran.

The man who probably conceived the psychological problem most deeply was Maine de Biran (1766-1824). He was a disciple of Condillac, but in insisting untiringly upon the process of introspection as the only way

causes ni de la nature de l'âme elle-même. Cette conséquence, nous ne l'imposons pas aux Écossais et à Jouffroy; ils la tirent eux-mêmes. Reid et Stewart, si prodigues de détails, quand il s'agit de décrire l'imagination ou l'association des idées, ne parlent guère que pour mémoire de la spiritualité de l'âme. Ils l'admettent plutôt comme hommes et comme chrétiens que comme philosophes et semblent y voir un mystère inaccessible à la raison humaine. Jouffroy bien que plus hardi que ses maîtres de l'Écosse, recule devant la question de l'immortalité du principe pensant et déclare qu'il faut la laisser mûrir quelque temps encore, la science n'étant point pour le moment en mesure de l'aborder. Ce philosophe ne s'aperçoit pas qu'en s'en tenant à la méthode inductive, c'est-à-dire à la méthode des sciences physiques, la science ne sera pas plus en mesure d'aborder cette question dans mille ans qu'aujourd'hui. L'immortalité de l'âme, en effet, repose sur sa causalité, son unité, son identité; or, ce sont là des attributs qui se constatent; ils ne s'induisent pas. Pour résoudre de telles questions, il ne faut pas recourir à la méthode des Écossais, qui n'est que la méthode de Bacon généralisée, mais à la méthode de Biran qui est celle de Descartes perfectionnée."

to find the essence of the inner life, by searching for it deeper and deeper, he separated himself more and more from the system of his master. In many ways his position and his career differed from that of other prominent thinkers of his age; for he was neither a politician nor a teacher of philosophy. His practical occupation consisted in administrative work, holding official positions during the Revolution, the Empire, and the Restoration. In passing, we may note that he thus belonged to that organisation which preserved all through the rapidly succeeding catastrophes and changes of the age that continuity and stability which did so much for the French nation: I refer to the organisation of administrative and legislative work. He has been called the greatest French psychologist of the nineteenth century. His influence was to a great extent personal, his works are fragmentary, and the most important and interesting among them were not published till long after his death; nevertheless he may be considered as a centre of philosophical thought, and as such he has recently received increased appreciation.[1] He marks the trans-

[1] French psychology during the first half of the nineteenth century had at the time little direct influence on European thought as a whole. Accordingly we do not read much about it either in English or in German contemporary philosophical literature, and it is only since the more recent development of French philosophy has attracted attention and appreciation outside of France that the larger histories of philosophy have begun to assign to it an important place in the History of European Thought. Among these Prof. Höffding's History, written from an international point of view, gives the fullest and most satisfactory account, though he himself, in a later work ('Moderne Philosophen,' 1905, p. 67), declares that he has not been able to give it that exhaustive study which it deserves. M. Ferraz has written its history in three volumes, dealing separately with three currents of thought, called respectively Socialism, Traditionalism, and Spiritualism. The first includes Naturalism and Positivism; the second, Ultramontanism; and the third, Liberalism (1877,

ition from the professedly naturalistic to the professedly psychological treatment of mental phenomena. The former was represented within the teaching profession by the medicals and by the lecturers at the École Polytechnique, the latter by the lecturers at the École Normale. Auguste Comte, himself a student and lecturer at the former institution, refers in a letter to the impending "struggle between the *Normaliens* and the *Polytechniciens*, which he regarded as a special form of the struggle between the metaphysical and positivist schools."[1]

&c.) By far the most interesting account is the brilliant "Rapport" on French philosophy during the first two-thirds of the century which M. Ravaisson wrote at the instigation of the Ministry of Public Instruction under the Second Empire ('La Philosophie en France au XIX^{e} Siecle,' 1868). It forms one of a series of reports on the progress of Letters and Science in France, suggested no doubt by, and as a sequel to, the Reports which the first Napoleon ordered the Academy to prepare in the beginning of the century. Modern French philosophy first attained to a prominent position in European thought through Auguste Comte, who, as we shall see later on, opposed not only metaphysics but also the psychological or introspective method emphasised in the school of Victor Cousin in opposition to the scientific method of the naturalistic school. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that through taking note of the different schools of thought prevalent in neighbouring countries, such as the commonsense philosophy of the Scottish school—mainly through Royer Collard, and the idealistic philosophy of Germany—mainly through Madame de Staël (1766-1817, in her 'Sur l'Allemagne,' 1813), and by Degerando, as also by reviving the study of Descartes and of the Ancients, the spiritualistic school, through its very eclecticism, brought together a very large body of thought and much material. More recent thinkers, with whom we shall become acquainted in the sequel, have criticised and developed this in an original manner. In itself the psychology of the earlier part of the century in France appears uncertain and inconclusive, being in search rather than in possession of a new principle wherewith to oppose the purely intellectual conception of the school of Condillac with its materialistic tendencies. Most of the prominent members of this school, such as Maine de Biran, Jouffroy, and Victor Cousin, are continually changing their attitudes, and must have been to the young and ardent spirits of that age suggestive and stimulating on the one side, unsettling and unsatisfying on the other.

[1] H. Höffding, 'History of Modern Philosophy,' English trans., vol. ii. p. 319.

Maine de Biran influenced mathematicians like Ampère and Sophie Germain, as well as leaders of the higher instruction such as Royer Collard and Victor Cousin.

With the intention of escaping from the materialism of the opposite school, and with a desire of impressing younger minds with the realities of the inner world, Royer Collard, who like so many others had gone through the disillusionment of the Revolution, adopted the method of introspection, which in the course of his studies he found to be most genuinely represented by Thomas Reid. He was animated by the "idea of transferring into the domain of philosophy the method of observation to which we owe the discovery of so many truths in the natural sciences, and of abandoning the tendency to systematise, that inexhaustible source of error."

29. Royer Collard and Cousin.

Royer Collard was appointed to the chair of History of Philosophy at the University by the Emperor Napoleon in 1811. This new departure in philosophical teaching, which Royer Collard continued for only four years, was taken up and brilliantly carried on for a long period by Victor Cousin (1792-1867). The centre of gravity of his teaching lay in the history of philosophy, the exhaustive exposition of which by means of a fascinating but frequently fanciful rhetoric had the result of interesting a large number of younger talents in the study of the various philosophies of the ancient and modern world from an ideal point of view. Biran recognised that this teaching led away from the true psychology which he had in view, but he himself did not escape the

influence which more than any other, and largely through Cousin himself, made itself felt in the development of philosophical thought in France. I refer to the influence of Kant and of German idealism.

30. Influence of Kant and of German idealism.

Before considering this new influence which spread, in the course of the century, over the whole of European thought, it is well to remark that the French psychology of the earlier part of the century, though much influenced by the purely psychological interest of the Scottish school, nevertheless assumed quite a different character. Whereas at the Scottish universities empirical psychology was for the first time cultivated in a broad spirit and by introspective methods, psychology in France showed a tendency to become metaphysical, aiming at the solution of problems which in the terminology of Wolff's school belonged to rational, not to empirical psychology. This was no doubt one of the reasons which made Comte doubt its value and discard it as useless. We have seen how French thinkers criticised the psychologists of the Scottish school as dealing merely with the phenomena of mental life and not with the main problems, such as the nature of the soul and its destiny. That Scottish psychology was in much of its teaching and original research able to move in narrower and defined limits has been to its advantage. It was enabled to do so through its more or less intimate alliance with Scottish theology as taught at the same universities. This has been pointed out by M'Cosh, the historian of Scottish philosophy. The fundamental questions of the nature, the origin, and the future of the human soul were dealt with in the theological, not in the philosophical lecture-room.

They formed the recognised groundwork, and were accepted by the philosophical teachers in the form of truths—be it of natural or of revealed religion—and as little analysed as the axioms of geometry or natural philosophy were analysed in their respective lecture rooms. This exclusion of what, on the Continent, was considered to be included in the task of the mental philosopher, really formed the strength of the Scottish school, through which it has become the founder of British psychology, *i.e.*, of psychology proper, excluding—though not uninfluenced by—metaphysics on the one side and natural science on the other. French as well as German thinkers having, unlike their Scottish contemporaries, assumed an independent attitude with regard to traditional beliefs as taught in the ruling churches of their countries, had to seek and establish that metaphysical or rational groundwork which contemporary thinkers in Scotland found ready made, and which they, on their part, had little inducement either to challenge or to prove. The consequence was that in Germany, in certain schools, for a considerable time, psychology was entirely neglected in favour of metaphysics, and that in France the spiritualistic school conducted a continued search for metaphysical principles.

II.

31. Kant and psychology.

The far-reaching influence which the idealistic philosophy of Germany had on the conception of all philosophical problems has shown itself prominently also with

regard to all those questions which refer to the inner life, to the soul. To the historian of philosophy, and still more to the historian of thought, this influence announces itself not only by the appearance of quite a new vocabulary, but also by the altered meaning of older and well-known terms. Nothing is more perplexing, more difficult to understand, for the student who approaches for the first time the works of the German philosophers, from Kant to Schopenhauer, than the words and phrases which they employ and which lend themselves only awkwardly to a rendering in other modern languages. This new terminology is in itself an indication that we have to do with quite a new body of ideas, that the discussion of all philosophical problems has been moved on to an entirely different plane.[1] We shall meet this change of level in the discussion of philosophical questions in every instance where, in the course of this History, we deal with other matters than those pertaining to psychology or to the soul. It will therefore be useful to state in as few and simple words as possible wherein this radical change of aspect consists. Perhaps it can be more readily understood in contrasting the treatment which psychological phenomena received in the idealistic schools with that which obtained in the English and French schools during the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century. The latter had collected a large amount of detailed knowledge of the various sides which the inner life presented, but the problem of the unity and essence of the soul had been either neglected or kept in the background as belonging to a different province, or it had been pronounced to be insoluble. The first of these three positions was that of Locke, the second that of the Scottish school, the third that of Hume. Kant was induced to take up the question in the course of the study of some of Hume's later writings, and the problem which he fixed on was the problem of the unity of thought.[1] He did not start

[1] This point is well brought out by Prof. R. Eucken in his 'Geschichte der Philosophischen Terminologie,' Leipzig, 1879: "Especially in the theory of knowledge, that high-water mark of Kantian thought, we find much that is independent. The traditional also is here moved into a new aspect, in particular we may remark, *e.g.*, the following distinctions and oppositions: theoretical and practical knowledge, sense and understanding, understanding and reason, empirical and pure intuition, concepts of the understanding and of the reason, analytical and synthetical judgments, constitutive and regulative principles, immanent and transcendent principles, 'thing in itself' and appearance, semblance and appearance, phenomena and noumena, intellectual and intelligible. In these and in other distinctions we recognise throughout the specific diversities of knowledge as a whole; so far as the substance is concerned we recognise the endeavour to keep the subjective and the objective apart. In physics we find the opposition of mechanical and dynamical philosophy, of the inorganic and organic, of mechanism and teleology, of internal and external purpose, &c.; in psychology, the separation of the mechanical and the chemical senses, of effort and passion, &c." (p. 146).

"Kant sometimes adopts notions as he received them by tradition, brings them into the crucible of his own thought and elaborates them. We have then something that is novel, but a residue remains and a certain discordance is unmistakable. That Kant, in psychology, starts with much that is taken from Wolff and Tetens, has been frequently remarked, but not less is this the case in logic, metaphysic, and the philosophy of religion; this awkward circumstance throws its shadow on his terminology. The same word may in the beginning and the end of a discussion mean something very different, though a clear explanation is wanting" (p. 149). The change in the philosophical language of Germany, which Prof. Eucken brings out in this passage, and in his further references to post-Kantian terminology, becomes still more evident and is liable to create still greater confusion for those who approach the study of this philosophy from outside.

[1] Looked at from the position at which psychology has arrived in the course of the nineteenth century, we now see that the difficulties which presented themselves to Locke and his followers may, to a large extent, be traced to the atomising habit of their mental analysis, and that this is very likely owing to the fact that they desired to imitate the processes of observation and reasoning which had been adopted in the natural sciences. This atomising tendency of thought, so successful, and yet, as we now know, so one-sided in its application to external nature, which readily submits to a disintegration into sep-

with the second and equally important question as to the essence or nature of the soul. He confined his investigations in the beginning to the question how unity of thought and knowledge was attained. In the sequel of his researches which, for reasons which we need not dwell on at present, he termed critical, he was inevitably led to deal with such questions as the essence of the soul, but the fact that he, to begin with, limited his investigations to the question how unity and order came to be introduced into the casual and fleeting mass of single sensations of which experience consists, gave to his whole philosophy the appearance as if it dealt in a one-sided manner with the intellectual life of the mind. In fact, the connection of his practical with his theoretical philosophy remained always a difficult point, although the

arate and definite things and processes, was still further aggravated by the fact that psychical phenomena do not become subjects of discussion before they have been externalised, so that they, to some extent, become observable objects for many minds; whereas they originally are the possession and property only of individual minds. This process of externalisation is carried out by us unconsciously in the acquisition of language, which consists of many words put together in many ways, and very frequently with very different meanings attached to them. In this way the natural "together," in time and space, of mental states is broken up into a multitude of different parts, in the same way as the sciences of dynamics, physics, and chemistry start by showing how the complex things, facts, and phenomena of nature can be divided up into separate more or less similar parts, and to some extent put together again out of them. But this reverse process of synthesis, by which we again arrive at natural objects, meets with very great difficulty if we deal with things of the mind, and this for obvious reasons on which I need not dwell at present. For the moment and in the present connection it is only useful to remark how, after taking for granted that our conscious inner experience is made up of a succession or assemblage of definite elements called ideas, sensations, perceptions, or by other terms, the difficulty has arisen how to account for the unity or synthesis which seems to us so characteristic of the inner life. Anticipating, we may say that this difficulty which distinguishes internal from external experience is fully recognised only in recent psychological literature, since Prof. James Ward put the conception of a presentation-continuum prominently at the entrance of psychological discussions.

practical or ethical problem was in his later writings put into the foreground. For our present purpose it is sufficient to note that by far the most important psychological question with which Kant dealt was the problem of the unity of thought as it appears in the exact knowledge which we possess in the sciences. There being on one side the casual mass of unordered sensations, on the other an orderly arrangement of scientific knowledge, the question arose, How must the human mind be equipped so as to be able to make order out of disorder, to import unity into the multiplicity and variety of the material given by our senses?[1] We may note that pure

[1] In defining the problem in this way, we see at once that Kant adhered to the thesis developed in the writings of Locke, Berkeley, and Hume: that knowledge and science is an attempt to bring unity and order into the contingent and chaotic material supplied by our sense-impressions, termed by them ideas. In opposition to this view, which he termed the ideal system, Reid showed a deeper psychological insight when he searched for the unity and order in what was *given* to the observing and thinking mind, when he distinguished between sensation and perception. According to his view, single sensations or ideas were not the original given components, but these consisted of perceptions, *i.e.*, of single elements already joined together. He thus may be considered as the first psychologist who maintained that the thinking process in the adult intelligent person is not the putting together of loose material, but that the beginning of this synthesis is afforded already in our perceptions. The single sensation is itself a mental abstraction, and as such never given in experience alone. Reid in this way goes behind the words and terms of language. To him, relations or judgments are the material with which we work, not the separate and single sensations into which we, by a process of abstraction, may scientifically and artificially divide them. Whereas for Kant, the synthesis of the given loose material seemed to be the main function of the thinking mind, this synthesis existed already for Reid in the simplest original data of perception or experience. In this respect Reid stood nearer to modern views and theories in psychology than did Kant. But wherein he failed was in his enumeration of the original complex data of consciousness and in the precise definition of the subsequent processes of thought which are partly analytical, *i.e.*, dissecting, partly synthetical, *i.e.*, leading on to higher or more comprehensive unities of thought. For an English reader, the best exposition of the permanently valuable contributions of the Scottish school to the psychology of the intellectual process is to be found in Prof. A. Seth's 'Balfour Lectures on Scottish Philosophy,' notably Lectures

psychology, of which, *e.g.*, at a later period, Maine de Biran is a true representative, looks deeper and deeper into the conscious self in order to find the essence of the inner world. To Kant, on the other side, the latter became as it were a mathematical or formal problem, and this was so much more the case as Kant, in his analysis of knowledge, directed his main attention to such knowledge as was laid down and crystallised in definite judgments, *i.e.*, in the sentences and words of language, and in the theories of mathematics and natural philosophy.[1]

III. and IV.: "The essence of Scottish philosophy, as it appears in Reid, may . . . be described as a vindication of *perception*, as perception, in contradistinction to the vague sensational idealism which had ended in the disintegration of knowledge. Sensation is the condition of perception; but so far from the two terms being interchangeable, sensation, as a purely subjective state, has no place in the objective knowledge founded upon it; that is to say, the philosophical analysis of knowledge cannot pass beyond the circle of percepts. It is significant that the two points on which Reid takes his stand should be (1) the proclamation of a general distinction between extension, as a percept, and any feeling or series of feelings as such; and (2) the assertion that the unit of knowledge is an act of judgment. These are the hinges, it is hardly necessary to add, upon which Kant's philosophy also turns—in the Æsthetic and the Analytic" (3rd ed., p. 96).

[1] One of the principal subjects of psychological as well as of logical interest with which Kant was concerned was the problem of the certainty of knowledge, of the necessary, not merely contingent, connection of ideas. Locke had reduced all certainty in the natural sciences to more or less of probability, and Hume, to custom or habit of thought. This did not satisfy Kant, who, following in this Descartes' line of reasoning, sought for certainty in the constitution or nature of the human mind. This seemed to explain satisfactorily mathematical certainty, but not the certainty of knowledge referring to external phenomena. To explain this, the phenomena of the outer world must, as it seemed, have something in common with the processes of pure or logical thought. This common feature was explained by Kant in his special theory of the ideality of time and space. With his followers it took more and more the form of the ultimate identity of the subject (the thinking mind) and the object, and led, through various phases, ultimately to Hegel's conception of thought as the nature and life of the absolute mind, as being the essence both of the external world of nature and history and the internal world of the human mind. It then became a task of philosophy to develop a logic as well as a psychology of the abstract mind, or of thought in its most abstract sense. This higher psychology was contained in Hegel's first and most original work, the 'Phenomenology of Mind.' This coincided neither with the empirical nor with the rational psychology of the Wolffian school, and left far behind and below it the painstaking mental analysis of the human mind, as it was developed in this country, and later on by Herbart and others in Germany. In this psychology of the Hegelian school the conception and term of the Soul or individual Mind was gradually displaced in favour of the term Mind or Spirit.

In adopting this course the beginning was made of a development that later on became characteristic of the whole school which historically started from Kant's position and ended in Hegel and Schopenhauer. Philosophy in England and France had become purely psychological, or, if it did not confine itself to the inner world which lies open to everyone in his own consciousness, it extended its field in the direction of taking in bodily phenomena, *i.e.*, the physical outside of the inner world, or of dealing with the collective existence of man in the life of mankind and society. The natural development of English, Scottish, and French philosophy lay therefore in the direction of biology, anthropology, and sociology. The development on the other side, which was initiated by Kant, was not psychological, but on the contrary logical, or, to use a more modern phrase, epistemological. If it was not professedly so in Kant's own deliverances, it tended to become so in the systems of his followers. There is no doubt also that a tendency in this direction lay already in the enterprise of Locke, who in his celebrated Essay dealt mainly with the human understanding, *i.e.*, with the intellectual side: the problem of thought and knowledge. In this respect he followed, probably unconsciously, in the line of Descartes, who placed the thinking process in the beginning of his philosophy as the main characteristic of human person-

32. Epistemological development in Germany.

ality. This pure intellectualism, which in the British schools of philosophy was overcome by studying from various points of view, not so much the human intellect as the human mind, human nature, man and mankind, became a pronounced feature in the German idealistic systems, and ended in what has been termed the Panlogism of Hegel. This tendency of the idealistic schools was to a great extent inherited from ancient philosophy, notably from Plato and the Neoplatonists. Plato had already looked upon concepts as independent realities, not merely as phenomena of the human mind; and in the neoplatonic system the sum of concepts was in a manner personalised as the universal "Nous" or Mind that comprehends in itself the intellectual essence of all things.

This tendency to personify what to the ordinary observer were only processes, phenomena, or manifestations in the human mind—*i.e.*, of the inner life of the human being—runs through the whole school of thought I am now referring to. It was there taken in real earnest, whereas in general literature similar expressions were used only in a figurative sense. If we add to this inherited tendency, which on the Continent was vigorously opposed only in the monadology of Leibniz and by thinkers influenced by him, the other vicious tendency common to all the earlier psychological schools of looking upon the human mind or the soul as compounded of distinct faculties or powers, we understand at once the origin of that extraordinary phraseology with which Kant heralded his critical investigations; how it came that instead of speaking of the human mind or the soul he

speaks of intuition (Anschauung), understanding, and reason, and of reason again as theoretical and practical, and of judgment, as if they were independent agencies, working together on separate lines and by definite laws in the production of all mental life and work. To these two tendencies, the tendency to divide rigidly mental phenomena and to personify independently mental processes or powers, we must add, as a third important factor, an extreme reliance upon the power of the human intellect to decide as to its own capabilities, and this not, as with Locke, by a psychological or historical investigation of the genesis of the thinking process, but by an analysis of general statements made in the form of language.

The very title of Kant's first and most important great work, 'The Critique of Pure Reason,' suggests the idea that it was possible to abstract from the actual and concrete existing examples of reasoning a definite pure form or scheme which existed as it were somewhere in the human mind anterior to the practical use of the reasoning faculties; that one could by analysis of what is given in the crystallised knowledge of experience and of the sciences find out that something, that *quid proprium*, of which the thinking mind must be possessed before it made any practical use of its faculties. It was an attempt to step beyond the purely descriptive or psychological position. This attempt to overstep the limits of a purely descriptive process Kant termed characteristically the transcendental method. This term has been variously criticised, and had no doubt a deterrent effect upon those students of his philosophy who approached it from a common-sense point of view and with realistic habits of thought. The

term, however, was coined with the definite object of distinguishing the whole investigation, on the one side, from the purely empirical and psychological, and, on the other, from the older metaphysical or purely rational treatment which started, as in the philosophies of Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibniz, with certain abstract definitions of the nature or essence of the human mind or soul, trying to deduce from these definitions its properties, its behaviour, and its destinies. Kant never adopted the conception of Locke that the human mind was a *tabula rasa* or an unwritten sheet of paper; he believed in the significance of Leibniz' criticism that the human intellect was a something with a specific endowment, and he proposed to find out what this endowment was by analysing the product of human intelligence, viz., experience, knowledge, scientific thought, and further on its activity as shown in the precepts of morality and the judgments regarding the beautiful, the good, and the purpose of things. This way of putting the problem was perfectly legitimate. Given on the one side the perceptions of our senses, our impressions and feelings, and on the other side unified knowledge, definite precepts of morality and judgments of taste as they are elaborated through the activity of the human mind, it was a legitimate question to ask how the former are converted into the latter. But to many students of Kant's works it must at the time have appeared a mistake to think that this problem could once for all be solved by a critical analysis of the very meagre descriptions which the processes of knowledge, thought, or the precepts of morality and the canons of taste had received at that time

in the literature of the schools. Nor did the pedantic formalism in which Kant's solution of the problems was clothed, and the great array of new terms which was employed, help to destroy the first strange impression which many even of Kant's followers, friends, and pupils received on the appearance of Kant's first great work. Nevertheless in this forbidding formalism, in this abstruse terminology, the great task of nineteenth century thought was for the first time fully grasped and announced. For its solution there was wanted a deeper and fuller psychological knowledge of that so-called material supplied by the senses, and on the other side a much clearer and fuller exposition of the methods of science, of the data of ethics, and of the precepts of taste and rules of artistic creation. To supply these preliminary and indispensable requisites, philosophical thought in this country had in Kant's time already made the beginning. The introspective school, assisted later on by physiological research, had, as we have seen, accumulated—from Hartley to Bain—a large amount of descriptive matter. Simultaneously and independently the science of morality or ethics was likewise developed in this country. A minute analysis of scientific reasoning was first given by John Stuart Mill in his Logic; the principles of criticism and of literary and artistic taste were studied, as we shall see later on, on independent lines in all the three countries.

Thus about eighty years after the appearance of Kant's first Critique, and mostly if not always without any special reference to Kant's work, the preliminary steps had been taken for a renewed attempt to solve, in a less formal

manner, the problem which Kant had defined for all time, namely this: How is the human soul passively and actively engaged in rearing the great edifice of knowledge, in instituting moral life and culture, and in producing and appreciating the creations of art and poetry? Looked at in this way, we may say that Kant has formulated the psychological programme down to the present day, although it may be urged with some propriety that he himself was not pre-eminently a psychologist, and that his philosophy discarded the genuine psychological method.

33. Kant's psychological programme.

But for those who do not look for the working of the human mind and the life of the soul only within the narrow limits of individual experience, but who use the terms mind, soul, and spirit in the larger sense, as denoting that unseen agency which underlies the history of mankind, the manner in which mental phenomena were studied in the philosophy of Kant, and still more in that of his immediate successors, constitutes an era in philosophical thought. As I remarked above, the discussion of things referring to the soul was lifted on to an entirely different and higher plane. We may call this transcendental if we choose to do so, but this term should not suggest the idea that we have not to do with actual realities. Although it may be difficult or impossible to define these realities in such a manner that a minute analysis becomes possible, few persons will deny that such expressions as the spirit of the age, the essence of culture, the soul in nature and history, and thought—as used in the English language and by the writer of this History,—that all these terms have a

34. The way out of individualism.

very real meaning, and that they refer to a definite though logically undefinable something which underlies all external events, alone making them subjects of general and lasting interest. It is true that in the writings of Kant, and still more so in those of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, we do not meet with any sustained effort towards that painstaking psychological analysis which we find in the writings of the English and French introspective schools: they were, as stated above, introduced in Germany by the opposition thinkers like Herbart and Beneke; but in the whole of the literature which followed the appearance of Kant's works, or which accompanied it, we meet with one of the most remarkable psychological phenomena in the history of human thought. The fact that speculations of such an abstract nature, frequently expressed in uncouth and forbidding terms, should have attained a firm and lasting hold on the great intellects of a great people for a long period, is a psychological phenomenon well worthy to be pondered. Nor is it likely that this phenomenon would ever have actually occurred had the movement been a purely individual[1] and academic one. The causes which brought it about are to be found as much in the

[1] "At a time when the universal nature of spiritual life has become so very much emphasised and strengthened, and the mere individual aspect has become, as it should be, correspondingly a matter of indifference, when, too, that universal aspect holds, by the entire range of its substance, the full measure of the wealth it has built up, and lays claim to it all, the share in the total work of mind that falls to the activity of any particular individual can only be very small. Because this is so, the individual must all the more forget himself, as in fact the very nature of science implies, and requires that he should; and he must, moreover, become and do what he can" (Hegel, 'Phenomenology,' end of the Preface, J. B. Baillie's translation, 1910, vol. i. p. 72).

35. General causes of this movement.

varying political temperament of the German people in the earlier part of the nineteenth century as in the independent rise and development of the creative powers in literature, in poetry, in the fine arts, and in musical composition.[1] We may indeed go a step further, and say that those powers of the human mind which, in Kant's philosophy, were perhaps unduly separated or personified, became actually living forces in the great individuals who form, as it were, the *dramatis personæ* or characters in that great intellectual drama—never to be forgotten and never to be acted again—which the

[1] The connection of philosophy, even of so abstract a nature as that of Fichte, Schelling, and above all of Hegel, with the literary and poetical atmosphere which prevailed in Germany at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, has been more and more appeciated in recent histories of German philosophy and German literature. The following quotation from a recent thinker, who has done more than any other to make intelligible to the present generation the elevated intellectual character of that bygone age, may serve in lieu of many others: "The generation to which Hegel belonged stood as much under the influence of the idealism of Kant and Fichte as of that of the French Revolution. It was full of the idea of an elevation of humanity and an approaching higher order of society. Fichte was the hero who proclaimed this new era, and his philosophy was devoted to bringing it about. The disciples of Fichte in Jena, in Berlin, and in Tübingen were bound together through these ideas. Hegel, Schelling, Hölderlin retained the ideals of their Tübingen years and strengthened each other in them. And as the movement which the French Revolution had produced bore a European character, as the writers of the ideological school in France, the defenders of the Revolution in England and in Germany co-operated in this movement, the new ideals maintained themselves through their energy and their extent, even in opposition to the reaction which spread after the execution of the King and the wars of the Revolution. Hegel, among others, remained steadfast and full of courage. If one examines his [early] theological fragments, one sees them borne up by the spirit of this movement. His deep historical studies do not stand in contradiction to his endeavours after a more perfect religious spirit and a renovation of society, but rather he brought, much more radically than the average German 'Aufklärung,' Christianity into the flow of historical development, in which also this form of the religious spirit must lead to something higher. Taking this development in full earnest, his labour for and his belief in the future received added energy and a more definite aim" (Wilhelm Dilthey, 'Die Jugendgeschichte Hegels').

history of German culture unrolls before our view. Thus the powers of the human mind, which in the various writings of Kant seem to co-operate in producing the intellectual, moral, and spiritual life of the human soul, are characteristically represented in the systems of his followers, not only by being emphasised as leading principles; they are supported also in many instances by the personal character of the authors of those systems. For instance, if we read in Kant of the primacy of the will over the intellect, no more practical instance could be found wherewith to demonstrate this power of the human will than the life and the personality of Fichte. But it is not my intention to enlarge further on this point or to indulge in fanciful analogies. I desire only to arouse in my readers some sense of the wider psychological problem which the history of German idealism presents in its various aspects as philosophical, classical, or romantic, and in its appearance in science, poetry, and art.[1]

[1] Referring again to what was said in the note to page 65, we may look upon Hegel's first great work as the psychology of the universal or absolute mind, and upon his later logic as the stages and method of its development. Earlier writings of Hegel were preparatory to his final exposition, and had the object of defining the difference of his speculation from earlier attempts. This has been well brought out by Kuno Fischer in his brilliant analysis of Hegel's earlier tracts, in the last section of his 'History of Modern Philosophy' (vol. viii. p. 245 *sqq.*) Still earlier preparative studies are dealt with by Dilthey in the dissertation quoted in the last note. Hegel defends the new philosophy, which was to "lay aside the name of love of knowledge and be actual knowledge." As against the fragmentary philosophy of the "Aufklärung" the new philosophy was to be systematic; as against the philosophy of common-sense, represented in Germany by Krug, the new philosophy was not to be content with enumerating empirically the data of consciousness,—it had, following Kant, to deduce them from a higher principle; as against modern sceptics, represented in Germany by G. E. Schulze, it had to overcome the agnosticism suggested in Kant's mistaken doctrine of "the Thing in itself" as opposed to its appearance; as against the distinction of know-

36. Disappearance of psychology in the older sense.

The process of generalisation, of the sublimation of thought out of the concrete into the abstract regions, had, however, a very detrimental effect upon the study of all those questions which deal with the life and nature of the individual mind or soul. Psychology, in the older sense of the term, as an analysis of the human mind, *i.e.*, of the individual mind, had really disappeared. The data of consciousness were only discussed in a critical spirit and with the object of leading beyond an individualistic conception, of overstepping or transcending the limits of the self (or ego), and of conceiving such words as consciousness, mind, self, and idea in a more general and impersonal sense as denoting at once the unity and community of many minds, many selves, and many ideas. It was only by elevating the philosophical point of view above the consideration of the empirical world of many things, many minds, and many ideas into the sphere of the systematic unity of all and into a higher hierarchy of ideas that Fichte[1] found it possible

ledge and faith, variously represented in the philosophies of Kant, Jacobi, and Fichte, it had to overcome this disturbing dualism, the mere subjectivity of religion; finally, as against Spinozism, renovated in German philosophy by Schelling, the absolute or universal substance was not to be dogmatically placed at the entrance of the system as an empty conception, but it was to be understood in its development in nature, the individual mind, and the mind of mankind. It was to be a subject, *i.e.*, a spirit. "The mind which knows itself in its development as such is science. There is its reality and the realm which it creates out of its own elements" (Hegel's 'Werke,' vol. ii. p. 15). In this and similar passages contained in the preface to the 'Phenomenology' lies, as Kuno Fischer (*loc. cit.*, p. 293) says, "the whole of Hegel's philosophy."

[1] That Fichte's philosophy, for which he invented the new term "Wissenschaftslehre," was something very different from the ordinary psychological treatment of mental phenomena, was emphatically stated by Fichte in the earlier expositions of his doctrine. Yet if we advance to the study of his later writings, through which he gained a popular as well as an academic reputation, we find that Fichte himself recognised more and more the necessity of leading up from the position of introspective psychology

to escape from that purely subjective point of view, enclosed in purely introspective limits, which a logical development of Locke's and Kant's ideas seemed to necessitate. This consequence of Locke's sensationalism had been clearly pointed out by Hume, whereas the object of Berkeley's[1] philosophy was to overcome it.

to the higher level on which the whole of his speculation moved from the very beginning. "Philosophy starts from an observation of knowledge through introspection, and advances to its [supersensual] foundation" ('Werke,' vol. ii. p. 541). In consequence of this some of these later writings have distinct psychological value in the narrower sense of the word. Notably is this the case with one of his later courses of lectures dealing with the "Data of Consciousness" (delivered 1810-11, published posthumously, 1817). The lucid analysis with which this treatise begins drew, even from such a realistic thinker as Helmholtz (whose father was an enthusiastic follower and admirer of Fichte), favourable comment. And quite independently of his metaphysics Fichte had a powerful indirect influence upon thought in general, and more recent psychology in particular, through the fact that the fundamental doctrine in his speculation was the thesis that mind is primarily and essentially an active principle, and that he considered this to be a truth founded on immediate evidence and not deducible from any still higher principle. Through this statement, to which Fichte always adhered and which he expounded and illustrated from many sides, his influence is still felt at the present day. More definitely can this be traced through the writings of the Jena professor, C. Fortlage ('System der Psychologie,' 1885), to Prof. Wilhelm Wundt in Leipzig. A purely metaphysical interpretation and development by no means identical with the one just named may be traced through Schelling to Schopenhauer.

[1] No philosopher of the first order seems to have been so much misinterpreted or misunderstood as Berkeley. He is classed by Reid among the "ideal" philosophers, beginning with Descartes and ending in Hume, and among German historians of philosophy he is very generally represented as a solipsist. This is to a large extent owing to the fact that only his earlier writings seem to have been taken into consideration by his critics, and that his later constructive philosophy remained for a long time unknown. It is only since Prof. Campbell Fraser devoted himself to an independent study and to the editing of Berkeley's Works that a correcter view has gradually gained acceptance, although we still find Ueberweg in Germany and Huxley in England maintaining the more traditional view. From Fraser's painstaking examination it is clear that Berkeley was as little a solipsist, starting from the purely subjective experience of the individual mind, as was Fichte. Berkeley, in speaking of the mind, seems always to take for granted the existence of many individual minds, though he never faced the criticism — most clearly put by Hume — that his arguments against the reality of external matter outside of the

It may be true and undeniable that everything to every individual soul comes back to its own sensations and subjective experience, but the fact that there are many other individual souls claiming similar, though not identical, experiences, raises the problem: How do we in practice get out of the narrow limits of our own self and, as it were, regard ourselves from outside as one among many equals? Fichte did not linger to discover or even to suggest how this transition from a purely subjective to an objective point of view was actually attained in the history of the individual soul, still less did he form any theory how, alongside of the common stock of ideas, individual life and individual conceptions

thinking individual mind would apply with equal force to the existence of other individual minds external to an individual mind. Fichte, on the other side, overcame the difficulty by taking the term mind as meaning the universal or general mind, of which individual minds were only examples. But Berkeley seems to be nearer to the more recent psychological view, inasmuch as he admits that we know as little of the essence of the individual mind as we know of external matter. It is to him merely a point of reference, a unifying principle manifesting its existence in the use of the word "I," and as he finds this unity in subjective experience so he is likewise in search and convinced of the existence of such a spiritual unity in the external or general order of things which without it is inconceivable. Nor does it seem to him that a knowledge of the Supreme Unity or the Deity is less possible than our knowledge of other men, or of our own self, as in all the three cases what we do know is merely phenomenal. "Nor, Berkeley might say, is this sight of God which we have daily, a sight of an unknowable Something. We find through inner experience what conscious life is, though we have no sense of phenomenal knowledge of the 'I' or the 'You.' We can attribute this, can we not, to God as well as to our fellow-men? . . . So 'God' is more than a meaningless name—more than the unknowable behind the sense-symbolism of nature. God means the eternally sustaining spirit—the active conscious reason of the universe. Of God's existence we have the same sort of proof as we have of the existence of other conscious agents like ourselves when we say we 'see' them. Of course we never see and never can see another human spirit even when his body, as a phenomenal thing, is present to our senses; we can only perceive the visible and tangible appearances behind which reason obliges us to recognise an invisible, individual spirit, &c." ('Berkeley,' by A. Campbell Fraser, "Blackwood's Philosophical Classics," 1881, p. 165).

are maintained. In fact the phenomenon of individuality or personality of the human soul was lost sight of. The individual self was conceived as being merged into a general self, the individual mind in the general mind, and for a long time the interest of philosophical thought lay in showing how the general mind, which gradually drifted into the position of the Absolute, the spiritual One, developed and manifested itself in the many things and processes of nature and the community of individual minds which we call society or mankind. In the process of elevating the philosophical view above the individual, the casual, and the subjective, the greatest problem of psychology, the phenomenon of individuation, of Personality, was either forgotten or its existence was actually denied.

37. Individual self merged into general self.

As I stated above, this process of raising the discussion from the empirical, subjective, and individual level on to a higher abstract, objective, and ideal level was only the philosophical reflex of that ideal movement[1] which char-

[1] That this movement was very general *before* the appearance of the critical philosophy may be proved in many instances to which I shall have occasion to refer in the sequel. That Kant himself was an independent representative of this movement before he became generally known may nowhere be seen better than if we study the personal life and development of Herder. This subject has been so fully and so ably treated by R. Haym in 'Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken' (2 vols., 1880-85), that a perusal of this work will go a long way to introduce the reader to the connection in which the spirit of Kant's philosophy stands with the general thought of the age, as also to the very important contrasts which exist between them. Herder was an enthusiastic pupil of Kant, as he himself fully testified in many of his writings, even when he later on declined to adopt and entirely failed to grasp what was most original, stimulating, and fruit-bearing in Kant's systematic works. He has proclaimed, in terms which remind us of passages in the Prelude of Wordsworth, how he, a youth of eighteen years (1762), felt himself elevated and borne aloft by Kant's teaching which formed an epoch in his life. "I have had the good fortune," he says, "to know a philosopher who was my master. He, in the years of his prime, had the cheerfulness of a

acterised German thought, literature, and culture during the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first third of the nineteenth century, covering a period of about sixty years: I there defined this movement as being led by the ideal of humanity. We may now define it as an endeavour to elevate the minds of men, to introduce a higher conception of the object of life and of the dignity of the human mind. This endeavour to elevate by the creation of ideals was in one form or other common to all the great leaders in thought and life during that period. This process of elevation or of idealisation assumed a tangible form and became a historical force in two definite directions. The first of these was the educational movement, which itself has again two distinct issues. The earlier one was the widespread interest in popular education, the later one was that referring to the higher or learned educa-

38. Creation of ideals.

39. The educational movement.

youth; his open forehead, made for thought, was the abode of undisturbed cheerfulness and joy; thoughtful speech flowed from his lips; wit and humour were at his command, and his instructive utterance formed the most entertaining intercourse. With the same spirit in which he probed Leibniz, Wolff, Baumgarten, Hume, and unfolded the laws of Kepler, Newton, and the physicists, he also received the then appearing writings of Rousseau, his 'Emile' and 'Héloïse,' as also the most recent discovery in nature, appreciated them and always came back again to plain natural knowledge and to the moral worth of man. . . . He encouraged and forced you, in an agreeable way, to independent thought; despotism was quite foreign to his mind. This man, whom I name with the greatest thankfulness and esteem, is Immanuel Kant; his figure stands agreeably before me" (Haym, vol. i. p. 31).

Herder also followed Kant in his criticism of the prevailing philosophy of the Aufklärung, in his dislike of traditional metaphysics of the school which he characteristically terms Averroism, and in his proposal to define the powers and the limits of human reason. But when Kant stepped forward with his own transcendental philosophy Herder seemed incapable of following him. Kant, on his part, hardly did justice to the far-reaching and suggestive writings of Herder, which in a poetical, attractive, but desultory manner led the way into newly discovered regions of anthropology and the philosophy of history. All this will be found elaborately treated in Haym's volumes.

tion. The former aimed at an education and elevation of the masses; it centred in Pestalozzi, who was influenced by Rousseau. It had a distinctly religious side, based upon an enlightened interpretation of Christian doctrine. The later educational movement aimed at an elevation of the middle and higher classes through a reformation of the teaching at the high schools and universities. It had a distinctly classical, in some instances even a romantic bias, but in some of the greatest leaders of thought, such as Lessing, Kant, Herder, Schiller, and Goethe, the process of education and elevation took a still higher flight, being conceived as the process of the education of mankind under Divine guidance. This fruitful but somewhat vague conception assumed a more realistic aspect when the general tendency of the age towards elevation and liberation was led into the channels of political life during the Anti-Napoleonic Revolution, which crystallised into definite shapes in the administrative reforms led by Stein in Prussia, and culminated in the war of Liberation and the overthrow of foreign despotism. The general tendency towards liberation and elevation became a definite and real national movement, and, in this its realism, it was not infrequently opposed to the vagueness of those who would not descend from the ideal heights of Classicism and Romanticism. Something of this realism attached also to the endeavours of popular educationalists who experienced the necessity of descending from the transcendental heights occupied by Kant and Fichte on to the level of practical psychology and pedagogics. It is known that Kant's academic teaching was in a different

40. The political movement.

style from that of his published works; Fichte, in the course of his academic and political activity, modified very considerably the manner in which he approached what always remained his characteristic point of view; but the actual return from a purely rational to an empirical psychology was led by two educationalists—Herbart and Beneke. As stated in the beginning of this chapter, it was through them that psychology proper became a recognised branch of philosophical teaching. To these two names we may add that of J. F. Fries (1773-1843), who brought philosophy, as it were, back again from the transcendental to the empirical level.[1]

41. Return to empirical psychology.

42. J. F. Fries.

In addition to this there were two distinct influences at work which co-operated with the movement just referred to in concentrating the attention of many thinking minds upon definite psychological questions, such as the nature and destiny of the human soul. The first of these influences came from the side of the natural sciences, which, mainly under the leadership of Johannes

[1] The importance of Fries' philosophy lay mainly in two very different directions. First, in his philosophy of religion, in which he assimilates ideas independently expressed by Jacobi and deals — as Schleiermacher did more fundamentally—with religion as a psychological phenomenon. Secondly, in his philosophy of nature, which, in opposition to that of Schelling, approached more to the position occupied in this country by natural philosophy. In this respect he was probably the only contemporary German philosopher who was noticed and appreciated by Gauss. The celebrated naturalist, Schleiden, tells us how Gauss referred to Fries' 'Mathematische Naturphilosophie' (1822), in the following words addressed to a student: "Young man, if you manage after three years of arduous study to understand and appreciate this book, you may leave the university with a conviction that you have employed your time better than most of your fellow-students" (see Henke, 'Jacob Friedrich Fries,' 1867, p. 226). To both of these directions of Fries' speculation I shall refer in later chapters. Fries was also one of the first who led psychological research in the direction of anthropology. His 'Handbuch der psychischen Anthropologie' appeared in two volumes in 1820.

Müller and E. H. Weber, had through physiological inquiries approached the phenomenon of consciousness in the highest forms of organic life. Single phenomena of conscious life, notably those referring to the organs or processes of sensation, had been subjected to minute observation, measurement, and experimentation; the question presented itself, What position has the physiologist to take up to the problems of the inner life? As already stated in the earlier part of this chapter, this serious and fundamental question was taken up by the editor and the writers of that important dictionary of physiology which began to be published in 1842. The editor was a celebrated professor of physiology at Göttingen, Rudolf Wagner. Among the contributors was his colleague, the successor to Herbart in the chair of philosophy, Hermann Lotze. The position which the former took up was essentially dualistic: soul and body were two substantial principles, the relation of which was not clearly defined or definable; both principles, however, worked together in producing the higher life of organised beings. To a dualism in this form Lotze objected, inasmuch as he maintained that for the student of nature all observable processes within the organism came under the rule of a definite and all-pervading mechanism. Vital forces were not to be introduced into the study of nature, and, if they existed, they would be of no use to the physiologist, who has to look merely for such mechanical, physical, and chemical processes as can be explained by resorting to such laws and agencies as are laid down in the sciences of mechanics, physics, and chemistry. Nevertheless Lotze

43. Influence of physiology.

in his 'Physiology of the Soul' not only retained this latter term as denoting a definite substantial existence, but he thought it necessary to introduce the study of "medical psychology" by a lengthy discussion on the essence, and even the location, of the soul in the body. Through these writings the problem was brought under the immediate attention of naturalists.

The second influence which forced the central psychological problem into the foreground was the searching analysis to which the arguments and conceptions of the Hegelian philosophy—that final consummation of the idealistic course of thought—were subjected by Ludwig Feuerbach. This analysis was very much provoked by the attempts of the disciples of Hegel to show that Hegel's philosophy of religion supported the orthodox conceptions regarding the soul, immortality, and the Deity, and still more when the whole doctrine became, as it were, an instrument of a reactionary and illiberal movement in Prussian ecclesiastical and political circles. The champions of freedom of thought, with which the systems of the ideal philosophy from Kant onward had hitherto allied themselves, were not slow or unsuccessful in showing that the philosophy of Hegel lent itself to an entirely different interpretation; that, in fact, the conceptions of individuality, personality, and immortality, harmonised very awkwardly with that general process of absorbing all individual life and thought in a general panpsychism, panlogism, and pantheism, which left no room for separate existences. Feuerbach, in drawing the ultimate consequences of the idealistic speculation, worked into the hands of many

44. Feuerbach on Hegel.

thinkers who had approached the subject from a purely naturalistic point of view. Thus we see that the age was ripe for a discussion of the soul problem, *die Seelenfrage*. Scientific, educational, psychological, philosophical, and religious interests combined to place it in the foreground. It was taken up, as I stated above, in a conservative spirit, as a question of the day, by Rudolf Wagner himself, in an address which he delivered at the meeting of the German Association of Sciences, which took place at Göttingen in the year 1854. The challenge which was thus thrown out was taken up by Karl Vogt,[1] who, in various pamphlets and by characteristic phrases, stigmatised the position as dualistic and untenable, spoke of the genuine Göttingen *Seelensubstanz*, and opened the long campaign which goes under the name of the materialistic controversy. In it thinkers of all shades and opinions took part. It resulted in an enormous popular literature, in which the extreme watchwords of the naturalistic school played a great part, being, if not really more intelligible, still seemingly more easily assimilated by the popular mind. In many instances they allied themselves with political and social radicalism, and, later on, with the growing industrialism and the newly-born material prosperity of the German nation, which they supplied with a "shallow" but convenient creed.

45. Die Seelenfrage.

I have in the foregoing attempted to show how the great psychological problems were approached in the three different countries during the course of the first

[1] See for details of the various authors and their publications the note to page 197 in the early part of this chapter.

half of the nineteenth century. In this country and in Germany we witness independent movements which, however, about the middle of the century, had in their natural development approached each other. The mutual influence of the philosophies of the two countries was not important up to the time when Sir William Hamilton introduced the study of Kant in this country, and when Beneke and others in Germany drew attention to some of the writings of Bentham, Mill, and others. In France, as we have seen, there existed a lively interest in psychological questions; the influence of Maine de Biran, however, the most original of French psychologists, remained somewhat in the background, whilst the great development of the natural and medical sciences favoured those researches which approached mental phenomena from their physical aspects, and among these prominently also from the pathological side. The greatest thinker of the scientific school, whose importance became gradually recognised since English philosophers had drawn attention to his writings, Auguste Comte, reduced, in his earlier writings, all psychology to biology. Psychology proper lived on under the influence of the Scottish school in the writings of the eclectic school, many members of which drew attention to the new origins which they announced as being contained in the writings of Maine de Biran. Psychological research in all the three countries, though mostly preserving its genuine character in this country, was nevertheless largely affected by the transcendental movement which, in Germany, for a long time kept psychology proper in check, which in France diverted it into the channels

46. International contact.

of eclecticism, but which in England attained to a marked influence only after the middle of the century. This influence of the transcendental movement may be defined by saying that it pushed into the foreground those problems which in the older philosophy had been dealt with under the title of rational psychology or pneumatology. In contradistinction to empirical psychology, which aims at a simple description of the phenomena of the inner life, rational psychology aimed at answering those questions which form the groundwork of a reasoned creed (*Weltanschauung*). Speaking in a general way, it may be said that in Germany the formation of a philosophical creed was the all-absorbing interest up till the middle of the century, after the failure of which the more empirical treatment received long-delayed attention; that in England empirical studies which had been roaming about at large and without any definite systematic organisation, accumulating a large amount of valuable material, awakened, greatly under the influence of the transcendental movement, to the necessity of attacking the great questions of the soul, its nature, its destiny, and its place in the Divine Order,—in fact, to the necessity of forming a rational or reasoned creed. Among those who recognised that this task could no longer be postponed, stand out prominently Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill in his later writings, and George Henry Lewes.[1] The eclectic school in France, with Victor Cousin at

[1] G. H. Lewes' (1817-78) principal works referring to this matter are 'Problems of Life and Mind' (1st series), 'The Foundations of a Creed' (2 vols., 1874 and 1875) and 'The Study of Psychology; its Object, Scope, and Method' (1879).

its head, oscillated between the empirical and transcendental, an idealistic and a traditional, point of view, without consistently maintaining either.

III.

In consequence of the different points of view from which the psychological problem had been approached, and which began to influence each other shortly after the middle of the century, a varied and widespread interest was created in this, the oldest of philosophical problems. To grasp and do justice to the many-sided aspects which it now presented there was required an intellect of the high order represented in modern European philosophy pre-eminently by Leibniz. It had to combine the common-sense aspect of Britain with the metaphysical of Germany; the physiological and pathological of the Continental naturalists with the spiritualistic of the religious thinker; and lastly, the mathematical with the poetical spirit. At the same time, it had to rise to a higher form of eclecticism than that which was characteristic of the French school which bore the name. There lived at that time only one thinker of the first order who, through education and individual taste and sympathy, possessed both the universal knowledge and the high mental qualifications necessary for this task. This

47. Lotze.

was Hermann Lotze (1817 - 81), who for this reason stands, as it were, in the centre of the philosophical, and especially the psychological, thought of the century. His points of contact with all the then existing move-

ments of thought are very marked. It is true that he was not a great student of modern French or English thought. We have seen, however, that the position taken up by the English school had already, in Lotze's time, been reached in the writings of Herbart and Beneke; and so far as the researches of French physiologists and medicals are concerned, they were at that time followed with the greatest interest in Germany, in the schools of Berlin, Leipzig, and Vienna, between which and the medical schools of Paris there existed a lively intercourse of students and studies.

48. Approaches philosophy from the side of medicine.

In fact, Lotze himself came to philosophy from the side of the study of medicine; some of his earlier writings having the object of counteracting the vagueness of medical philosophy in Germany by introducing the clearer definitions of mechanical science. But Lotze was quite as much interested in the transcendental movement, and from the beginning of his literary career urged the necessity of approaching all philosophical problems from the point of view of a definite creed, a central conception. His training was also equally balanced by realistic and classical studies, and his spiritual home was in the classical ideals of the great period of German literature headed by Goethe and Herder. Next to

49. Connection with the classical period.

Herbart, from whom he acknowledges having received much stimulation, he was the first systematic philosopher of Germany who gave psychology a prominent and foremost place in his speculations, and who made important contributions to empirical psychology.[1] Psy-

[1] The broad view which Lotze took of psychological problems has hardly been sufficiently recognised by historians of philosophy, and this for several reasons. His first elaborate tract ('Seele und Seelen-

50. His psychology.

chology was to him not a purely empirical science, as it was to the English school; it had to solve the great problems referring to the soul, and was thus related to metaphysics.[1] It is therefore not to be wondered at

leben') on the subject was published in the third volume of Rudolf Wagner's Dictionary in the year 1846. His latest contribution is the third section of his 'Metaphysics,' published in 1879 as the second volume of his (uncompleted) 'System of Philosophy.' Between these two publications, embracing a period of thirty-three years, there lie the Works, through which he became better known in wider circles, notably his 'Medical Psychology,' his 'Microcosmos,' and his courses of lectures, regularly delivered annually on the subject. Of these, in their final and most matured form, a syllabus was published after Lotze's death by Prof. Rehnisch of Göttingen. The inspection, however, of different copies of the lecture notes taken down by hearers shows that he approached and introduced the subject variously from different sides. Also the publication of the 'Kleine Schriften' in four volumes by D. Peipers proves sufficiently that all through his literary career Lotze recurred again and again to psychology as one of the principal subjects of his philosophical interest. It was a disadvantage that his first tract, which mapped out as it were the field of psychological research, was buried in the volumes of a special psychological encyclopædia, whereas it really was addressed as much to philosophers as to naturalists. In this respect it had a similar fate to that which has befallen in this country Prof. James Ward's psychological treatises—buried in the volumes of the 'Britannica' or of 'Mind.' In both cases original psychological aspects and a definite programme of research became better known only through those who came primarily under the influence of these suggestive treatises and elaborated some of their ideas in independent works. Another reason why Lotze's deeper psychological speculations were for a long time little known and frequently misunderstood is to be found in the fact that his name was mainly connected with his theory of "Local Signs," a hypothesis which led to much controversy and various emendations, and to which I drew attention in the chapter on the "Psycho-Physical view of Nature," in the second volume of this History, p. 507 *et seq.* That Lotze adhered, all through his many deliverances, to a metaphysical as a necessary counterpart of the purely empirical treatment of psychology, and that he gave expression to this in the latest of his Works, was also a reason for passing them by during a period which prided itself on having found its way *out* of metaphysics. That nevertheless such discussions are inevitable and recurrent has of late become evident in the most recent psychological literature in Germany as in other countries.

[1] The peculiarity of Lotze's psychological as also of his other writings and of his lectures consists to a large extent in this, that he seeks, first of all, clearly to define the subject of which he treats, and notably the main problems of which it forms the centre. Thus, in his earliest tract, he starts with the question, What is it that induces us to speak of the soul as a special entity? This question he

that he should have been the first among the then living thinkers to take up the soul problem when it reached its acute form in the beginning of the second half of the century, and that a large portion of his writings should be devoted to effecting a clearance in the materialistic controversy.

51. His circumspection.

The circumspection which is characteristic of his dealing with this as with many other polemical questions explains how he was frequently misunderstood, classed now with the materialists, now with the obdurate metaphysicians, and again called a disciple of Herbart or of Leibniz, or of other earlier or latter-day thinkers. Again, he has, though uninfluenced by them, some points in common with the French eclecticists; adopting, as he

answers by insisting on three points. First, the existence of phenomena of consciousness which are utterly incomparable with those of the outer world; secondly, the existence of a unity through which they are connected; and thirdly, the active principle for which we claim a certain amount of freedom. He admits that the last is not a proven fact, as the two former ones are, but that it acquires its importance through the overwhelming ethical interests which attach to it. The problem of the soul is thus for him not a purely scientific one, as is the case with other subjects of research—it is one in which we have a special interest for reasons which lie beyond both the empirical and the metaphysical, the descriptive and the explanatory, treatment of the subject. At the end of his earliest tract he sums up the object of psychology in words something like these: a complete psychology would have to put and solve the following problems, (1) a dialectic deduction of the phenomena of psychical life, and an interpretation of their ideal importance in the significant totality of things; (2) a consideration of the phases of development of psychical life. This would include an investigation whether a reality is conceivable, the inner nature of which is not essentially psychical; (3) a description of the physical and mechanical conditions with which in our observation the life of the soul is connected, a physiology of the soul; (4) a mechanism of psychical life, leaving it doubtful whether this applies in all individual cases and is not dependent on subjective coefficients; (5) a psychology of individualities such as has been hitherto left to works of fiction; (6) a confirmation of our ideas referring to the fate of souls in the totality of things (see 'Kleine Schriften,' vol. ii. p. 203). These problems remained before the mind of Lotze through all his writings, but he is fully aware of the limits placed in the way of the solution of some of them.

does, valuable ideas from many and apparently antagonistic sources. But he is distinguished from them by his frequently successful endeavours to harmonise apparent contrasts in a higher unity. Thus we find that he was early regarded as a protagonist for a mechanical view of all phenomena, and that much later his metaphysical position has been adopted by theologians of the positive school. Accordingly, his philosophical writings occupy, not only in time but also in importance, a central position in the philosophical thought of the nineteenth century, and we shall in the sequel have again and again to revert to them.[1]

As I said above, modern psychology may be dated from the appearance of Lotze's writings. But if we wish to find out what is meant by modern psychology, it is of interest to note the very different conceptions we meet with on this point. I single out three prominent writers who have delivered themselves on the subject, and who may be considered as represent-

52. Various lines in recent psychology.

[1] Outside of Germany the writings of Lotze have received most attention in this country and in the United States of America, least in France. Most of his important works have been translated into English, and have run through several editions. I am not aware that of any of his larger works a complete translation has been published in France, though prominent thinkers, such as Renouvier, Fouillée, and Boutroux, take note of his teachings. I regret that the latest edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' contains only a mutilated reprint of an article I supplied in the year 1882. It was written shortly after the death of Lotze, when the Syllabus of his Lectures was not yet completely published, and when little had been written in the way of criticism even in Germany. Since that time a very large literature has sprung up both in German and in English, and a great deal has been done to explain, to criticise, and to make his teachings better known. To some of these important contributions I shall have occasion to refer in the sequel. There seems to me no doubt that the spirit and manner of his speculation is more and more entering into philosophical literature, and that a study even of his less known writings would be peculiarly appropriate in the present state of thought in all the three countries I am dealing with.

ing the three principal lines on which psychology has developed in the course of the last forty years. The first writer is M. Ribot in France, the second Professor James Ward in England, the third Eduard von Hartmann in Germany.

In dealing with them as representatives of three distinct lines of research, I shall have occasion to mention many other names, some of which are of equal importance. But it is impossible, in a field so largely cultivated as has been that of psychology within the last forty years, to do more than sample the fruits which it has produced. The choice also of special authors and writings is a matter of individual taste, and cannot avoid being to some extent casual.

It has been claimed for psychology that it has grown into an independent science, that it has become detached from the parent stock. If this is so, it consists like other sciences to a large extent of knowledge brought together from many sides and by many workers, but only partially systematised and unified. As it is the youngest of the sciences, its fragmentary nature will be more pronounced. It will stand, as it were, at the furthest end in that hierarchy of the sciences, specified by Comte, which begins with the most perfect of all natural sciences, viz., physical astronomy. M. Ribot, who has himself contributed largely to modern psychological literature, both from the physiological and introspective points of view, is well aware of this. Probably no two works have done more to diffuse clear ideas as to the different lines of psychological research than his treatise on 'Contemporary English Psychology,' which appeared in 1870, and that

53. Ribot.

on 'Contemporary German Psychology,' which appeared in 1879. M. Taine had already vigorously opposed the French psychology of the eclectic school,[1] and he published in the same year with Ribot's first-named

[1] Hippolyte Adolphe Taine (1828-93) may perhaps be considered as the first among French thinkers of the second half of the nineteenth century who aroused renewed interest in the science of psychology. He did so by a series of articles which he published in the 'Revue de l'Instruction Publique' in the years 1855 and 1856, and which appeared as a separate volume in the beginning of the year 1857. It was a virulent attack on the official school of philosophy headed by Victor Cousin, dealing with Laromiguière, Royer Collard (un dictateur), Maine de Biran (un abstracteur de quintessence), Cousin (un orateur), and Jouffroy (un homme intérieur). The title of the first edition, 'Les Philosophes Français du XIX^e^ Siècle,' was changed in later editions to 'Les Philosophes Classiques au XIX^e^ Siècle en France.' He there shows how the valuable ideas of the eclectic school can be traced back to the writings of Condillac, and that what was added under the influence of Scottish and German thought by means of a brilliant rhetoric and great personal influence does not mark a substantial progress,—such must be attained by the methods successfully introduced in the natural sciences; but he does not adopt the Positivism of Comte, which at that time condemned all psychology, reducing it to a branch of physiology. It is interesting to note that he approves of the general scheme of Hegel, though condemning its metaphysical elaboration. The preface to a later edition he concludes by saying: "Such is the idea of nature expounded by Hegel through myriads of hypotheses, accompanied by the impenetrable darkness of the most barbarous style, with a complete reversal of the natural movement of the mind. One comes to see that this philosophy has for its origin a certain notion of causality. I have tried here to justify and to apply this notion. I have neither here nor elsewhere tried to do anything more." In his later work, quoted in the text, he gave a specimen of this new psychology, being largely guided by the writings of John Stuart Mill and of Bain, whom he may be said to have introduced into France; but he goes beyond them by bringing in, at the end, a kind of metaphysic. Of this, Mill in his review of Taine's book ('Fortnightly Review,' July 1870, reprinted in 'Dissertations and Discussions,' vol. iv. p. 111) says: "When M. Taine goes on to claim for the first principles of other sciences — *e.g.*, of mechanics — a similar origin and evidence to what he claims for those of geometry, and on the strength of that evidence attributes to them an absolute truth valid for the entire universe, and independent of the limits of experience, he falls into what seemed to us still greater fallacies." Through establishing psychology on an independent basis, and notably through his doctrine of the *milieu*, Taine stands out as one of the principal founders of that modified Positivism which, as we shall see in the sequel, plays such an important part in recent French thought.

treatise his celebrated work 'De l'Intelligence,' in which, in addition to the influence of Condillac, he had drawn attention to the writings of John Stuart Mill and Bain, to that branch of English thought which had developed independently, and which stood latterly as it were in opposition to the Scottish school favoured in France by the eclectics. M. Ribot, in introducing contemporary English psychology to French readers, does not refer to the Scottish school at all, and only just mentions by name Hamilton, Whewell, Mansel, and Ferrier. His main object is to deal with Mill, Spencer, Bain, and Lewes. As M. Taine introduced the philosophy of John Stuart Mill, so M. Ribot introduced that of Herbert Spencer into France; moreover, the two introductions which he prefixed to his two treatises constituted a kind of manifesto: the earlier one in favour of the inductive as against the older metaphysical method, the later one recommending the experimental methods which had been developed in Germany, notably by Fechner and Wundt. Accordingly he not only places both the English and the German development in opposition to what he calls the older or metaphysical psychology, but he also draws a sharp distinction between the purely introspective or analytical methods of the English school and the novel experimental and exact methods of the German school. Both, he maintains, make large use of physiological discoveries; but he significantly remarks, that on the one side the English psychologists enlarge and interpret their introspective data by borrowing from the labours of physiologists, whereas the later leaders and representatives of the German school are physiologists who have

advanced from the study of physiology to that of the phenomena of conscious life. Thus his German treatise deals almost entirely with physiological and experimental psychology, the development of the Herbartian school in the direction of the psychology of the objective mind receiving only short notice, and no mention being made of important psychological analyses of fundamental psychical forces such as are, *e.g.*, contained in the works of Schleiermacher, Feuerbach, Schopenhauer, and Von Hartmann. Nevertheless it may be noted here that the very different psychological analysis of the phenomena of religious life by the two first-named thinkers, and the emphasis laid by Schopenhauer on the will and by Von Hartmann on the unconscious, have probably done more to change and deepen our ideas on the life of the human soul than all the purely psychological analysis and researches of the introspective and experimental schools put together. So far as the experimental or exact methods are concerned, I have reported so fully upon them in the chapter on Psycho-Physics in the second volume of this History that I need not in this connection say anything more about them.

54. Morbid psychology.

But M. Ribot and the school which he represents in France have enlarged the field of psychological research in a special direction, of which already the older French psychologists, who are classed among the "Idéologues," had a very distinct notion. In their writings we read of a definite branch of science called "Nosologie," a theory of disease, and of the importance of this science both for psychology and medicine. In fact, the tendency to treat of the abnormal states, both of the body and the

mind, in the interest of psychological research, goes back to the age of the Encyclopædists, Diderot having written a treatise on the deaf and dumb. Nothing of importance, however, was done till, within recent times, and greatly under the influence of M. Ribot,[1] experi-

[1] Théodule-Armand Ribot (born 1839) had already in his earliest work, mentioned in the text, on 'Contemporary Psychology in England,' marked out on a large scale the field of psychological research in the following words (1st ed., p. 36): "We may comprise first of all under the name of *general psychology* the study of the phenomena of consciousness; sensations, thought, emotions, volitions, &c., considered under their most general aspects. This study, which must be the point of departure and the basis of all others, is the only one which so far has been cultivated by psychologists. It is, however, clear that general psychology must profit by all the discoveries in its subordinated branches. It will be completed, first of all, by a *comparative psychology*, of which we have tried to show the object and the importance; further, by a study of anomalies or monstrosities, which we may term *psychological teratology*. It is needless to demonstrate how useful the study of deviations is for the complete understanding of phenomena; but what is remarkable is the neglect of psychology on this point. Outside of the 'Letter on the Blind,' by Diderot, which does not give what it promises, the pages of Dugald Stewart on James Mitchell, and some scattered observations, psychology has completely closed its eyes to anomalies and exceptions. It is the physiologists who have drawn from the curious 'History of Laura Bridgman' the conclusions which it suggests; conclusions quite contrary to the doctrine of transformed sensation, and which, founded on facts, are by no means in the vague style of ordinary arguments. A deaf or a blind man, one originally deprived of some sense, is he not a subject specially fit to be observed, and to which we can apply one of the most rigorous processes: the method of differences? Have the study of cases of folly, though quite incomplete as yet, been so far fruitless?"

In his later work on 'Contemporary German Psychology,' the term "experimental," which in the earlier treatise meant rather "empirical," the psychology of observation, than the psychology of experiment, is extended to embrace the new psychology of Germany, which has recourse in a measure to experiment. It is there argued that the older method "is powerless to pass much beyond the level of common-sense." As its main representative the works of Bain are specially commended. "It is in the largest and best sense a descriptive study. In Germany, on the contrary, those who are working to construct an empirical psychology accord little place to description. To characterise their work we must employ a term which has been much abused in our day, but which is proper here, *i.e.*, *physiological psychology*. Almost all of them are physiologists, who, with their habits of mind and the methods peculiar to their science, have touched upon *some points* of psychology" ('German Psy-

mental research in psychology was pushed into the region of pathology. In France, within the last thirty years, a whole literature has sprung up, cultivating the large region of nervous affections and mental maladies, constituting what may be called abnormal psychology, to which would also belong the psychology of criminality, of degeneration, and of such exceptional conditions as the hypnotic state, &c. M. Ribot himself has published valuable and original treatises on 'The Diseases of Memory' (1881), 'The Diseases of the Will' (1883), and 'The Diseases of Personality' (1885). As is well known, these writings have opened out quite a new field of research on the Continent, and have influenced many neighbouring provinces which belong to the borderland of psychology, law, and economics.[1]

chology,' &c., Eng. trans., by Baldwin, 1899, p. 12). But M. Ribot does not omit to mention that the German method of experiment touches only a certain limited region of facts, and does not touch the central group of psychical states. This has become more evident since that time. (See above, vol. ii. p. 523.)

[1] It must not, however, be inferred that M. Ribot takes a narrow view of the problems of philosophy, or that he, so far as we know, belongs to the school represented in Germany by Fries, Beneke, and, in more recent times, by Prof. Theodor Lipps, who desire to found all philosophy upon psychology. The large and comprehensive view which he takes of philosophy in general is shown by the fact that he started in 1876 the monthly 'Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Etranger,' which although, especially in the beginning, favouring the new psychology, opens its pages to every philosophical opinion, and contains very important contributions by writers of very different schools; also by the article he contributed to 'Mind' in the year 1877 on "Philosophy in France," in which he gives a most lucid analysis of the then existing schools of philosophical thought and their leaders. He there also refers to a thinker who since that time has gained increasing influence and, in a different way from M. Ribot himself, has brought some lines of French thought into closer contact with that of other European countries, notably with the movement which centres in Kant's 'Criticism.' This thinker is Charles Renouvier, who may be said to occupy in French thought a position similar to that of Lotze in Germany. In his 'Essais de Critique Générale' (1st ed. 1854-64), notably in the 2nd edition (1875-96, 8 vols.), he, by a careful and circumspect criticism of the different ways in which

Although in England this last-named branch of psychology has not remained unrepresented—as evidenced by the works of Henry Maudsley—the great bulk of psychological work has remained faithful to the traditions handed down since the time of Locke. It has remained essentially introspective, being an analysis of the normal individual mind. In the year 1876 a quarterly review was started under the title 'Mind,' and whilst this was intended to deal generally with philosophical subjects, it is significant that psychology is put into the foreground, for reasons clearly set out by the editor, Croom Robertson, in his introductory discourse. In fact, in England philosophy has—till quite recently—hardly professed to be anything else than philosophy of the human mind; but it has been found necessary to define, within this large domain, the narrower provinces which have shown themselves capable of special cultivation. Thus the older and common title of philosophy of the human mind has been imperceptibly supplanted by other titles describing treatises which deal with special well-marked phenomena. Among these psychology and ethics are the most important. A separate analysis of the processes of scientific reasoning had been given by J. S. Mill, and A. Bain had in his

55. 'Mind' and Croom Robertson.

the great philosophical problems have been approached, tries to clear the ground for the new philosophy, of which his ethical treatise, 'La Science de la Morale' (2 vols., 1869), is the most important outcome. We shall see in the sequel how it has gained considerable influence, especially in the teaching of morals in the modern French schools. So far as psychology is concerned, the second portion of the 'Critique Générale' deals with this subject, but, as is the case in Lotze's metaphysics, rather from a rational than a purely empirical point of view, dealing with such questions as the Essence and Nature of the Soul, Certitude and Free Will—subjects not infrequently excluded altogether from modern works on psychology.

two monumental works dealt with psychological phenomena in a purely descriptive and analytical fashion, working much with the principle of Association. General questions as to the Soul, its nature and destiny, are not discussed, being considered as metaphysical. But about the same time the necessity was felt of dealing with the general and fundamental problems of knowing and being in an independent way. In the same degree as psychology has been made a special science, general philosophy and epistemology have received due attention from a different point of view and not infrequently by the same thinkers.

The History of Philosophical Thought takes interest in Psychology from two distinct points of view, which are the same as it occupies with regard to all natural science. This twofold aspect has become more clearly defined, in the same degree as psychology has become a distinct science. So far as the researches of this special science are concerned, these lie outside and are independent of philosophical reasoning, and will, like the researches in other natural sciences, change with the progress of empirical knowledge and the facts disclosed by observation, experiment, and analysis. But, like all other sciences, psychology must start with certain fundamental conceptions, in the light of which the growing mass of detail accumulated by external and internal observation, or by historical records, is arranged, classified, and made accessible for the purpose of deductive reasoning. Philosophy interests itself, firstly, in clearly setting out those fundamental notions, criticising them, and defining their scope and value, just in the same way as

it recognises, criticises, and appreciates the fundamental notions forming the starting ground in the sciences of dynamics, physics, chemistry, biology, &c. The second interest which philosophy takes in the researches of psychology, as they are now very generally carried on, is to answer the questions which, in this chapter, we have specifically defined as the Psychological Problem, the nature and essence of that special something which we term the Mind or Soul. In one of the following chapters we shall, in a similar way, deal with the Problem of Nature, *i.e.*, with attempts which have been put forward all through the century to answer questions as to Nature as a whole, its relation to Mind, which it, from one point of view, includes as much as from another point of view it is differentiated from it.

56. James Ward.

Now, so far as the first philosophical interest is concerned, no one has done more to pass in review and criticise existing fundamental notions in psychology, and to prepare the ground for more adequate scientific treatment, than Prof. James Ward of Cambridge. In several articles which he published in 'Mind'[1] on "Psychological Principles," he prepared his readers for an original and comprehensive sketch of modern psychology, which he gave in his article on "Psychology" in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (1886).[2] This article may be looked upon as a kind of manifesto, as a programme for

[1] "Psychological Principles" ('Mind,' vol. viii., 1883, and vol. xiii., 1888); "Modern Psychology, a Reflection" (vol. ii., N.S.); "Assimilation and Association" (ibid., and vol. iii.)

[2] The article was followed in the 10th ed. of the 'Britannica' by an account of the general progress made in psychology during the last fifteen years of the century. The latest edition of the 'Britannica' contains (vol. xxii. pp. 547-604) a very condensed but comprehensive sketch of psychological theory at the present moment.

modern psychological work. In the carrying out of some parts of this programme no one has been more successful than Prof. Stout.[1] The new programme breaks with all the older psychologies, which it nevertheless estimates at their full value as preparatory phases in the development of the independent science of psychology. It will be useful to state shortly the main characteristics as they have been most clearly explained by Prof. Ward on repeated occasions. To begin with, the new psychology should discard all metaphysical questions as to the soul, its substance, essence, or destiny. At the same time it has regard to, and implies, a subjective reference.[2] It

[1] Notably in his 'Analytic Psychology' (2 vols., 1896). It is surprising to see how little the original contributions of Prof. Ward, in laying new foundations for psychological research, have so far been noticed in German and French literature. Prof. Stout himself admits Ward's great influence on his own work, and Prof. Wm. James in his 'Principles of Psychology' (vol. ii. p. 282, 1891) refers to Ward's article in the 'Britannica' as one to which he would have owed much had it appeared before his own thoughts were written down. Through his psychological treatises, as well as through his epistemological work ('Naturalism and Agnosticism,' being the Gifford Lectures for 1896-1898 at Aberdeen), we may consider Ward as occupying a position similar to that of Lotze in German and of Renouvier in French philosophical literature, representing on a comprehensive scale the inevitable criticism called forth by the uncritical use, as fundamental notions, of a great variety of conceptions in psychological, logical, and epistemological discussions in the existing schools of philosophical thought. This work had already been begun by John Stuart Mill, and to some extent by Sir Wm. Hamilton in Scottish philosophy. The fact, however, that Mill had somewhat prematurely adopted his father's Associationism in psychology, and Hamilton similarly a somewhat confused version of Kantism, had prevented both these thinkers from impartially and exhaustively reviewing the situation before they ventured on their own constructive speculations. In both cases, however, very striking dilemmas or paradoxes were the result of premature generalisations, and these as well as those handed down in the writings of Hume have furnished valuable material to Prof. Ward for his timely criticism.

[2] Prof. Sorley informs me that in one of his earliest writings ('A General Analysis of Mind,' privately printed in 1880, published in the 'Journal of Speculative Philosophy,' 1882) Ward remarks that, in previous works on psychology, "though the special analyses and descriptions are excellent, the *tout ensemble* of mind is never exhibited at all; we lose sight of the wood among the trees" (p. 366); and he there puts forward the view, afterwards elaborated by him, that in every concrete "state of mind" there is presentation of an object or complex of objects to a subject; this presentation entailing, on the part of the subject, both attention and change of feeling (*i.e.*, pleasure or pain). By "subject" in this connection, he proposes to "denote the simple fact that everything mental is referred to a self" (p. 368); but adds that "it must be allowed that the attempt to legitimate this conception as a constituent element of experience is as much beyond the range of psychology as the attempt to invalidate it even as a formal or regulative conception. If Hume is wrong on the one side, Reid is equally at fault on the other" (p. 369).

deals with the facts of consciousness, meaning by consciousness the individual self. To avoid falling back into a discussion of abstract consciousness, the object of consciousness is defined as that continuum of (sensory and motor) presentations which to every person constitutes his actual self, as known by him. By introducing this term in the place of the more familiar expressions such as soul, mind, consciousness, ideas, &c., the various tendencies of older psychologies to become metaphysical, abstract, or intellectualistic, are guarded against. Further, by speaking of feeling, knowing, and doing, instead of the intellect and the will, the older faculty-psychology is avoided; the conception of a continuum, instead of that of separate sensations and ideas, guards the psychologist against that atomistic conception of the mental life which was common to the association-psychology in England, and to the psychology of the school of Herbart abroad.[1] It is characteristic of Ward

[1] Although the metaphysical conception of the soul is discarded, there remains in Ward's fundamental psychological position the primary dualism of subject and object; the former as a central and uniting point of reference, the "I" of our language as the knowing, feeling, and willing subject which in and through this knowing, feeling, and willing is connected with and stands over against its sensory or motor-presentations or objects. Through this scheme the atomising tendency of the older faculty-psychology, which analysed the one subject into a variety of distinct powers or forces, is quite as much avoided as, on the other side, through the idea of the continuum

to make a systematic attempt to elaborate psychology as an independent science; in this he contrasts with some of his predecessors (*e.g.*, Bain), who endeavoured equally to give scientific character to psychology, but helped themselves out by reference to physiological facts. Great care is also taken to get behind the words and terms of language which are habitually used in describing mental states, and which have the tendency to put in the place of the inner world an artificial and conventional picture or image of it.[1]

In his more recent deliverances on the subject Prof. Ward gives further precision to the definition of psychology as an analysis of individual experience. In emphasising individual experience as not consisting of definite and separated sensations or ideas, but as a continuum or a plenum, a new problem arises for the psychologist which did not exist for earlier schools, which, starting from verbal expressions, dealt with what might

(or actual together) of presentations, the disintegration of the association-psychology is got over.

[1] One of the most important deliverances of Ward, especially for an historian of thought, is his article in 'Mind' (1893, p. 54), entitled "Modern Psychology: a Reflection." It was occasioned by a controversy started in Germany among the followers of Prof. Wundt over the theory of the latter regarding apperception and his search for a centre or organ of apperception. Some of his disciples have not been able to follow him into this speculation, which indicates the difficulty of all purely psycho-physical or physiological psychology in finding an expression for, and dealing with, the unity of mental life. In fact, they cannot find an entry into that central region which has always been held sacred by the introspective school. "Spite of all," Ward says, "there are, I believe, good grounds for the view that the difference as regards the immediacy between feeling and presentation is a difference of kind; that feeling is not obscure cognition nor sensation objectified feeling; that feeling, in a word, is always subjective and sensations always objective, objective of course I mean in a psychological sense. According to this view, the duality of consciousness or the antithesis of subject and object is fundamental; according to the opposite view, the difference of subject and object gradually 'emerges' as the result of development or 'differentiation'" ('Mind,' 1893, p. 62).

appear to them to be individual things or elements[1] in the human mind. The problem which arises is to explain how in this continual flow of the inner states, in this continuum of presentations, it comes that we single out and fix upon definite portions which, with the help of words, signs, and symbols, we are able to isolate and to describe. This is effected by the process of attention, of interest, or of conation. This brings at once the active factor into play. What in the older schools of psychology was looked upon as the passive and purely receptive side of mental life has disappeared. Not only do we hereby abandon Locke's *tabula rasa*, the unwritten sheet, but we do not separate and treat separately the intellect and the will in the way that even writers like Bain have still done.

And lastly, the new psychology has come under the influence of the genetic view of nature, not only inasmuch as it studies the genesis of individual experience through infancy and childhood, but also by recognising the existence of other and lower experiences than our own. These lead us to believe that, just like the external forms of organic life, the phenomena of consciousness or of individual experience are subject to the general law of development.[2]

[1] Faculties or powers on the subjective side; separate sensations or ideas with their combinations or associations on the objective side. The whole of Ward's psychology may be considered as one of the most brilliant examples of the modern tendency of thought mentioned above (p. 104), to look at things in their "together" instead of in their isolation; of the synoptical as against the analytical and synthetical view.

[2] The fact that psychology has come under the influence of the genetic view of phenomena not only enlarges very much the region of psychological research; it also separates it once for all from any theory of knowledge. "Comparing psychology and epistemology, we may say that the former

57. Avenarius.

In dealing with modern empirical psychology, I have confined myself mainly to the work of English thinkers, and notably to the expositions of James Ward. A movement in many ways similar has taken place among German psychologists; though perhaps nowhere in their voluminous writings has the matter been so simply and lucidly dealt with as in the expositions given in English philosophical literature. In Germany the philosophy of Richard Avenarius[1] aims apparently at a similar reduction

is essentially genetic in its method, and might, if we had the power to revise our existing terminology, be called biology; the latter, on the other hand, is essentially devoid of everything historical, and treats *sub specie æternitatis*, as Spinoza might have said, of human knowledge, conceived as the possession of 'mind' in general. The principles of psychology are part of the material, the logical worth and position of which a theory of knowledge has to assign; but they are not, neither do they furnish, the critical canons by which knowledge is to be tested. Yet, in three several ways, epistemology has been supposed to depend upon psychology, in so far, viz., as psychology might explain the origin of knowledge, the process of knowing, or the limits of the knowable. But it can answer none of these questions in the way required. To ask them at all betrays serious misconception as to the nature of psychology. . . . So far, knowledge has contained the means of its own advance, and mere psychology cannot tell us whether this is to hold always or must cease at some point, while there remain possibilities of knowledge still beyond. Psychology seems, in fact, far more intimately related to metaphysics, that is to say, to theories about being and becoming, than to theories of knowledge" (J. Ward, "Psychological Principles,"—'Mind,' 1883, p. 167).

[1] Born 1843, Avenarius died 1896, as Professor of Philosophy, at Zürich. His philosophy, which certainly possesses the merit of originality both in form and substance, was elaborated under the influence of the different lines of thought which prevail in modern scientific and philosophical literature. Thus we find such heterogeneous aspects as the physiological (through Ludwig), the purely physical and descriptive (through Kirchhoff and Mach), the Herbartian (through Drobisch), and, above all, the pantheistic or parallelistic of Spinoza, brought together. The modern conception of science and philosophy as a unification of knowledge or thought takes with him the form of "economy of thought," as, in consequence of the limited nature of the human intellect, a condensation and simplification of ideas is inevitably called for. It seems, therefore, as if his object was to reduce the complex mass of our intellectual conceptions to a minimum of what he terms "pure" experience; the latter is, therefore, not, as in Kant's conception of pure reason, the fundamental endowment of the human mind; it is rather the ultimate outcome of a purifying process of

of psychology and philosophy to an analysis of experience, but with the fundamental difference that what is aimed at is not an analysis of individual experience, as with Ward, but an analysis of pure experience. The title of his great work as a 'Critique of Pure Experience' reminds one of Kant's 'Critique of Pure Reason.' As Kant set himself the task of finding out the innate forms of the reasoning intellect, so Avenarius tries to arrive at a description of pure experience, *i.e.*, of such experience as is not contaminated and mixed up with a whole host of conceptions, images, and ideas, which are imported through tradition and habit and elaborated by fanciful analogies. Unfortunately the style of Avenarius' writings is no less peculiar than that of Kant's Critique, and it remains to be seen whether his disciples will succeed in extricating an intelligible and useful set of important and

analysis towards which we approach, but which is, after all, only a distant ideal. There seems no doubt that Avenarius was much influenced by the success attained in the abstract sciences of nature through reduction of qualitative to quantitative differences. Prof. Höffding in his independent statement of Avenarius' speculation ('Moderne Philosophen,' pp. 117-27) characterises it as the natural history of problems; the attempt to show how, through the want of equilibrium between the external (physical) and the internal (psychical) series of events or processes, the desire and need for equalisation is produced. Through a repeated study of Avenarius' works, as also through personal intercourse with him, Höffding has come to the conclusion (against Wundt) that Avenarius cannot be stigmatised as a materialist, inasmuch as he himself declared that he knew neither the "physical" nor the "psychical," but only a third something. Nevertheless it has to be admitted that the attempt to penetrate from outside, from the brain processes to the mind processes, gives the whole the appearance of a purely physiological treatment. "This relation between psychology and physiology is characteristic, and contains a significant warning against the view that it would be more scientific in questions of this kind to proclaim the 'biological' as the only correct method" (Höffding, *loc. cit.*, p. 122). A very interesting though somewhat acrid criticism of modern psychology in Germany, from the position indicated by Avenarius, will be found in Rudolf Willy, 'Die Krisis in der Psychologie' (1899). Hardly any notice is taken of modern English or French psychological work.

novel ideas. So far, their activity has consisted mostly in criticising the positions taken up by other leading psychologists, most of whom, they maintain, have not sufficiently liberated themselves from the metaphysical bias, and are continually falling back into fanciful speculations. The philosopher who has done most to give the general reader some conception of the deeper meaning which lies hidden behind the forbidding terminology of Avenarius is the Danish professor, Harold Höffding, who, in two recent works on 'Modern Philosophers' and 'Philosophical Problems,' refers at some length to the 'Critique of Pure Experience.' From these expositions we gather that the way adopted by Avenarius lies in the direction of a minute analysis of the physiological basis of the psychical processes. As such, it would hardly be acceptable to psychologists in this country, who have persistently upheld the introspective method, aided indeed by indications and suggestions furnished by physiology.

But the persistent polemics which are carried on abroad, as to the intrusion of metaphysics into psychological research, are indicative of a tendency of thought which, though continually criticised, will nevertheless continually recur. The question as to the essence, the *quid proprium*, of the inner life, will always be asked, and if psychology, as the analysis of "individual" or of "pure" experience, cannot give it, it will have to be sought elsewhere. Further, the position of the individual mind, or rather of individual minds in their collective existence as human society, in the whole economy of nature, and the developments of history, is also a question of such abiding interest that it will become inevitable to try to gain

a higher point of view from which to judge the totality of mental life in its individual and collective appearance. These two problems, the essence of the inner life, of the soul, and its significance in the economy and connection of things, may be termed transcendental so far as the limits are concerned within which individual experience is confined. They characterise two independent lines of thought and constitute two independent fields of research by which psychological studies must be supplemented. Both were represented in the philosophy of Lotze. We may call the first, rational psychology, the second, anthropology.

In all the three countries we have, at the end of the century, to deal with prominent speculations as to the essence and main characteristic of mental life. We have in Germany, von Hartmann's 'Psychology of the Unconscious'; in England, Herbert Spencer's 'Psychology of Evolution'; and in France, M. Fouillée's 'Psychologie des Idées Forces.' None of the governing ideas contained in these speculations have been elaborated by purely introspective analysis. They are based upon generalisations arrived at from various sources, and afterwards supported by a more or less exhaustive survey of facts brought together from many sides; the natural sciences with their large accumulation of novel facts arrayed under the recent theories of energy and descent having been made to furnish valuable contributions. The 'Philosophy of Evolution' of Herbert Spencer originated in the genetic or genealogical view of nature, which was put forward in the beginning of the second half of the century from many sides, and which Spencer

58. Hartmann, Spencer, and Fouillée.

himself embraced in a definite form before the idea had received general currency through the writings of Darwin and the watchwords of the Darwinian school. Herbert Spencer's psychology consists in an application of the metaphysical canons of the theory of evolution to the phenomena of mental life, which he maintains cannot be understood if we confine ourselves to a study of the individual mind. He had come to this study from that of human society, its history and progress. The latter he had attempted to analyse and comprehend by resorting to biological analogies. He thus illustrates the two points just referred to, viz.: that the study of the individual mental life must be enlivened by gaining from elsewhere the clue to its nature and significance, as also by looking at its collective existence in human society. The psychology of Herbert Spencer is an instructive example how, alongside—if not in the midst—of inductive and introspective schools of thought, a metaphysical construction could grow and flourish with much greater practical results and popular influence than the more cautious and sober teachings of those schools could ever boast of.

59. Spencer's evolutional psychology.

The historical antecedents of the two other philosophies, of those of von Hartmann in Germany and M. Fouillée in France, are to be found in the idealistic philosophy. In the case of M. Fouillée we have to go back to the source of all idealism, the ideology of Plato. His object is "to bring Plato's ideas from heaven on to the earth and to reconcile idealism and materialism." His psychology has been regarded as the best exposition of the psychology of voluntarism, *i.e.*, of that tendency in modern

60. Idealistic antecedents of Hartmann and Fouillée.

thought to look upon the will, the active principle, as the determining factor of all mental life which—as I stated above—plays an important part in what was once erroneously considered its purely receptive side. Still less purely psychological or realistic is the philosophy of Eduard von Hartmann. He considers the purely scientific mode of proceeding to be insufficient, and resorts to the assumption of an unconscious power which makes itself felt throughout the whole physical and mental world, and by which all the chasms left in our empirical knowledge of nature and mind are filled up. The terms and conceptions by which we in ordinary language describe the more mysterious sides of physical and mental life, such as instinct, natural selection, association of ideas, voluntary impulse, individual genius, and creative power, are all traced back to the working of the Unconscious.

The principles of von Hartmann's philosophy, which has had great influence abroad, especially in extra-academic circles, will occupy us in some of the following chapters. In the meantime it is interesting to note how von Hartmann himself has given an exhaustive review of modern German psychology. In this review he tries to show how modern German psychology, which he dates from Fechner and Lotze, is slowly but inevitably approaching recognition of the unconscious element. The main points of interest in modern psychology he considers to be the importance and scope of the doctrine of the unconscious, its relation to conscious mental processes, and the part it plays in all the principal psychological problems, such as, *e.g.*, the relation of willing to other mental processes, the problem of the

61. The Unconscious in psychology.

unity of mental life, of psycho-physical parallelism, &c. He considers that in the second half of the nineteenth century philosophical thought has progressed from the conception of a metaphysical unconscious to that of a psychological unconscious existence. The difference between the treatment of the history of modern psychology in the accounts of such writers as M. Ribot in France, Professor Baldwin in America, Rudolf Willy and von Hartmann in Germany, and James Ward in England, is truly significant and instructive.[1] In spite of violent opposition and the persistent determination on the part of professional psychologists to ignore von Hartmann's ideas, some of the leading thinkers of the day have introduced the conception of the unconscious into their psychological discussions. It is already apparent that, under different names, the conception of the unconscious is gradually becoming domiciled in psychological treatises,[2] even if it should be no more

[1] Perhaps the most instructive piece of writing on the problems of modern psychology is to be found in Jas. Ward's address before the section of General Psychology of the Congress of Arts and Sciences, held at St Louis, September 1904, reprinted in the 'Philosophical Review' (vol. xiii. pp. 603-621). Referring to the "actuality" theory of Wundt, "already more or less foreshadowed by Lotze," Ward takes up the fundamental dualism of subject and object, and refers to "three recent writers of mark," representing "three conflicting positions: (1) subject activity is a fact of experience, but psychology cannot deal with it because it is neither describable nor explicable; (2) subject activity is not a fact of experience, but it is a transcendent reality without which psychology would be impossible; (3) subject activity is neither phenomenal nor real; the apparent 'originality' and 'spontaneity' of the individual mind is for psychology at any rate but the 'biologist's' 'tropisms.'" Ward concludes his article by saying that "the definition of psychology, the nature of subject activity, and the criticism of the atomistic theory, seem now fundamentally the most important" psychological problems.

[2] In English psychology the Herbartian term of the "threshold" or limit of consciousness, implied already in Leibniz' conception of the *petites perceptions*, or, as it were, the twilight of consciousness, has been domiciled in such expressions as the "subconscious" or "subliminal." In Germany, the majority of psychologists are still opposed to the introduction of anything suggesting the unconscious element into psychological discussion. A notable instance is the endeavour to identify the soul with consciousness, as is very ably done (otherwise not without some similarity to James Ward's position) by J. Rehmke, who, in his very interesting tract, "Die Seele des Menschen" (3rd ed., 1909), takes the term soul *au sérieux*, but subsequently identifies it with consciousness. Helmholtz, fifty years ago, adopted the notion of unconscious logical processes in the mind to explain certain phenomena of sensation and perception, and Wundt followed him, but subsequently dropped this conception. Prof. Stout, on his part, has introduced the term "anoetic" (see his 'Analytic Psychology,' vol. i. p. 171). A very interesting examination of the whole question will be found in Prof. Theodor Lipps' address to the Third International Congress for Psychology, held at Munich, 1896: 'Der Begriff des Unbewussten in der Psychologie' (Report, p. 146).

than a name for the intrinsic mystery which is also the most characteristic feature of the inner life. The most important psychical phenomenon which forces us to lay our account with the unconscious is the phenomenon of memory. In a study of this phenomenon, unique in the large circumference of the inner life, we may hope to gain clearer notions of that central and paradoxical fact that the main characteristic of consciousness is to include the unconscious.

Having now arrived at the latest positions taken up with regard to the inner life of the human mind, it may be of value to my readers if I briefly state in what the great changes consist which, during the nineteenth century, have come over our conceptions of the inner world or of the soul.

First, then, the discussion of the soul-problem as it was carried on in the middle of the century, notably in Germany, has resulted in a distinct change in the vocabulary which we make use of in psychology. The word soul has almost disappeared out of psychological treatises, and, if the soul-theory is still occasionally

62. Change in vocabulary.

referred to, it is admitted that in modern psychology, *i.e.*, in the methodical study of the phenomena of the inner life, we can dispense with that time-honoured word. Psychology, instead of being the doctrine of the soul or of the mind, is now variously described as a treatment of the individual human self, as a study of the things of the inner world, as that of the normal flow of consciousness, of the unity of thinking, feeling, and willing, or, lastly, as the science of individual experience. All these definitions, if we contrast them with those that were in use in the older treatises of the soul, agree in this, that the object of psychology is not a definite thing, but a series of occurrences or happenings which make up the continuous stream of our conscious life; more or less importance being at the same time attached to the intervals or the background of unconsciousness, and the breaks in the continuity by which the conscious and continuous flow is accompanied or interrupted.

Secondly, the older conceptions, which divided the subjective unity of mind into different faculties or the objective field into separate sensations or ideas, have been abandoned; it being more and more recognised that thinking, feeling, and willing are not in reality distinctly marked off, but that they proceed through continual interchange, alternation, and blending. In two distinct directions modern psychological treatises stand in a marked contrast to the earlier ones. The intellectual process is now generally conceived as being dependent quite as much on the active as on the receptive functions of the human mind. And, so far as feeling is concerned, it now receives much more attention from psychologists

63. Stress laid on activity and feeling.

than it used to do. I shall have occasion to refer to this latter class of psychological writings when treating of the psychology of religious experience.

Thirdly, as the treatment of separate faculties and separate sensations has been replaced by the study of the presentation-continuum of experience and the stream of thought, so the study of the single human individual has expanded to a study of the collective life in human society. Psychology is more and more extending in the direction of anthropology.

64. Presentation-continuum.

65. Anthropology.

Whilst all these characteristic features of modern psychology emphasise the continuity of mental life, the great fact of individuality, personality, of the unity of self, stands out as the highest unexplained phenomenon. No scientific theory can explain away the discontinuity of separate individual existences. This seems to constitute the very characteristic, the *quid proprium*, of the individual soul or mind, and not only are we apt to lose sight of this discontinuity through the modern scientific methods of studying the inner life; we have also to face the fact that the whole interest of mental existence lies in qualitative differences, and in sudden and unexpected occurrences, the products of individual energy and the creations of imagination, *i.e.*, in phenomena of discontinuity. No one has given clearer expression to this characteristic of mental life than Charles Renouvier, and Professor Höffding has drawn special attention to the psychological aspect of the problem of discontinuity. In respect of this he says, "The relation of continuity and discontinuity touches the highest interest of personality as well as of science. In both directions we aim at

66. Discontinuity—Renouvier.

unity and connectedness; and in this regard the discontinuous appears as an obstacle which has to be overcome. On the other side it is just this discontinuity (difference of time, of degree, of place, of quality, of individuality) which everywhere, in the realms of science as well as of life, brings something new, releases the bound-up forces, and places before us the great tasks. Neither of the two elements appears *prima facie* to be the only legitimate one, and it is of undoubted interest to follow up their mutual relations from different points of view. In the philosophy of the nineteenth century the importance of the continuity problem stands out characteristically. In the first half of the century philosophical Idealism insisted in its own way on the continuity of existence, and looked down upon empirical science on account of its fragmentary character, whilst positivism (as upheld by Comte and Stuart Mill) emphasised the discontinuity of the different groups of phenomena. Towards the end of the century it is Realism which, with the help of the evolution hypothesis, urges continuity, whereas the idealistic school is inclined to lay stress upon the inevitable discontinuity of our knowledge. In this way the different directions of thought change their position in the great contest through which truth is to be won."[1]

It is evident from this that the highest psychological problems lead us out of psychology into other and more general regions of thought. Not only are we told that psychology proper has nothing to do with the soul, *i.e.*, with the essence of the inner life, but wherever this

[1] Höffding, 'Philosophische Probleme,' p. 5.

problem is touched upon by recent thinkers we see how they find it necessary to approach the subject from an outside, not purely psychological, point of view. In fact we are referred to a discussion of what constitutes Reality. This is the main problem of metaphysics. On the other side such terms as unity and continuity point to distinctions which the thinking mind imports into its consideration of every matter with which it deals. Accordingly we find that psychological analysis leads on the one side to metaphysical discussions and on the other to a more minute examination of the methods of thought and the processes of acquiring knowledge. In some cases these two interests have entirely cast into the shade the purely psychological aims. It will now be necessary for us to take up separately these two problems: the problem of Knowledge and the problem of Reality, into both of which the nineteenth century has introduced novel and interesting points of view.

CHAPTER IV.

OF KNOWLEDGE.

I.

1. Early appearance of the problem of knowledge.

Of all the processes in the inner life of the human mind, those referring to knowledge have always attracted the greatest attention of thinkers. At a very early age of philosophical thought, the problems of the nature and origin of knowledge, of the means of acquiring it, and of the difference between correct and incorrect, useful and useless knowledge, have presented themselves as amongst the most important questions in philosophy. Nor does it seem as if, in spite of the very advanced nature of the speculations referring to this subject in ancient philosophy, the problem of knowledge, of its nature, its origin, and its usefulness, has at all lost its freshness, its interest, or its difficulties. Thus we find that also during the nineteenth century the problem of knowledge has again been attacked by foremost thinkers with much eagerness, and that various solutions have been attempted. It has even been maintained that theory of knowledge formed the characteristic occupation and the most important outcome of philosophical thought during the nineteenth

2. Re-emergence characteristic of nineteenth century.

century. This assertion might justify itself by pointing to a number of new terms introduced into philosophical language referring to the subject in question. From this point of view Kant's critical labours have been appraised and represented as the starting-point for the later contributions of Continental thinkers; whereas in this country the earlier studies dealing with this subject are more directly connected with the writings of Bacon, Locke, and Hume, to which Kant himself was likewise largely indebted.

3. Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre.*

During the last years of the eighteenth century Fichte had introduced the problem of knowledge under the new term and conception of *Wissenschaftslehre*,[1] professing that such was no more than a general theory of methodical knowledge (termed in German *Wissen-*

[1] The term *Wissenschaftslehre* appears for the first time in 1794, in Fichte's correspondence with Reinhold, and had probably been fixed upon during a course of Lectures which he delivered at Zürich before a small circle of friends interested in his philosophy. These included Lavater, the physiognomist. Shortly after that time Fichte was installed at Weimar in the chair vacated by Reinhold, and there he published his first tract "On the Conception of *Wissenschaftslehre* or the so-called Philosophy" as a syllabus for the attenders of his Lectures. It was republished four years later with a new explanatory preface. In this tract he defines his aim as being to give to philosophy, as a science, unity and certainty, or necessary connection. This undertaking, the success of which he hypothetically supposes, and which he intends to establish, should warrant a new name in order to distinguish it from existing sciences and from existing philosophy as a preliminary investigation. Should such a fundamental science be possible, it would deserve, he says, to "drop the name which it hitherto bore in consequence of a by no means exaggerated modesty. . . . The nation which should invent such a science would indeed deserve to give it a name in its own tongue, and it might well be called *die Wissenschaft* (*i.e.*, science *par excellence*) or *Wissenschaftslehre*" (Fichte, 'Werke,' vol. i. p. 44). In a note he also indicates that through such an achievement the nation and its language would attain to a distinct preponderance over other languages. In passing it may be noticed that not the term chosen by Fichte but the later one of *Erkenntnisstheorie* has in a manner attained to the leading position he indicates, though both terms share the disadvantage of not being easily and intelligibly translatable into other languages.

schaft or Science) in the spirit of Kant's own speculations. Sixty years later the term *Erkenntnisstheorie* (in English Epistemology) marks the beginning of a new series of attempts to deal with the problem of knowledge, with the distinct aim of going back to Kant, of reverting to the problem of the critical philosophy. This direction of philosophical thought manifests itself independently in all the three countries with which we are mainly occupied. It was most loudly proclaimed in Germany by F. A. Lange and supported by Eduard Zeller, both having turned away from the metaphysical systems of Kant's immediate successors. In this country somewhat later the study of those very systems, which Germany rejected, led the opponents of Mill, Comte, and Spencer to go back to Kant as a necessary preparation for carrying out more satisfactorily and consistently the great scheme propounded by Hegel.

4. *Erkenntnisstheorie.*

In France Charles Renouvier took up quite an original and unique position in opposition to the prevailing official philosophy of his country,[1] and in distinct recog-

5. Renouvier's Neo-criticism.

[1] The foremost works referring to this movement which have appeared in Germany and in this country are in general well known, and have had a widespread influence. But the equally important and equally original labours of Renouvier remained for a long time unknown and unrecognised beyond a narrow circle of followers in his own country. And even there his influence as one of the leading thinkers of recent times has only gradually made its way. The reason, *inter alia*, given for this, is that the works of Renouvier are deficient in style and elegance of expression, defects which French literary taste cannot forgive. See, *e.g.*, what M. Ribot says in his otherwise appreciative mention of Renouvier in 'Mind,' 1877, vol. ii. p. 379: "I regret to have to state that in France Renouvier's works have not been sufficiently read, and that they are far from obtaining the success they deserve. The fault lies in the author's style, and still more in a want of art and composition, not easily forgiven by French readers. It should be remarked, however, that of late years the diffusion of his doctrines has begun to make way; not so much perhaps on their own account, as because they are related to the movement which is known by the name of Neo-Kantism in Germany, and of which the influence is now being felt in France." See also important articles "On Renouvier and French Criticism," by M. Beurier, in the 'Revue Philosophique,' vol. iii., 1877. In order to show the chronological sequence of works referring to the return to Kant in the three countries I give the following dates:—

1847. Ch. H. Weisse. 'In welchem Sinne die deutsche Philosophie jetzt wieder an Kant sich zu orientieren hat.'
1854. Ch. Renouvier. 'Essais de Critique Générale.'
1862. Ed. Zeller. 'Ueber Bedeutung und Aufgabe der Erkenntnisstheorie.'
1866. F. A. Lange. 'Geschichte des Materialismus.'
1874. T. H. Green. 'Introduction to Hume's Treatise on Human Nature.'
1877. Ed. Caird. 'A Critical Account of the Philosophy of Kant.'

nition of the beginning made by Kant. In this sense he termed his philosophy Neocriticism. We have thus Neo-Kantianism in Germany, Neo-Hegelianism in England, Neocriticism in France; all three starting with and putting into the foreground the theory of knowledge. It is interesting to note that neither of the two above-mentioned terms, neither *Wissenschaftslehre* nor *Erkenntnisstheorie*, has a current synonym in the French language, but, on the other side, that language has contributed largely to the fixing of modern views on the subject by the introduction of the term "Positivism," which denotes and characterises a special conception of the nature of knowledge, of which I shall have to say more in the sequel.

The contributions of this country to the terminology of the subject came later, but are probably more incisive and, for the general intelligence, more significant. Following upon Herbert Spencer's doctrine of the Unknowable, Huxley coined the term "Agnosticism," and towards the end of the century a very different turn was given to popular philosophical discussions by the introduction in this country of the American term

6. Agnosticism and Pragmatism.

"Pragmatism." Whereas all the theories of knowledge emanating from Locke and Kant, both in England and abroad, treated the problem of knowledge by correlating Knowing and Being, or by contrasting Truth and Error, the new turn given to the treatment of the subject by the introduction of the term "Pragmatism" fastens upon the correlation of Knowing and Doing; leading us back to an early period of Greek philosophy.

7. Preparation in logic and psychology.

Both in Germany and England, where the problems of knowledge have been, in recent times, independently attacked, leading to original theories, these discussions were preceded by minute and extensive logical and psychological studies; as witness the very large number of treatises pertaining to Logic and Psychology which had been published in both countries before the middle of the century. French philosophical literature, on the other hand, had during the period which preceded what we may call the "return to Kant," contributed no important works upon either Logic or Psychology.

It is indeed a remarkable literary phenomenon, well worthy of examination, that the nation whose language and literature excel all others in logical clearness, simplicity, and elegance, and which has exhibited in the domains of fiction and popular philosophy a large amount of psychological insight and refined analysis, should have, for a long period, produced hardly any exclusively psychological or logical treatises.

Although it is conceivable and has been the ambition of some thinkers that the process of knowledge should be approached in an unbiassed spirit, and studied in an unprejudiced manner as a definite object belonging to

the natural history of the human mind, we can nevertheless easily recognise how, in modern philosophy, the different theories of knowledge have sprung up under the distinct though frequently unconscious influence of those habits and tendencies of thought which, in general and scientific literature, were at the time most acceptable and dominating. And in this we may possibly find an explanation of the different ways on which leading thinkers have in different periods and countries approached the same problem. The *Wissenschaftslehre* of Fichte sprang up under the dominant impression of a great change which had recently taken place in men's minds, and which had found a partial expression in Kant's philosophy. But it was not an exclusively academic interest which directed Fichte's earliest speculations. Before he became, as he tells us, accidentally acquainted with Kant's philosophy, he had come under the influence of Lessing's theological polemics in Germany and of the educational interests which emanated from Rousseau in Switzerland. Both produced in him that mental unrest, that "storm and stress" which was common to many other prominent writers and thinkers of the day. He partook, in his way, of that yearning for liberty in religious belief and social life which was as widespread as it was indefinite. It was the problem of liberty which he tried to solve for himself. Inclined for a moment, under the influence of Spinoza, to adopt the determinist solution, he first found relief and satisfaction in Kant's doctrine of the higher life of the human mind in which it is able to assert its autonomy, or self-imposed law of duty and conduct. At that moment the storm of the Revolution

8. Influence of current literature and science.

9. Effect of the French Revolution.

broke out in France, and brought with it more definite social and political problems. Fichte's first writings of importance referred to the religious problem and to the social problem. It was only after he had gained a considerable reputation through these writings that he found it necessary to lay a deeper foundation for his speculations by dealing with the fundamental problems approached by Kant. This was the origin of the *Wissenschaftslehre*. But what Fichte would have called the purely scientific and logical treatment of the fundamental question of knowledge was very soon interrupted by the influence of the creative, in opposition to the critical, spirit which sprang up in German literature, poetry, and art, and attained its greatest sway during his Jena period.

When, half a century later, the general interests of literature and science had undergone a great change in the direction of Realism, when the creative spirit had exhausted itself, we find philosophical thinkers approaching once more the problem of knowledge. But this time it is not the belief in an ideal world which strives for philosophical grasp and expression, but rather the new and rapidly growing region of knowledge opened out by the natural sciences and their exact mathematical treatment. It is no more the logic of the autonomous, nor that of the creative human mind, but the logic of patient observation and mathematical reasoning that is required; in fact, the ideas of knowledge have undergone a great change. The exact sciences begin to assume the position of types and models of the most perfect human knowledge, which the philosophical theory tries to understand,

10. Later dominance of exact science.

to formulate, and to explain. With the transition from the Idealism of the classical to the Realism of the exact period of thought, knowledge has, even in the eyes of the professedly unprejudiced thinker, acquired a different aspect, demanding a new Logic and a new Psychology.

If we now turn from German to British philosophy of the last hundred years, we find that a distinctly new effort to solve the problems of knowledge was put forward by John Stuart Mill, the first of a long line of psychologists and logicians, whose labours have largely influenced philosophical thought not only in this country but also abroad. But here again the tendencies of thought as exhibited in general literature exert a very distinct influence, not to say pressure, on the minds of even the most secluded thinkers. Two characteristics have here to be noted. The rapid growth of natural knowledge, based almost exclusively on observation and experiment, had already, in the eighteenth century, created a desire for an analogous study of the human mind and human nature, placing as it were the natural history of the human soul in a position parallel to that of the knowledge of external nature. Rightly or wrongly, it was generally thought that the Inductive methods of research, practised by the great naturalists and appraised by Bacon, furnished the principal instruments by which to attain correct and useful knowledge, and these inductive methods formed therefore a prominent aspect in the study of the problems of knowledge. But even more determining for these philosophical speculations was a second influence. This was the widespread atten-

11. J. S. Mill.

12. Influence of social questions.

tion which economic and social questions had attracted through the growing wealth, industry, and population of the country. It was with the distinct intention of contributing something towards the development of a political science that John Stuart Mill and many of his contemporaries and followers attacked the problem of human knowledge.

13. Influence of mathematics in France.

The influences which general literature and scientific thought exerted upon philosophy in France were quite different from those which existed in Germany or in England. Indeed, the most prominent characteristic which existed in the scientific thought of that country was almost entirely wanting both in Germany and England in the beginning of the century; although these countries had furnished in former centuries two brilliant examples in Newton and Leibniz. I refer to the mathematical spirit, the analytical as distinguished from the experimental method, which pervades the speculations of the greatest French philosophers such as Descartes, Pascal, and Malebranche, nay, even of Buffon and Voltaire. The analytical method had at the beginning of the century risen supreme, revealing its great power in the highly abstract, but also in the more popular works of Laplace and some of his contemporaries. Against this we find it, after the age of Newton and Leibniz, almost absent both in English and German philosophical thought.[1] In Germany the great genius who probably

[1] This generalisation might be objected to, considering that Germany had Euler and Gauss. But, to disregard the fact that Euler was not a German but a Swiss, it must be noted that he only indirectly influenced German thought as represented by the High Schools and Universities; he was an academician, not a professor, and passed a great part of his life outside of Germany. And as concerns Gauss, he stood outside and above the general current of German thought. His earliest and most original mathematical work was written in Latin, and was practically unknown in Germany. He was a younger contemporary of Goethe, and, alongside of him, probably the greatest German intellect of the age. Personally they seem to have been unknown to each other, nor is there any reference, so far as I know, in the writings of either of them to the other. The mathematical precision which Wolff gave to his philosophical writings was purely formal, as was also that of Spinoza, after the manner of Euclid. The modern analytical methods of Leibniz, developed and perfected by mathematicians such as the Bernoullis and Euler, and most successfully applied by French physicists, remained, as it seems, unknown to the majority of German mathematicians, and possibly also to Kant. Even the study of the 'Principia' would hardly reveal to him the power of the analytical method.

represents nineteenth century thought more fully than any other, who influenced men's minds more lastingly, and gave them certainly a higher flight, that of Goethe, sympathised with almost every fruitful line of thought and aspiration except the mathematical. And in England also the wisdom of Bacon was blind to the power of the mathematical methods. Thus it comes that what was wanting in the theories of knowledge in the school of Mill and had to be supplemented by his later followers was an appreciation of just that factor which dominated French thought, being reflected in the best style of some of the classical French writers. But the clearness, simplicity, and elegance which this dominant trait imparted to French thought misled it also into the belief that psychological theories, in which English and German philosophy abounded, were superfluous for the attainment of exact knowledge, even in the region of morals, economics, and politics. It led to that neglect or contempt of logic and psychology which is characteristic of the positivism of Auguste Comte, whose ideal

of knowledge, like that of Laplace, was to be found in mathematical astronomy.[1]

14. Reaction in British thought.

As a great change came over the ideals of human knowledge about the middle of the nineteenth century in Germany, so likewise a reaction set in in this country though somewhat later. It is frequently suggested that this was brought about largely through the tardy influence of German literature and philosophy.[2] But though this has no doubt been considerable, especially since

[1] I have in the first volume of this history (p. 237) given extracts from a pamphlet entitled 'On the Alleged Decline of Science in England' (1831) which bear upon this subject. It was published anonymously, but is known to have been written by Dr Moll of Utrecht. *Inter alia* he refers to the exclusive culture of the higher analysis promoted by the great teachers at the École Normale and to the discouragement of classical studies. See also page 149 as to the fate and the temporary suspension of the 'Académie des Sciences morales et politiques.' The idea that the philosophical sciences should be entirely founded upon the physical and natural sciences was not original, though it was fundamental in Comte's early positivism. "We find it everywhere at that time, with Vicq-d'Azyr, who treats psychology as a branch of physiology; with Destutt de Tracy, who considers Ideology as a simple chapter of Zoology; with Volney, who gives to his 'Catechism of Natural Law' the sub-title 'Principles of Morals'; it is the last word of the sensationalism of the age, as it is of that of to-day. To these contested views Saint-Simon joins others which are extremely paradoxical and which border on the ridiculous. . . . God appears to him (he does not say whether in a dream or otherwise) in order to declare to him that Rome, the Pope, and the Cardinals have ceased to receive His inspirations, and that He will in future communicate them to a sacred college composed of twenty-one sages elected by entire humanity, and presided over by a mathematician. . . . The great Council will have, above all, the mission to study gravitation, the only law — if we may believe our author, who in this agrees with Charles Fourier — to which the universe is subjected, &c., &c." (Ferraz, 'Histoire de la Philosophie en France.' — 'Socialisme, &c.,' 3rd ed., 1882, p. 8 *sqq.*)

[2] "The German mind, awakened into *a priori* speculation by Leibniz, continued in it on the new lines of Kant, and from Kant to Hegel tended steadily towards the speculative construction and systematic unity of absolute all-explaining Idealism. This philosophy, introduced into Britain at first by Coleridge and by the criticisms of Hamilton, has . . . gradually transformed our insular manner of thinking, and inverted, for the time, Locke's 'plain, historical' matter-of-fact procedure" (Fraser in 'Locke,' "Blackwood's Philosophical Classics," p. 286).

several of the outstanding works of that philosophy have been brought out in English translations, this alone would not account for the entirely altered attitude now taken up by prominent thinkers, in general philosophy as well as to the special problem of knowledge. The deeper cause of this change must indeed be sought in a different direction, and again in that pressure which the diffused thought of general literature, the clearer principles of science and the demands of practical life, exerted upon the most secluded and abstract philosophical speculation. In this instance what influenced philosophy was a circumstance to which I have had occasion to advert already in the foregoing chapters, namely, the growing necessity that was felt for the formation of a philosophical or reasoned creed.

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century free inquiry into the nature and essence of fundamental beliefs had not been a desideratum with the large number of educated and thinking persons in this country. The Reformation[1] was not accompanied in England or in

[1] The Reformation in this country is in fact not one startling event such as was connected with Luther's appearance in Germany. It was a process which had several stages, occupying, in all, three centuries before it manifested, and then only partially and imperfectly, its inherent tendencies. As I am not writing for British readers only, who may, or may not, be well acquainted with the historical development of religious thought in their own country, I refer to two works in which that History is very lucidly explained. The first is written by one inside what is termed 'The Church,' *i.e.*, from the Anglican point of view, which looks upon movements outside as representing Dissent, be they in the direction of the older Romanism or in that of independence in religious organisation or doctrine. It is the 'Bampton Lectures,' by G. H. Curtis, entitled, 'Dissent in its Relation to the Church of England' (1872). On p. 287 he says: "The controversies which mainly characterised the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were of a dissimilar type, the cause of divergence in the sixteenth century being the merely exterior question of Church-polity —on which the Independents se-

Scotland by a desire for an independent justification of personal beliefs and for a philosophical interpretation of religious doctrines such as existed, from the very beginning, in German Protestantism. The highest problems

ceded, and drifted away in the direction of excessive liberty and of ultimate anarchy. . . . In the seventeenth century . . . the matters in dispute were of a more interior nature. The use or disuse of the Church's *Sacramenta* or external *means of grace* was the question mainly at issue. And here the Baptists represented one tendency of thought and the Quakers the diametrically opposite one. . . . The controversies of the eighteenth century, and the two principal secessions in which those controversies terminated, [are] Unitarianism on the one hand and Wesleyanism on the other. The questions on which those two controversies hinged are of extreme interest and of paramount importance. . . . They belong to a still more interior department of the Church's life; . . . they are, in a word, questions relating to the Church's *system of doctrine*, to her educational method of procedure. . . . And here Unitarianism . . . went off in the pursuit of an unlimited intellectual freedom; while Wesleyanism . . . handled, with an almost sublime self-confidence, the tremendous spell of an appeal to the mere *feelings* of half taught and half civilised men." The other work I wish to recommend is by John James Taylor, a Unitarian minister, with the title 'Retrospect of the Religious Life of England' (1845). As the title indicates, the subject is here treated under the three headings of The Church, Puritanism, and Free Enquiry. In Chapter III. (p. 131 *sqq.*), the author proceeds "to contrast with [the Anglican hierarchy] the nature and operation of the antagonist principle of Puritanism. It is from the conflict of these opposing tendencies that the peculiar character of our religious life results. The spirit of Puritanism must not, however, be confounded with the principle of Free Enquiry and mental independence, which ultimately grew out of it, and by those who were capable of reasoning to consequences, might have been seen to be implied in it. The fundamental idea of Puritanism, in all its forms and ramifications, is the supreme authority of Scripture, acting directly on the individual conscience—as opposed to a reliance on the priesthood and the outward ordinances of the Church. . . . With Puritanism, the range of enquiry is shut up within the limits of the written Word; it does not venture to sally forth beyond them, and survey the Scripture under a broader aspect from some point of view external to it." "The strict letter of Scripture was received by [the Puritans] as a final absolute rule, ever present, ever applicable, standing in close immediate contact with the exigences of man's outward life through the revolutions of centuries. On the other hand, the Anglicans regarded Scripture as indeed the original depository of Christian truth, in which its germs, as it were, and first principles were shut up, but acknowledged ecclesiastical tradition as its legitimate exposition; Scripture and Tradition being viewed by them as equally under the superintending direction of Providence. . . ." (p. 286).

of life, death, and immortality, of evil, sin, and redemption, which are now freely and largely discussed by philosophical writers in all the three countries, did not in English and Scottish philosophical literature find any exhaustive treatment. They were relegated, after the example of Bacon, to the separate domain of Theology or Divinity,[1] where they received adequate treatment on the basis of historical tradition. This was either confined—as with the Nonconformists and Presbyterians—to the Scriptures, which were interpreted, but not criticised, in the light of Reason, or it was the combined authority of tradition and the Church which prescribed the correct canons for explanation and interpretation of the Scriptures. To the English mind the doctrines of the Christian religion, taught in a more or less orthodox spirit, and the unique historical records connected with its mysterious origin, presented themselves quite as much

[1] See a remarkable passage by George Ripley in his Introductory Notice to Jouffroy's Philosophical Essays, pp. 23, 24, quoted by Robert Flint in his 'Philosophy of History in France and Germany' (1874, p. 4): "There is a little book," says George Ripley, "which is taught to children, and on which they are examined in the Church. If we read this book, which is the Catechism, we shall find a solution of all the problems which have been proposed; all of them without exception. If we ask the Christian whence comes the human race, he knows; or whither it goes, he knows; or how it goes, he knows. If we ask that poor child, who has never reflected on the subject in his life, why he is here below and what will become of him after death, he will give you a sublime answer, which he will not thoroughly comprehend, but which is none the less admirable for that. If we ask him how the world was created, and for what end; why God has placed in it plants and animals; how the earth was peopled; whether by a single family or by many; why men speak different languages; why they suffer, why they struggle, and how all this will end,—he knows it all. Origin of the world, origin of the species, question of races, destiny of man in this life and in the other, relations of man to God, duties of man to his fellowmen, rights of man over the creation,—he is ignorant of none of these points; and when he shall have grown up, he will as little hesitate with regard to natural right, political right, or the right of nations: all this proceeds with clearness, and as it were of itself, from Christianity."

in the character of reality as the data of experience and observation in the outer world. Both these realities were considered by common-sense philosophy to furnish material for reflection and interpretation. In the opinion of most thinkers from the time of Bacon down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, these two separate sources of knowledge and reflection stood sufficiently apart to admit of being independently recognised and studied. This view was probably most clearly represented in the writings of Locke, who, more than any other among those thinkers who acquired a widespread reputation and influence, may be looked upon as typical of the ruling philosophical thought in this country from the time of Bacon till well on into the nineteenth century. His attitude to knowledge gained by observation through the senses as well as to that based upon religious beliefs has been characterised as a kind of *via media*. But it did not emanate from the desire, and still less from an attempt, to reconcile the two realms of thought, as was the case with his famous contemporary on the Continent, Leibniz; it rather sprang from a dislike of dogmatism, be that dogmatism theological or scientific: for, according to Locke, neither the theologian nor the naturalist could attain to such certainty as would allow either side to disregard the evidence furnished by the other. "Thus for 130 years after its publication the 'Essay' of Locke gave to philosophy in this country its groundwork and its method. The Anglo-Saxon mind cautiously leans to that side of human life which is instinctive and determined by its custom, overlooked, as outside philosophy, altogether by

those who would confine its speculations to the ultimate presuppositions and who despise *axiomata media* as external to the sphere in which it moves."[1] It is quite true that there were exceptions, and that attempts had been made to build up coherent or monistic systems similar to those which abound in the nineteenth century; and this both with a materialistic tendency—as by Hobbes—and with that towards spiritualism—as by Berkeley. But these systematic attempts were disregarded and stood outside of the prevailing currents of philosophical thought. This was, in general, occupied with a discussion of special problems, and did probably more than either French or German philosophy to lead up to special philosophical sciences, such as Psychology, Logic, Theory of Method, Ethics, Economics, &c. Even the most influential and far-reaching discussions which mark an era in philosophical thought, those of David Hume, appeared in the form of essays which stimulated thought without exhausting their subject, and aimed as little at building up a systematic whole as they emanated from a *universitas scientiarum et literarum*. The opinion sometimes expressed by foreign historians of philosophy, that thinkers like Bacon, Locke, Newton, Mill, and others shrank, through timidity, from expressing their convictions regarding matters of faith or subjecting them to the same penetrating analysis which they practised with regard to science and natural knowledge, can hardly be upheld.[2] It was rather a correct and

15. Dispersive character of earlier British thought

[1] Fraser, 'Locke,' p. 286.

[2] This opinion is, however, to some extent borne out by what John Stuart Mill tells us about his father, James Mill, in a well-known passage of the 'Autobiography,' p. 43. "I am one of the very few examples, in this country, of one

deep-seated, though frequently an unconscious, conviction that the foundations of natural knowledge were not sufficiently firm, nor its principles sufficiently clear to permit of indiscriminate application beyond a limited region. We are acquainted with Newton's final verdict regarding the Law of Gravitation, or of action at a distance, unduly extolled later on in the school of Laplace,[1]

who has not thrown off religious belief, but never had it: I grew up in a negative state with regard to it. I looked upon the modern exactly as I did upon the ancient religion, as something which in no way concerned me. It did not seem to me more strange that English people should believe what I did not, than that the men I read of in Herodotus should have done so. History had made the variety of opinions among mankind a fact familiar to me, and this was but a prolongation of that fact. This point in my early education had, however, incidentally one bad consequence deserving notice. In giving me an opinion contrary to that of the world, my father thought it necessary to give it as one which could not prudently be avowed to the world. This lesson of keeping my thoughts to myself, at that early age, was attended with some moral disadvantages, though my limited intercourse with strangers, especially such as were likely to speak to me on religion, prevented me from being placed in the alternative of avowal or hypocrisy. I remember two occasions in my boyhood on which I felt myself in this alternative, and in both cases I avowed my disbelief and defended it." At a much later period he wrote ('Autobiography,' p. 189), "With those who, like all the best and wisest of mankind, are dissatisfied with human life as it is, and whose feelings are wholly identified with its radical amendment, there are two main regions of thought. One is the region of ultimate aims, the constituent elements of the highest realisable ideal of human life. The other is that of the immediately useful and practically attainable, . . . and, to say truth, it is in these two extremes principally that the real certainty lies. My own strength lay wholly in the uncertain and slippery intermediate region, that of theory of moral and political science; respecting the conclusions of which in any of the forms in which I have received or originated them, whether as political economy, analytic psychology, logic, philosophy of history, or anything else, . . . I have derived a wise scepticism, which, while it has not hindered me from following out the honest exercise of my thinking faculties to whatever conclusions might result from it, has put me upon my guard against holding or announcing these conclusions with a degree of confidence which the nature of such speculations does not warrant, and has kept my mind not only open to admit, but prompt to welcome and eager to seek, even on the questions on which I have most meditated, any prospect of clearer perceptions and better evidence."

[1] See vol. ii. of this History, p. 29.

and we have in Locke's Essay the repeated assertion that natural knowledge gives only probability and not certainty.

We are thus indebted to Locke and his successors not for any attempt towards a complete and systematic theory of knowledge, but rather for leading philosophical thought into separate and definite channels of research; dealing as it were with the different regions of knowledge which were being cultivated or opened out in modern times, thus laying the foundation for separate philosophical inquiries. In each of these separate regions of knowledge, such as Psychology, which deals with the phenomena of the inner life; Logic, which deals with the principles of scientific knowledge; Ethics, which deals with the principles of action; Economics, which deals with the principles of industry and commerce; Æsthetics, which deals with the principles of taste,—English Philosophy can boast of having produced treatises of standard merit, distinguished by careful and penetrating analysis. But what was wanting from the point of view occupied by Continental thinkers from Descartes to Hegel was systematic unity based upon completeness and intrepid trust in the conclusiveness of purely logical argument. If we except Bishop Berkeley's Idealism, no attempt had been made in this country before the middle of the nineteenth century to construct a comprehensive and consistent philosophical creed, which should afford definite answers to all the more important problems of theory and practice. It can be easily shown that the prominent feature of British philosophical thought up to quite recent times

16. Its want of systematic unity.

was a kind of dualism. No principle or position, however clearly enunciated in the beginning, was ever by its first propounder carried to finality: there seems always to have been a reluctance to attach much credence to extreme consequences drawn out by slender logic. Thus we have in Locke's Philosophy the two principles of Sensation and Reflection, and further on the two forms of natural and revealed knowledge. The latter dualism is characteristic of all the philosophy of the Scottish school, and it was revived in a different form by Dean Mansel as an outcome of the latest phase of Scottish philosophy, that represented by Sir William Hamilton. But the extreme conclusions of every logical argument will in the end be drawn, if not by those who propounded it still without fail by some of their followers, and thus we find that, in spite of the realism of the English mind which clings to facts and practical requirements, the time did arrive when attempts had to be made to overcome the dualisms and latent contradictions contained in the writings of philosophers, from Bacon and Locke down to Hamilton and Mansel, and to lay the foundations of a reasoned and consistent philosophical creed. In the present connection it is well to note that endeavours in this line of thought existed long before and outside of the influence which the study and criticism of German Idealism exerted, in the same direction, in more recent times. The history of British philosophical thought can point to a distinct and tolerably coherent search in quest of a philosophical creed, beginning with James Mill and ending with Herbert Spencer. It forms only an episode, though an

17. Beginning of search for a creed.

important episode, in nineteenth century thought. It began and ended with Agnosticism, though this term, with the special meaning attached to it, was only adopted at the end. James Mill[1] was, according to the testimony of his son, neither a believer nor an unbeliever in any ultimate theory of the origin and destiny of the world. In spite of his acquaintance with the pronounced opposition to religious beliefs contained in the writings of some of the French encyclopædists he was never an avowed atheist. The writings of his son, John Stuart Mill,[2] notably his 'Autobiography,' and the post-

[1] "My father, educated in the creed of Scotch presbyterianism, had by his own studies and reflections been early led to reject not only the belief in Revelation, but the foundations of what is commonly called Natural Religion. . . . Finding no halting-place in Deism, he remained in a state of perplexity until, doubtless after many struggles, he yielded to the conviction that, concerning the origin of things, nothing whatever can be known. This is the only correct statement of his opinion; for dogmatic atheism he looked upon as absurd; as most of those, whom the world has considered atheists, have always done" ('Autobiography,' p. 38). James Mill's Agnosticism was, however, as we are told further on, founded, not upon intellectual difficulties, nor upon a mechanical or naturalistic direction of thought, but upon the difficulties which surround the problem of physical and moral evil in the world. It is, at the same time, remarkable that, living so near the age during which the philosophy of Kant had made a lasting impression upon Continental thought, his philosophical interests should not have led him to take some notice of the critical and idealistic philosophy of Germany. In his 'Life of James Mill,' A. Bain has published a reference to Mill's 'Commonplace Book' "as a clue to his studies." From this it is interesting to see that among the many authors, ancient and modern, English and foreign, there is not one representative of German philosophy, nor even of the great and broad current of speculation which began with Descartes and was continued by Spinoza and Leibniz, leading on to contemporary German transcendentalism.

[2] Although earlier and contemporary French thought played a considerable part in the development of J. S. Mill's convictions, we find no reference to the 'Discourse on Method' of Descartes, nor did the shallow philosophy of Condillac satisfy him. Starting, as he said, without any creed, he felt the necessity of finding and possessing one. Satisfied at an early age with the "principle of utility" as understood by Bentham, he found in it "the keystone which held together the detached and fragmentary component parts of [his] knowledge and beliefs. . . . It gave him a

humously published 'Essays on Religion,' revealed a continued search after a reasoned creed which, however, led to nothing really convincing. Much more decided was the position taken up by George Henry Lewes,[1] through whom, as also through Hamilton, Herbert

creed, a philosophy, a religion" ('Autobiography,' p. 67). At the age of twenty he came to the conclusion that the direction of his thought had become too analytical; he had lost, as it were, the substance of things over an attempt to dissect them; though he never "ceased to consider the power and practice of analysis as an essential condition of improvement," he "thought that it had consequences which required to be corrected" (p. 143). Under this "sense of want" the cultivation of the feelings became . . . "a cardinal point in his ethical and philosophical creed" (ibid.). This led him to an appreciation of poetry and art, and through the love of music, such as that of Weber and Mozart, and a disappointment with Byron's pessimism, he accidentally came upon the 'Miscellaneous Poems' of Wordsworth, which "proved to be the precise thing for [his] mental wants at that particular juncture" (p. 147). From Wordsworth he "seemed to learn what would be the perennial sources of happiness, when all the greater evils of life shall have been removed" (as the utilitarian philosophy was hopeful of removing them) ". . . and the delight which these poems gave [him] proved that with culture of this sort, there was nothing to dread from the most confirmed habit of analysis" (p. 148).

[1] In 1874 and 1875 G. H. Lewes (1817 - 1878) published the first series of his 'Problems of Life and Mind,' with the sub-title, 'The Foundations of a Creed.' With much less caution but with a vastly superior knowledge of the natural, especially the biological sciences, than Mill possessed, Lewes came to the conclusion that a reconciliation of knowledge and belief in a "creed" founded upon scientific methods of thought could be elaborated. He, as well as Spencer, and probably largely through the influence of the latter, entertained an exaggerated belief in the power of the genetic view to solve the fundamental problems of life and mind. This view had been established in Spencer's mind before Darwin gave to it convincing strength through his 'Principle of Natural Selection.' But beyond collecting much material, interesting especially to the psychologist, Lewes did not advance far in his original design, nor did he really tackle the main difficulty as Renouvier had done before him in France. He did indeed realise the necessity of dealing with the problem of certitude, but did not advance to a "science of morality" like that which Renouvier had put forth already in 1869. It is interesting to note that one of the weakest points of Spencer's system lies likewise in his Ethics, as fully explained by Henry Sidgwick, but that Spencer, unlike Lewes, propounded the doctrine of the Unknowable, thus closing this search for a reasoned creed by that Agnosticism with which, two generations earlier, James Mill had, according to the testimony of his son, already started.

Spencer must have acquired at least a superficial knowledge of some of the ideas current in Kantian and post-Kantian speculation. But the search for a creed ended with the latter in exactly that doctrine of the unknowableness of the origin of things at which James Mill had arrived sixty years earlier, and which received popular expression when Huxley coined the term Agnosticism. The circuit of thought which thus began and ended in an agnostic attitude preceded historically the deeper and more scholarly study of Continental Idealism, and has, through it, been pushed somewhat into the background.

18. The first episode ends in Agnosticism.

Besides this very prominent episode we have, in this country, the original studies and speculations of James Martineau, an independent thinker, of whom we shall have to take notice in some of the subsequent chapters of this History.

The introduction of the term Monism[1] into recent

[1] The term Monism has cropped up in recent philosophic literature from different sides and with somewhat different significance. It is opposed by some writers to the various forms of dualism existent in contemporary thought and, more recently by others, to pluralism, which they consider to be the necessary presupposition for a consistent application of the principle of Evolution. In Germany the term has been usurped by Ernst Haeckel for the materialistic creed which is developed in his popular writings. Some of his followers have joined hands with an earlier tendency of thought, represented by the Society for Ethical Culture, which aims at giving to morality a foundation independent of any religious creed. This direction of thought is represented by a special periodical founded in America, with the title, 'The Monist.' It aims at representing a unitary philosophical creed by no means identical with the Positivism of Comte or the Materialism of Haeckel, but nevertheless influenced by both. Quite recently there has been held at Hamburg the "First International Monist Congress," of which Ernst Haeckel, the great naturalist, Wilhelm Ostwald, the celebrated chemist, Friedrich Jodl, author of an important 'History of Ethics,' and others, mostly naturalists, seem to have been the leading spirits. The term Monism has thus become, as it were, the Shibboleth of a sort of religion of Free Thought, and cannot now, any more than the term Positivism, be used in the wider sense which its etymology suggests.

philosophical literature indicates a widespread tendency to overcome the latent dualism characteristic of the earlier philosophies in this country.

This dualism in human knowledge is, however, not a special characteristic of modern thought, but can be traced in the earliest systems of ancient philosophy, and was nowhere more apparent than in the middle ages with their avowed antithesis of Divine—or Revealed—and of Human Knowledge.

19. Continental efforts to transcend dualism.

Unlike English philosophical thought, thought on the Continent set out in modern times with the bold attempt to overcome the existing dualism in knowledge by starting from some supreme principle or idea in the light of which the whole of human science—be it spiritual or natural—could be organised, being systematically co-ordinated or subordinated. The two great systems in which this was carried out, and which have had lasting influence on Continental thought up to the present day, are those of Descartes and Spinoza.

Up to quite recent times, when the independence of the development of philosophical thought in this country has been clearly recognised by Continental writers, the leading historians of philosophy, who belong nearly exclusively to Germany, were in the habit of representing the history of modern philosophy as an unbroken chain from Descartes to Hegel and Schopenhauer;[1]

[1] This view is mainly represented by Kuno Fischer in his monumental work on the 'History of Modern Philosophy.' He does not include in it the History of the realistic movement in philosophy, to which he, however, devoted a smaller work with the title, 'Franz Bacon von Verulam, Das Zeitalter der Realphilosophie' (1856, 2nd ed., 1875). The continuity of the Idealistic movement is also sketched by Schopenhauer in the first Essay contained in his 'Parerga and Paralipomena,' and by Schwegler in his well-known 'Short History of Philosophy.' The important works on 'History of Philosophy' by Erdmann (see *supra*, p. 37 note 1) have, in later editions, taken more and more notice of other collateral schools of thought previously ignored. But the one-sidedness of giving undue and exaggerated prominence to Idealistic, or even only to German, philosophical thought (as, *e.g.*, is the case with v. Hartmann) has now been finally overcome and a new spirit infused into the treatment of the subject by Windelband and by Höffding. A still more one-sided but opposite view of the History of philosophy is represented by G. H. Lewes's later work on the 'History of Philosophy.'

Locke and Hume being the only British thinkers to whom was accorded an influence, the main importance of which lay in the fact that Locke provoked the elaborate refutation of Leibniz in the 'Nouveaux Essais,' and that Hume "roused Kant out of his dogmatic slumbers." Against this view it must be recognised that the philosophical thought of this country presents from Bacon to Spencer an independent line of development which was no doubt influenced by Descartes and Kant very much as the unbroken tradition of Continental thought was influenced by Locke and Hume. Towards the end of the nineteenth century it seems as if these two independent lines of philosophical tradition have crossed each other in a characteristic manner. When the need of a philosophic creed made itself felt in this country, several thinkers of the first order recognised that this problem was exactly that which had occupied Continental thought from the time of Descartes. Accordingly the philosophical writings not only of Kant but of Hegel, of Spinoza, of Lotze, and latterly of Leibniz, have been studied in this country with growing interest, and a school of thinkers has arisen which tries to assimilate, to co-ordinate, and to systematise the ideas contained in those formerly neglected or forgotten writings. On the other side, when, after the

20. Two lines of development.

21. Union of these.

traditional Continental philosophy had led to scepticism and pessimism, and was generally—though erroneously—believed to be fruitless, the critical spirit attacked the principles of exact science and of moral conduct, it must have been with some surprise that it was found that this critical analysis had been begun and successfully practised long ago by prominent thinkers in this country. A growing appreciation in Germany of the writings of Mill and Spencer and other English thinkers has been the consequence.

Looking at philosophical thought in the nineteenth century as a whole, we may thus say that it is based upon two independent traditions: that which prevailed in this country and that which prevailed on the Continent. They were to some extent complementary, and may, besides, in other ways, be characterised by the different position which they took up to the problem of knowledge.

The problem of knowledge presents among others two principal sides to the philosophic thinker. He may inquire as to the means and methods of extending knowledge, or he may inquire into the difference of correct and incorrect, of true and false, of certain and doubtful knowledge. Each of these inquiries will lead in due course to the other. We cannot discuss the means of increasing knowledge without some kind of definition of what knowledge is. And on the other hand, we cannot discuss the question of certainty and validity of knowledge without casting a glance at the large body of actually existing and increasing knowledge. For, in actual practice, the pursuit and extension of

knowledge does not wait till the philosopher has settled the criteria of certainty, nor, on the other hand, is the problem of certainty settled, in the eyes of the logician, by simply pointing to a body of existing and generally accepted knowledge, however extensive this may be. Still, the extension and growth of knowledge, especially of useful knowledge, may be the more attractive side of the problem to certain thinkers in certain times and surroundings, whilst to other thinkers, in other times and placed in a different environment, it may appear more important to arrive at some ultimate ground of certainty than to examine into the methods by which existing knowledge is extended. There is further no doubt that, whether we start with the first or the second of the two questions involved in the problem of knowledge, we shall in the end have to deal with both.

From what we have learnt of English philosophy in this chapter, as also on former occasions, it will appear natural that in the beginning of the modern era of thought, the problem of the extension of knowledge should, in this country, have presented itself first, that the question of the nature of knowledge and the grounds of certainty should have come later, that it should have gradually been narrowed down to the search for an ultimate foundation of all knowledge quite independent of the particular regions of knowledge which surround us, and that the attempt to establish unity and harmony should have come last.

But about the time when this characteristic and perfectly logical succession in the different phases of the theory of knowledge was started in this country by

22. Continental thought began with scepticism.

Francis Bacon, quite different conditions prevailed on the Continent. There a pronounced scepticism as to the capacity of the human intellect to reach certainty in matters of fundamental importance had got hold of men's minds. It found expression mainly in French learned and polite literature: in the writings of a man of the world like Michel de Montaigne[1] (1533-1592); of Pierre Charron[2] (1541-1603), a lawyer and preacher; and of François Sanchez[3] (died 1632), a professor of medicine and philosophy at Montpellier. Out of this general scepticism, which rested more on the uncertainty that pervaded the thought of the age than on the fruitlessness of the philosophy of the schoolmen or on the want of advance in useful knowledge in the dark ages, it is the great merit of Descartes to have sought a way to

[1] Montaigne's 'Essais' appeared in 1580, an augmented edition in 1588. "As the most important among them may be considered the 'Apologie de Raymond Sebond' (ii. 12), which contains important discussions on Faith and Knowledge. Montaigne founds his doubt upon the diversity of individual views: every one has a different opinion, whereas truth can only be one; there is no certain, no generally admitted knowledge. Human reason is weak and blind in all things, knowledge is deceptive (especially contemporary philosophy, which explains explanations and not things); and the laws of the country, which reason advises us to follow, are a seething ocean of opinions of a people or a Sovereign" (Falckenberg, 'Geschichte der Neueren Philosophie,' 1886, p. 34). If theoretical certainty is impossible, practical conduct must rely on nature and revelation.

[2] Charron develops Montaigne's sceptical and practical position into a system. In his work 'De la Sagesse' (1601), "doubt has the double purpose to keep alive the spirit of research and to lead us to Faith. As reason disposes of no means by which to distinguish truth from falsehood, it follows that we are born to search for truth but not to possess it. Truth abides only in the bosom of the Deity, &c., &c." (Falckenberg, ibid.)

[3] The principal work of Sanchez is entitled 'Tractatus de multum nobili et prima universali scientia quod Nihil Scitur,' and appeared one year after the first edition of Montaigne. It is directed against Aristotle and scholastic philosophy. Another work, intended to give the true philosophy, never appeared. It is interesting to see how views independently expressed by more recent thinkers can already be found in these the earliest representatives of the modern critical spirit.

23. Descartes' constructive effort.

certainty and light. He recognised that certainty in the highest sense of the word implies trust and confidence. In the then prevailing insecurity of external conditions and the strife of political and religious parties, such certainty could according to him be found by the individual thinker only through retiring into the depths of his own mind and seeking there for a central fact or self-evident principle from which to start. This he found in the process of thought itself. But Thought implies a thinking Subject; it gave him besides an indication how to proceed further in the search for truth and certainty by suggesting an inquiry into the method of thought and into its content. As to the former he was led to fix upon the mathematical methods, inasmuch as they lead to clearly defined conceptions which bear intuitive or immediate evidence of their truth. But human thought is also characterised by the fact that it leads beyond itself, *i.e.*, beyond the limit of the finite thinking subject. Applying the idea of causality, Descartes comes to the conclusion that what we now term the transcendency of thought cannot have its foundation in the thinking subject alone, but implies the existence of a higher intellect which he identifies with the Divine Mind. In this manner he finds the way out of the limits of subjective thought to a belief in another reality and into that of external things. In contradistinction to the immediate evidence of the subjective mind, the nature of which is thought, the nature of the objective world consists in extension, *i.e.*, in the mathematical properties of number and measure. Descartes thus establishes the contrast or dualism of a thinking

and an extended reality, and he thereby fixed the immediate problem for the speculations of his followers.

For our present purpose it is unnecessary to dwell upon the questionable logic in Descartes' reasoning; it is sufficient to point out that nearly all the different aspects which the problem of knowledge presents, and which have occupied thinkers up to the present day, are either implied or distinctly brought out in Descartes' speculation. Such are, *e.g.*, the question of innate ideas, of the deductive as compared with the inductive processes of thought, the identification of certainty with mathematical precision or clearness, and many others. The way out of the uncertainty of knowledge, which for Continental thinkers was at that time by far the most important problem, seemed indeed to be solved in a promising manner by the appeal to the mathematical method. This was exactly that aspect of thought for which the philosophy of Bacon had no appreciation. The latter seemed to be unaware of the important part which the application of mathematics was to play in the extension of natural knowledge as well as in giving it precision and value.[1] The exact methods practised by Galileo were extended and

24. Mathematical methods.

[1] It is, however, well to remember that Bacon (1561-1626) preceded Descartes (1596-1650) in time; that his most important works dealing with the "advancement of learning" were written in the first years of the seventeenth century; that at that time neither 'Kepler's Laws' (1609-1618) nor Galileo's 'Laws of Falling Bodies' (1612) were yet known or published; that the principal discoveries which were accessible to Bacon, such as those of Gilbert ('de Magnete,' 1600) and Harvey ('Circulation of the Blood,' 1619), had nothing to do with mathematics. The Works of Hariot and the 'Logarithmic Tables' (1594-1614) of Napier, on the other side, were probably too exclusively mathematical to come within the sphere of Bacon's interest in the extension of natural knowledge. Descartes' 'Discourse on Method' appeared in 1637. He had thus before him much of the best that, during that age, had been achieved in astronomy and physics through the application of measurement and calculation.

perfected by Descartes himself in the application of Algebra—the general arithmetic of the Arabians—to Geometry; it changed the latter from a science which, though rigorous, was somewhat casual, to a methodical doctrine by which configurations in space could be generally and exhaustively treated. It must indeed have been a seductive prospect for those acquainted with the great development of mathematical science which followed the invention of the analytical and infinitesimal methods to acquire in the uncertain regions of philosophic thought the grasp and mastery exhibited by the mathematical sciences. Nearly all the great Continental, notably the French, thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries came more or less under the spell of this idea. That it did not exert a similar spell in this country was largely owing to the fact that here the foremost mathematical genius, Newton, retained in his immortal works the synthetic methods of the ancients, which in the hands of all but the very greatest mathematicians remained specific and did not rise to abstract generality.[1]

The detailed arguments by which Descartes elaborated the two main principles of his philosophy, viz., that certainty can be found only in and by thinking, and

[1] The synthetic methods of the ancients which were, following the example of Newton, retained for a long time in the teaching of higher mathematics in this country, attained nevertheless, under the hands of French geometricians (notably of Monge and Poncelet in the beginning of the nineteenth century) a systematisation equal in importance to the analytical principle of Descartes. This was by means of the 'Principle of Projection.' An analytical interpretation of this principle led in the course of the nineteenth century to an approximation of the two methods and in the sequel to an extraordinary development of mathematical thought and knowledge (see vol. ii. of this History, p. 658 *sqq.*)

that knowledge depends on the conviction that unity and order pervades everything, need not occupy us at present. The fact that he identified this principle of unity and order with the personal Deity of religion permitted him to bring spiritual and natural knowledge into connection and gave to his philosophy a twofold interest. For it was capable of being on the one side mystically interpreted by spiritual thinkers, whilst on the other side the emphasis laid upon mathematical reasoning attracted those who had successfully begun to explain mechanically many phenomena in nature. Whilst the former line of thought led to the religious conception that we know and "see all things in God" (Malebranche), the mechanical philosophers on the other side recognised that for their purposes the supposition of a definite (mechanical) order in the universe was all that was wanted, and that the task of the natural philosopher consisted in tracing in detail some lines of this inwoven cypher of all Reality. Towards this Descartes had already made a beginning in his celebrated theory of Vortices. But the thinker who most consistently devoted himself to carrying forward the line of thought suggested by Descartes, viz., the ascent through abstract thought to a conception of the true order and unity of the world, and the working of this by a mathematical method, was Spinoza, whose writings, however, acquired their importance in modern philosophy much later, and need not occupy us at present. A more striking immediate reaction upon the course of thought on the Continent than was exercised by the philosophy of Spinoza, who nevertheless influenced contemporary thinkers more than

25. Spinoza and Leibniz.

has been generally admitted, emanated from Leibniz, and this influence has, with important fluctuations, continued up to the present day. One of the reasons why this influence has again and again made itself felt is because none of the great thinkers of modern times has studied with such equal interest and sympathy the most opposite lines of thought, and because hardly any one has been qualified in the same degree by genius and education to appreciate seemingly contradictory tendencies. Ancient and modern, English, French, and Italian philosophies were alike known to him; he was a mathematician and abstract thinker as well as a naturalist and historian, a practical man of the world as well as a theorist. The two great objects which he seems to have had in view all through his life were, first, to reconcile apparently opposed views, to harmonise existing differences in philosophy, politics, and religion; and secondly, to lead his theoretical and abstract meditations into practical channels.

Turning now to the special problem with which I am dealing in this chapter, the problem of knowledge, we find in the philosophy of Leibniz a great advance in his conception of the nature of Knowledge and the means possessed by the human mind of acquiring it. With Descartes the criterion of truth consisted in clearness of thinking and immediate evidence, two qualities which were nowhere more conspicuous than in the reasoning of the mathematical sciences.[1] A similar predilection for

[1] This conception of Descartes was more fully elaborated by Leibniz. What with Descartes was not sufficiently distinguished received in Leibniz's treatment a somewhat more definite expression. He distinguishes between what is clear from what is also distinct. "Clear" is opposed to "obscure," "distinct" to "confused." A notion is clear if readily recognised; it is distinct if analysable into its parts

the mathematical form of knowledge is to be found in Spinoza, though the latter in the course of his metaphysical expositions arrives at the conception that discursive knowledge must, in its highest form, become intuition,—mediated or rational knowledge having finally to pass into intuitive or immediate knowledge.[1] This idea was revived or independently enunciated by many

and their connections. ('Meditations on Cognition, Truth, and Ideas,' 1684). "Accordingly the *a priori* or eternal geometrical or metaphysical truths are both clear and distinct. On the other side the *a posteriori* or actual truths are clear but not distinct. The former are therefore fully transparent, accompanied by the conviction of the impossibility of their opposite; with the latter the opposite is conceivable. With the former, intuitive certainty rests on the principle of contradiction; with the latter, their possibility, which is proved by their actual reality, requires further explication through the principle of sufficient reason. . . . In course of its further development this distinction acquired, for Leibniz, metaphysical importance. He distinguished between absolute necessity, which implies the logical impossibility of the opposite, and a conditioned necessity which is merely factual. He divides the principles of things into those the opposite of which is inconceivable, and those of which it is conceivable" (Windelband, 'Geschichte der Philosophie,' 4th ed., p. 334). Prof. Windelband also shows that Leibniz originally considered that the difference between conceptions which are clear and those which are in addition fully defined or transparent applied only to the human or finite intellect, whereas in the Divine Intellect this difference did not exist; but that in the sequel, in order not to fall into the absolute necessitarianism of Spinoza, he emphasised the difference of necessary and contingent truths. Leaving out of consideration, as alien to the subject of this chapter, the metaphysical aspect, we may say that Leibniz approached the problem of the difference of certitude and precision of knowledge, *i.e.*, the difference between knowledge which we acquire (by observation and reflection) and ultimate convictions which we must possess.

[1] With Spinoza "the cognition of all finite things and states leads to two highest conceptions—extension and consciousness; they both acquire a higher metaphysical importance than finite things possess, they are the attributes [of the absolute substance], the finite things are only their modes. But as abstract thought rises from these ultimate distinctions to the most general, the *ens generalissimum*, the conception of the latter loses all definite content and there remains only the empty form of substance. And for Spinoza the Deity is All—and as such—Nothing. His theology follows entirely the lines of mysticism. . . . To this corresponds also his threefold theory of knowledge, which places, beyond perception and reflection, intuition as the immediate apprehension of the eternal emanence of all things out of God, cognition *sub specie æterni*" (Windelband, *loc. cit.*, p. 342).

thinkers during the nineteenth century. But the fact which must have troubled all those thinkers who worked at the unification of thought and the criteria of certainty—viz., the existence of the actual knowledge of science on the one side and the spiritual knowledge of faith on the other—was not sufficiently explained or traced to its psychological sources either by Descartes or by Spinoza. Leibniz works out the theory of knowledge in opposition to the Cartesian view as well as to that of Locke. It is not correct, according to his view, that all true knowledge is limited to that which can be clearly defined, as the Cartesians maintained, nor is the soul originally a *tabula rasa* as Locke and the empiricists maintained. Only a portion of our soul is at any time fully illuminated, only a portion of our thoughts arrive at the clarity of discursive knowledge.[1] Behind and

[1] The two most important ideas which Leibniz has the merit of introducing into the theory of knowledge, and for which he coined two distinct terms, are the doctrine of the "petites perceptions" and that of "apperception," as distinguished from "perception." Both these ideas, which have become so fruitful in recent philosophy, are contained in Leibniz's later, mostly posthumously published, works and correspondence. Originally mainly interested in a development or correction of the Cartesian system as a comprehensive reasoned creed, he had devoted himself to the study of the two most prominent problems that Descartes had bequeathed to his successors. Those were, first, the problem of method; secondly, the central metaphysical conception of the ultimate reality—the notion of substance. His important psychological, and his still more important epistemological, discussions seem to have come to the fore much later, notably through his acquaintance with the writings of Locke and Newton; the former suggested the 'Nouveaux Essais,' the latter led to the correspondence with Clarke. Leibniz's earlier labours were in the direction of the development of the mathematical methods, and resulted *inter alia* in his invention of the calculus, but also in his fruitless attempts to import greater precision into philosophical reasoning by the invention of a general combinatorial method or logical calculus which should not only prove, but also lead to the discovery of new truths. "From early youth he had the hope to find such an art, and it is remarkable that a man of his mental cast, and with his appreciation of the meaning of individuality, should

around this illuminated portion there lies the region of the "petites perceptions," the half illuminated storehouse of thought. These "petites perceptions" accompany as a background all our thinking, as they also form the source and guarantee the continuity of all our thoughts. This suggestive view put forward by Leibniz has also been taken up in various forms by thinkers during the nineteenth century. But Leibniz's immediate successors took more interest in the process by which what was unclear and mystical might be drawn into clear daylight than in emphasising those internal possessions of the human mind which can never be completely rationalised.[1]

believe in the possibility that the highest faculties of the mind could some day be reduced to a mechanism; in fact, he did not shrink even from the consequence that if once such a method were found it would require only experience and ingenuity to find new truths: a genius himself, he strove to make genius superfluous" (Windelband, 'Geschichte der Neueren Philosophie,' vol. i., 4th ed., 1907, p. 468). The term "petites perceptions" was characteristic of Leibniz's manner of looking at things, and had no doubt its origin in the infinitesimal method which he perfected and applied in the calculus: it combined the spirit of analysis with the principle of Continuity which forms another fundamental notion in Leibniz's speculation. What in recent psychology is termed the "presentation-continuum" or the "plenum of consciousness" was mathematically represented in Leibniz's mind by the totality or continuous background of the "petites perceptions," in the same way as geometrical structures may be treated as the integrals of their infinitesimal elements or differentials. The question then arose, how, on this continuous background or out of this half illuminated store of perceptions, certain among them rose into distinct vision. This led to the doctrine of apperception, which involved at the same time an activity of the human intellect; likewise an idea which we meet with again more fully developed in recent psychology. (See *supra*, p. 290.)

[1] The study of Leibniz's philosophy and its continued influence on philosophical thought ever since affords a good example of the difference between a history of philosophy or of philosophical systems and a history of philosophical thought. Leibniz, more like Descartes, and in contrast to Spinoza, published no concise and connected statement of his reasoned creed. Nearly all his writings seem to have been suggested by those of other thinkers, or for special persons, and on special occasions. Thus the 'Monadology' was written in 1714, for Prince Eugene of Savoy, in order to promote a better

Just as the position taken up by Descartes lent itself to a twofold development, the one leading into

understanding of what he had expounded in his 'Théodicée' and in his various contributions to contemporary learned periodicals in which, as he says, he "accommodated himself to the language of the schools or to the style of the Cartesians," it being first written in the German language. The 'Théodicée' had been written some years earlier at the request of the Queen of Prussia, in order to counteract the sceptical spirit which was spread through the writings of Hobbes, Bayle, Gassendi, the Socinians and Arminians, &c. His most important work, the 'Nouveaux Essais,' was similarly composed after the appearance of Locke's famous 'Essay,' and forms a kind of running commentary to Locke's doctrines. Whilst the two former works were published during Leibniz's lifetime, the latter, which is by far the most instructive and permanently important, was not published by Leibniz himself—because Locke had died in the meantime—but very much later, in the year 1765, nearly fifty years after Leibniz's death. In consequence of this disjointed form of composition, and still more, of publication of Leibniz's Works, it has been impossible to settle with even approximate certainty many important features of his system, the latter still remaining a problem to historians of philosophy. The same circumstance further had the effect of allowing a very one-sided and insufficient version of Leibniz's ideas to get hold of the philosophical mind in Germany during the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century. Leibnizianism was no more identical with Leibniz's real teaching than Newtonianism in France, or Darwinism in Germany, have been identical with the doctrines of their respective authors. "When the 'Nouveaux Essais' were printed in 1765 they excited great attention. Lessing was going to translate them. That the life of the soul transcends all that is clear and distinctly conscious, and is rooted in dimly traceable depths, meant insight of the highest value for literature; this was just struggling out of the intellectual dryness of the Enlightenment, and out of insipid correctness to an unfolding full of genius; it opened a view all the more valuable, as coming from the same thinker whom Germany honoured as the father and hero of its Enlightenment. In this direction Leibniz worked especially upon Herder; we see it not only in his æsthetic views, but still more in his prize essay 'On Knowing and Feeling of the Human Soul.' Under the preponderance of the methodological point of view, the Leibnizo-Wolffian school had strained the opposition between rational and empirical knowledge as far as possible, and had treated understanding and sensibility as two separate 'faculties.' The Berlin Academy desired an examination of the mutual relation of these two separated powers, and of the share which each has in human knowledge. Herder represented the true Leibniz—as he appeared in the 'Nouveaux Essais'—against the prevailing system of the schools: he emphasised in his treatise the living unity of man's psychical life, and showed that sensibility and understanding are not two different sources of knowledge, but only the different stages of one and the same living activity with which the 'monad' comprehends the universe within itself" (Windelband *loc. cit.*, p. 388).

the mathematical sciences and the mechanical explanation of things, the other to a mystical and spiritual view, so also the philosophy of Leibniz pointed in two directions. It suggested the attempt to rationalise the whole of our knowledge, be it natural or spiritual; but it also pointed to the unexhausted wealth of inner life out of which a new world of ideas might spring up at the right moment. Thus Leibniz unconsciously heralded, as it were, the two great developments which took place in German thought after the middle of the eighteenth century; the earlier rationalising movement during the age of the "Aufklärung" and the later spiritual deepening and consequent ideal elevation during the age of classical literature and art. We have seen in an earlier chapter how the former movement of thought led to more and more methodical treatment in all the different regions of knowledge; how criticism, in the larger sense of the word, developed out of it and became the great instrument of academic education in all the branches of learning which were not covered by the mathematical and physical sciences. But we saw at the same time how this critical movement derived its higher meaning and importance from the existence, in the minds of its foremost representatives, of an ideal background, which the critical processes hoped, in the end, to reach and bring into daylight. This ideal background had become a reality through the creative genius during the classical and romantic periods of German literature and art.

26. Diverging directions after Leibniz.

II.

If we, for a moment, adopt an expression which has been coined and become current in modern philosophical literature, and according to which philosophy consists in unified knowledge, its highest aim being the unification of thought, we may say that modern philosophy on the Continent consciously worked from its very beginning in Descartes towards the attainment of this end, whereas, in this country, it only arrived at a recognition of this, its highest task, during the latter part of the nineteenth century. I have expressed the same idea in other words by saying that modern philosophy on the Continent aimed at the establishment of a consistent and comprehensive philosophical creed. The boldest attempt to solve this problem is no doubt the system of Spinoza, whereas Descartes had contented himself with enunciating certain leading principles. In Spinoza philosophy attained to an elevation of spirit and diction which has only been reached in rare instances. It became to its author an expression, as it were, of his deepest religious convictions; it rose to inspiration. Such had been the philosophy of Plato in antiquity, such was the philosophy of Spinoza in modern times. Both are conspicuous by their grandeur and sublimity. But in the same way as Plato's philosophy in ancient times was followed, and to a large extent superseded, by the sober and judicious treatment of Aristotle, so the creative effort of Spinoza was superseded, for the time being, by the harmonising endeavours contained in Leibniz's

27. Aim at unity in Continental thought.

28. Spinoza and Leibniz contrasted.

philosophy. In another point also Leibniz can be compared with Aristotle, inasmuch as he was equally acquainted with the teaching of other earlier or contemporary thinkers, and built upon their foundations.

There are other causes why with Leibniz philosophical thought had entered on a new phase, and, instead of venturing on a bold attempt of creation and systematic construction, was largely occupied with reconciling existing doctrines and apparently contradictory aspects of thought. This task of reconciliation and of arriving at unification, not so much by constructive effort as by a process of harmonising, was pushed into the foreground and became a desideratum to many thinking minds through the writings of a contemporary of Leibniz. It was Pierre Bayle who in several of his writings had asserted the conflict between religion and reason, between the tenets of faith and the doctrines of philosophy; and had exemplified this by pointing to the difficulties involved in the problem of evil and sin.[1] Bayle's criticisms gave the occasion to Leibniz

29. Leibniz and Bayle.

[1] Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) was one of the most influential writers of the seventeenth century, as much through the sceptical tenor of his works as through the enormous erudition displayed in his 'Dictionnaire Historique et Critique' (1695-1697, 2nd augumented ed., 1702). It formed a principal channel of historical knowledge for several generations, continued the scepticism of earlier French writers like Montaigne, and led on to the still more celebrated and influential writings of Voltaire. It preached tolerance in all matters of doctrine, especially of religious beliefs. It was the forerunner of the great Encyclopædia of d'Alembert, who, nevertheless, as Voltaire indignantly remarks, did not sufficiently acknowledge his real predecessor. It is supposed that Locke, who met Bayle in Holland, received his ideas on toleration in great part from Bayle. Bayle was the great exponent of the absolute separation of matters of knowledge and matters of faith, but not in the sense expressed by Bacon and Locke, which led to the natural religion of the Deists in England, but in the older sense, according to which religious beliefs would have no meaning if they could be logically demonstrated. It was this dualism which Leibniz desired to counteract, for wherever it is admitted, it leads, in most minds, to a strong assertion of scepticism and a corresponding indifference, if not antagonism, towards religion. It must be added that Bayle anticipated likewise the modern school of thought, which relies upon the possibility of establishing morals and a system of ethics without the assistance of any religious or philosophical creed. This side is fully expounded, *e.g.*, in Prof. Jodl's 'Geschichte der Ethik' (vol. i., 2nd ed., p. 418 *sqq.*). As Bayle was quite unsystematic in his writings and expounded his fundamental convictions as occasion presented itself, suggesting, and frequently only insinuating, his real meaning, his influence may be considered from very different points of view. The fact that, for him, religious truths were not rational but superrational, and that morality did not depend upon them but had its foundation in human nature itself, put such truths out of contact both with reason and moral conduct, removing them—without a distinct avowal of unbelief—into a region which presented little interest. They were not an essential factor for either the intellectual or the moral life of humanity. In spite of many passages which may be construed as revealing personal belief in Bayle's own mind, this seems nowhere to be a clear and necessary conviction. Thus different writers have put various sides of Bayle's reasoning into the foreground. M. Picavet (in the 'Grande Encyclopédie,' art. "Bayle") emphasises his doctrine of tolerance; Prof. Jodl hails with approval his doctrine of the independence of ethics from religion and metaphysics; and Prof. Windelband represents him as a pronounced exponent of the doctrine of the twofold truth. "Religion is for him possible only as an actual revelation; in contradiction to philosophical knowledge, he represents quite rigidly the twofold truth; and, whilst he might, therefore, personally claim credit for a faith contrary"—or superior—"to reason, his writings, and especially the articles in his Dictionary, were not less dangerous to the doctrines of positive religion than to those of the Deists" (Windelband, *loc. cit.*, p. 413). Voltaire, who quotes Bayle frequently, does not accept his dictum that a society of atheists would be quite possible. With Voltaire some religious beliefs are required to regulate and restrain the conduct of men at large. Bayle had admitted that true religion, which he identifies with the love of God, would indeed do so; but this, he thought, was too rare an occurrence, and the conventional religion of the Churches did morally more harm than good.

for publishing, in 1710, his most popular work, the 'Théodicée.' In doing so he gave further expression to an idea which had been familiar to him for some time. He had early recognised that knowledge presents two forms—the knowledge of efficient causes and the knowledge of final causes, the mechanical and the teleological view of things, that it is a desire of the human

mind to trace phenomena back to their antecedent causes, but not less so to understand their purpose and meaning.[1] He appreciated the philosophies of Descartes and Spinoza inasmuch as they laid stress upon the deductive mathematical treatment, but he could not agree with Spinoza, who discarded altogether and treated with scorn all teleological explanations. In Leibniz philosophical thought arrived at the position which, with certain interruptions, it still occupies at the present day; its task being, not to afford new knowledge, but to mediate between the claims of two kinds of knowledge: that which deals with things

[1] From the point of view of the problem of knowledge we may thus say that Leibniz distinctly announced three kinds of knowledge, founded upon the law of contradiction (mathematical or metaphysical truths), the law of sufficient reason (all contingent truths found by observation and experience, tracing the causal connection of things), and the law of final causes through which the apparent contingency in nature is raised to the position of necessity, inasmuch as in and through the contingent facts and events in the world a definite plan, the design of the Divine Creator, is realised. Lotze remarks that this reduces the whole scheme of Leibniz to a mathematical conception. "The whole world has its reality from God, and indeed in this way that in the mind of God there existed many consistent schemes, among which He admitted that which contained the smallest amount of evil and the greatest perfection. Such a scheme he could not alter or improve, but only admit or reject, as a whole. We see from this that also with Leibniz the whole content of reality resembles a mathematical formula in which each part is rigidly determined by others and itself determines them, so that not only does the past include the future, but also the latter the past" (Lotze, Syllabus of Lectures on 'German Philosophy since Kant,' 1882, p. 7). We shall see further on how Lotze himself attempted to modify this scheme of Leibniz, giving it a freer, not purely logical, consistency. Whether we admit this rigidity in Leibniz's conception or not, it is quite clear that, so far as the problem of knowledge is concerned, Leibniz admitted the necessity of considering the purpose or meaning of things as a clue for finding the mechanical causes through which it was attained: a rule which was applied in the shallow and popular philosophy of the *Aufklärung* to put forward trivial explanations which made the whole ridiculous. This was quite contrary to the spirit of Leibniz; for we may say that if Spinoza taught us to contemplate things "sub specie æterni," Leibniz taught us to contemplate them "sub specie universi."

surrounding us in time and space, and that which deals with the highest questions of our life, our destiny, and our duties.[1] Occupying this position, the object of the philosopher is not to increase our knowledge of things natural or spiritual, but to appreciate the difference and importance of these two regions of knowledge, to show how we acquire each, what kind of certainty is attainable in either, and, if possible, to make sure that neither of the two should overstep its true limits and interfere with the other. But the immediate followers of Leibniz on the Continent did not maintain this judicial attitude, but, as I stated above, devoted themselves more exclusively to a rationalising of all knowledge. This attempt was somewhat justified by the necessity of teaching philosophy in the High Schools and Universities. It entailed a systematisation of the Leibnizian ideas, which by their author himself had never been developed in a final, systematic, and complete form. In this attempt many of the best suggestions of Leibniz were lost—to be taken up again at a much later period, as I shall have ample opportunity to show in the sequel.

30. Systematisation of Leibniz's ideas.

All the foremost thinkers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on the Continent were guided by the desire to arrive at a unity of philosophic thought and to establish a consistent philosophic creed, which should do justice to the claims of science as much as to those of religion, affording equally the means of increasing knowledge and of arriving at the ultimate grounds of

[1] Lotze has given a clearer definition to this twofold aspect by distinguishing between the world of things with their connections and the world of values or worths.

certainty and truth. The outcome of their labours, however, was not very encouraging. It seemed rather as if the attempt to unify and harmonise had succeeded only in showing up more clearly the existing differences. At the same time, the growing volume of actual knowledge attained in the different empirical sciences, and especially the increasing precision which the introduction of the mathematical methods afforded, made these sciences more self-reliant and dogmatic. On the other side, the vagueness and seeming uncertainty of all philosophical speculations referring to the general order of the world and the destiny of human life produced in many thinking minds doubt and indifference, and among believers the conviction that salvation could only be found by a strong dogmatic assertion of the truths of traditional faith, which were guaranteed by their historical origin and confirmed to the believer by an inner light which was not assisted by philosophical reasoning.

31. New way opened by Kant.

The existence of this dogmatism on both sides, as well as the growing doubt and indifference with regard to the most important questions which confront the serious thinker, led, in the mind of Kant, to what seemed to him to be a new way out of the existing dilemma and perplexities. It seemed to Kant that, before entering on a discussion of the higher problems of philosophy—problems which he termed transcendent—it would be necessary, systematically and methodically, to examine into the processes of observation, experience, and reasoning. Although this had already been, to some extent, undertaken by Locke, and before him by Descartes, it had not been undertaken for the definite purpose of

answering the question, how is knowledge possible which refers to those things that transcend our senses? This kind of knowledge Kant termed metaphysical. It was not the "plain historical method" which Locke had adopted that seemed to Kant to lead to a useful solution of the problem. The investigations of Locke, pushed to their seemingly inevitable consequences, had led to the scepticism of Hume, which was followed either by abandonment of the whole problem or by, what seemed to Kant, an uncritical appeal to common-sense. A better way for dealing with the questions started by Locke seemed to be indicated by the position taken up by Leibniz in his 'Nouveaux Essais.' These had been posthumously published just about the time (1765) when Kant had been strongly influenced by Locke's and Hume's writings. This suggestion was contained in the formula which Leibniz succinctly opposed to Locke's formula. The latter maintained that our intellect contains nothing which was not given by our senses. To this Leibniz agreed, with the addition, "except the intellect itself." This formula suggested an examination of the intellect as such, or, as Kant termed it, the criticism of pure reason. In deliberately placing this problem before philosophers as an introduction or preliminary investigation which should precede any attempt to decide whether the human mind was capable of arriving at knowledge or certainty regarding things spiritual and transcendent, Kant founded that philosophical discipline termed later on *Erkenntnisstheorie*, Epistemology, or Theory of Knowledge. The result which Kant arrived at, and which appeared to him to contain a reply to all

the vexed questions which then exercised the minds of thinkers, was not reached by a detailed psychological investigation such as has since been carried out through the labours of independent thinkers in all the three countries, *e.g.*, Mill, Renouvier, Wundt, and their successors; it was gained by a much shorter and much more abstract process. Kant relied on two points which he considered were well established. The first and most important of these was the existence of a definite amount of perfectly certain and assured knowledge contained in the sciences of mathematics and mathematical physics; the second was a definite body of doctrine contained in the formal logic and the empirical psychology of the schools, both of which Kant himself taught in his academic courses. So far as the first point is concerned, Kant had a broader foundation to build on than Descartes before him, inasmuch as he could not only point to pure mathematics, but had in addition also, what he considered the ideal of scientific achievement—the natural philosophy of Newton.[1] So far as the second point is

[1] It has, however, been shown (*e.g.*, by E. Dühring in his 'Kritische Geschichte der Allgemeinen Principien der Mechanik,' 3rd ed., 1887) that Kant's notions as to the principles of dynamics and physics were still extremely inaccurate and confused. Although in the minds of some of the great mathematicians, such as Newton in England and d'Alembert in France, very precise views existed, these have only very slowly become the property of philosophical thinkers. Nor does it appear as if Kant himself contributed much to this important clearance of ideas. Neither his early tract, which deals with the measure of *vis viva* (1753), nor his treatment of dynamical and physical conceptions in the celebrated 'Natural History of the Heavens' (1755), shows any strict definition or consistent use of dynamical principles. And it is significant that Ernst Mach in his historical Treatise on these subjects ('Mechanik in ihrer Entwickelung,' 1883, Eng. trans. by M'Cormick) has no occasion to refer to Kant. With Kant the fundamental notions of arithmetic (numerical and general), of geometry (synthetic and analytic), of phoronomy (kinematics), of dynamics (kinetics), and of physics (gravitational and other) were none of them clearly distinguished. That in each of these sciences an additional notion, principle, or axiom is involved was not clear to thinkers—certainly not to philosophers—of that age, nor for a long time after. Kant identified numbering with the temporal series in analogy with geometry, which deals with spatial series or dimensions. The purely phoronomical science of "kinematics," of which Kepler's Laws were the most brilliant example, was not separated from "kinetics," which is based on Galileo's experiments and Newton's laws of motion, implying the conceptions of force and inertia (mass). Again, Newton's natural philosophy, which to Kant was the ideal of a science, brought in the notion of attraction (action at a distance), a purely empirical fact, based upon a synthesis of Kepler's and Galileo's discoveries. To these notions Kant added in his cosmological theories the correlated notion of repulsion, following the vaguer theories of the ancients, and suggested also by elementary electric and magnetic phenomena. The modern conception of energy was, so far as mechanical phenomena are concerned, anticipated by Leibniz, who suggested a measure for mechanical action. That the celebrated controversy which raged over this matter between the Leibnizians and the Cartesians had been finally settled by d'Alembert in his 'Traité de Dynamique' (1743) seems to have been unknown to Kant ten years later. In the last chapter we have seen how Kant was also influenced by the traditional psychology of his day.

concerned, he was hampered by the formalism in the logic as well as in the psychology of his day, both of which he gratefully accepted.

In spite of the strong recommendation of the inductive methods by Bacon, the science of logic dealt, at that time, mostly only with deductive and syllogistic reasoning, without attempting to analyse the processes by which knowledge was extended in the natural sciences, such as the methods of inference and of proof. And Kant's psychology was the empirical faculty-psychology of the school of Wolff, improved by some of his followers, such as Tetens and Baumgarten.

32. Relation to Locke, Hume, and Leibniz.

The theory of Knowledge had been independently attacked by Locke and Hume; but Kant was able to go beyond the position they had reached, for he had before him the significant and suggestive answer which

Leibniz had given to Locke's sensationalism in the 'Nouveaux Essais' published in 1765.[1] It is probable that the study of the latter helped to give to Kant's speculation its peculiar and characteristic form.

33. Locke and Kant.

From the Introductions to their respective works which treat of the theory of Knowledge, the 'Essay' of Locke and the first 'Critique' of Kant, we learn that both thinkers were led to their investigations by the desire to explain and possibly to aid in settling differences of opinion which they met with among thinking persons and in the teaching of the schools. But these differences were, with Locke, enclosed in a narrower circle—we may say they were Confessional differences. During the period of more than two generations which

[1] This opens out an interesting historical question, which may be somewhat differently answered according as our interest lies in the development of thought or in that of Kant's own ideas. Kant was wont to compare the revolution in Thought, which he suggested, to that worked by Copernicus in physical astronomy. As the latter had changed the centre of the universe from the earth to the sun, so Kant proposed to change the centre of Ideology from the external world of experience and science to the internal active principle of the human intellect. But this was indicated already in Leibniz's formula. Historians of the Kantian philosophy tell us, as Kant did himself, of a turning-point in his speculations, and assign this to a period somewhere about 1769 or 1770. This is represented sometimes as a kind of awakening out of his dogmatic slumbers, and is then connected with the influence of Hume (*e.g.*, by Paulsen), sometimes as a continuous development under various influences, that of Rousseau being also specially mentioned. This view of the continuity in Kant's development is mainly represented by Prof. Höffding in his interesting articles in the seventh volume of the 'Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie' (1894). Neither he nor F. Paulsen ('Immanuel Kant') refers to the fact that the 'Nouveaux Essais' of Leibniz were made known to the world in 1765, just before the time when the Copernican change in Kant's views was being established. This is brought out by Prof. Windelband in an article in the 'Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie' (1876), and referred to in his works on history of Philosophy, quoted above. It is somewhat remarkable that Höffding in his important Discussion does not refer to Windelband's article; Paulsen mentions it only incidentally, and attaches little importance to it.

lie between Locke's and Kant's Treatises, the circle of interests had widened as much through the influence of Locke's speculations themselves in this country, and still more in France, as through that religious and political unrest which, in the sequel, led to the French Revolution. The difference between political, social, and religious creeds had become more and more accentuated till it became a question, not of different shades of belief but of belief and unbelief, not of different orders of society but of the maintenance or dissolution of any order, of scepticism, of indifferentism, and subsequently, of anarchy. The problems which presented themselves to Locke in a limited sphere had gradually assumed the largest dimensions, and required much deeper research and more drastic methods for their solution.[1] As an example, we need only point to the

[1] That Kant's main object in publishing his 'Critical Philosophy' was to settle the conflict between Knowledge and Faith is clearly brought out by Paulsen in the Introduction to his Work. It is mentioned by Kant himself in the preface to the first edition (1781), but still more emphatically in that to the second edition (1787). Whereas in the earlier preface he treats the subject more from a purely scientific point of view, attacking mainly the dogmatism and indifferentism of the age, and mentioning only incidentally in the Introduction the higher problems, he very emphatically urges the practical consequences of his doctrine in the later preface. This was no doubt done in order to explain more clearly what he had secretly at heart: to establish beyond doubt and cavil the sacredness of the moral law and the religious beliefs which it entails. "A cursory view," he says, "of this Work may suggest that the value of it is purely negative, to induce us in speculation never to venture beyond the limits of experience; and this is indeed its first merit. . . . But such a criticism . . . is indeed of very great and positive value if we consider that there exists a necessary, practical, the moral, use of pure reason, in which it inevitably extends itself beyond the limits of our sensuous experience" (Pref. to 2nd. ed., Rosenkranz' ed. of 'Kant's Works,' vol. ii. p. 675). "In this way the teaching of morality maintains its position, as does likewise natural science its own. . . . And just this Discussion shows the positive gain of the critical principles of pure reason with regard to the conception of God and of the simple nature of our Soul (p. 678). I had accord-

wider view on religious toleration of Bayle in France and later of Lessing in Germany compared with that of Locke in England. How much more important a correct theory of knowledge and the problem of ultimate certitude had become in the interval and to foremost thinkers on the Continent is shown by the tone of the two Introductions referred to above. The plain historical method of the friend of Bayle and Sydenham and the tutor of Shaftesbury in England, contrasts significantly with the boldness of the solitary thinker of Königsberg (the "All-Destructive"), who sweeps away all the existing philosophy of the schools, proclaims a new era of thought, and anticipates that within twenty years the new doctrine, with all its important and reassuring consequences, might be generally accepted.[1]

Kant, indeed, had at heart a vindication of the fundamental verities of religion: of the belief in the existence of God, the Immortality of the soul, and the Freedom of the Will. Was the human intellect able to reach in these matters of belief something like that certainty which belonged, according to his view, to the sciences of

ingly to remove knowledge in order to gain room for faith. The dogmatism of metaphysics . . . is the real source of all unbelief which contradicts morality (p. 679). This is not a performance which should be undervalued: once for all by a Socratic method, *i.e.*, through a clear proof of the ignorance of their opponents to put an end to all attacks on morality and religion" (p. 679).

[1] At the end of his first 'Critique' Kant gives what he terms the 'History of Pure Reason,' and closes this short chapter by contrasting his method with that of Wolff on the one side and of Hume on the other. "The critical way is the only one open. If my reader has been obliging and patient enough to follow this in my company he may then judge whether . . . what many centuries have not been able to attain might not be achieved before the end of the present one, namely, to give to human reason complete satisfaction regarding that which has always, but hitherto unsuccessfully, engaged her curiosity."

applied mathematics; and, if not, on what foundation had this belief to rest? Mere experience could not give to knowledge the characteristics of universality and necessity—it could not make it generally valid or convincing. The question then presented itself, how does some of the knowledge we possess, viz., mathematical knowledge, arrive at this generality and convincing evidence? Leibniz had suggested that empirical knowledge did not consist merely of a collection of sensations, but that there was the intellect itself which collected them. And with Kant the problem of knowledge took the form of asking: What does the intellect supply so as to bring into the casual material gained by experience, the logical qualities of universality and certainty? And this question was asked with an eye to the higher interests of the human mind, the truths of morality and religion.

By formulating the problem in this way, Kant issued, as it were, the programme of philosophical thought not only for his age but down to the present day. It is, however, well to recognise that, so far as the theory of knowledge is concerned, he was not in a position, nor in possession of the necessary preliminaries, to carry out his programme successfully. This has been done, to some extent, by thinkers in all the three countries since his time. In Germany, and largely also in France, it has been done mainly under the influence of Kant's own doctrine; in this country—as we have seen above—an independent beginning was made by John Stuart Mill, who, probably only through the study of Hamilton's philosophy, was induced to lay his account with Kantian ideas.

34. Kant's philosophy a central point.

Be this as it may, the philosophy of Kant has, as the nineteenth century advanced, been more and more considered as a central point in the development of modern thought. Especially so far as the problem of knowledge is concerned, we find that the different sides which this problem presented to different thinkers in different countries were already explicitly given or implicitly contained in the writings of Kant. Here his lasting influence may be shown in the great number of preliminary and subsidiary problems which he formulated, and into which he divided the main problem itself; not least also in the large array of new terms which he introduced for the definition of these problems. Through them he succeeded in fixing the attention of his own and subsequent ages. For our present purpose it may be convenient to gather this formidable body of thought under three headings.

35. Relativity of Knowledge.

First, Kant gave to the ancient theory of the Relativity of Knowledge a new form and expression. He did away with the primary (mathematical) properties of external things, which even Locke considered to afford a real, not merely a phenomenal, knowledge of things. He showed that these properties, which refer to the existence of things in time and space, are not less dependent on the nature of the human mind than the so-called secondary properties which depend on the nature and operation of our several sense-organs. Also he showed that to the forms of time and space belonged a special definiteness, that the conceptions of extension and duration, and the properties of things connected therewith, possess a greater convincing evidence, more generality and stability than attaches to the casual and fleeting impressions of our senses. This view crystallised in the doctrine of the Ideality of time and space.

36. The sensible and the intelligible.

Secondly, having deprived external reality of all the attributes with which the human mind describes it, maintaining that these refer only to its appearance in time and space, not to its intrinsic essence, he nevertheless did not destroy what remained in the human mind as a definite, though empty, idea of a thing. This essence of reality, the truly real, as opposed to the merely phenomenally real, Kant described as the Noumenon, that which we are obliged to think though we cannot see or describe it. For this he coined the characteristic term, the "Thing in itself"; the unknowable substance and cause which lie behind the phenomenal world. He identified it with the Intelligible as opposed to the merely Sensible. This remaining phantom, a relic of earlier metaphysics, which Kant did more to perpetuate than to explain and correct, has done incalculable mischief in subsequent systems of philosophy.[1]

[1] It was especially unfortunate that this doctrine of the "Thing in itself" became, for a considerable time, the central point of interest in the literature which sprang up abundantly around the Kantian philosophy with the object of confirming or refuting it. The novelty of the term gave it exaggerated importance, as did likewise a mistaken explanation given of it by Reinhold, who otherwise, as we shall see presently, was one of the most successful expounders of Kantian ideas. "In all these discussions it is important to note that they referred only to the 'Critique of Pure Reason,' and that none of those who led them understood at all the ultimate connection of the Kantian 'Critiques.' Just for this reason the notion of the 'Thing in itself' which, with Kant, was the connecting link between theoretical and practical philosophy, was here considered only in its theoretical meaning, and as such, it was rightly found to be untenable. Thus it has come about that this conception, which

Thirdly, having distinguished the two worlds, the intelligible and the sensible, the world of things in themselves and the world of mere appearance, he applied this distinction to the human mind itself, and maintained that so far as our own self and nature are concerned, we possess an entrance into the world of the truly real. Following on the lines indicated already in antiquity in the Ideology of Plato, he distinguished the world of ideas from that of phenomena: for Kant, however, ideas did not add anything to, they served only to regulate, experience. Foremost among these regulative ideas stands out the self-regulating freedom of the human Will. Indeed to safeguard this and the moral law was a prompting idea in Kant's whole speculation. Here we meet with our real nature, we gain a glimpse of the existence of a universal mind. This view has become a leading idea in many of the foremost ethical systems since the time of Kant: we shall have specially to consider it in a later chapter. So far as the theory of knowledge is concerned, it had the important influence of representing the human mind, not as merely receptive or reflective, as was the case in the philo-

37. The regulative ideas.

for Kant's theory of Knowledge recedes into the background compared with that of *a priori* knowledge, was in the sequel pushed into the foreground, and that the main object of the 'Critique' was sought . . . in this doctrine of the 'Thing in itself.' And this tendency was nursed by the fact that the majority of the opponents was composed of popular philosophers and teachers whose interest consisted primarily in disproving Kant's refutation of a reasoned knowledge of 'Things in themselves.' As these objections reacted upon the followers of Kant, these strove to clear the notion of the 'Thing in itself' . . . of its inherent contradictions. . . . Accordingly the further development of the critical philosophy was mainly occupied with the disintegration of the notion of the 'Thing in itself'" (Windelband, 'Geschichte der Neueren Philosophie,' vol. ii. p. 201).

sophies of Locke and even of Leibniz, but as an active principle. Knowledge is not merely collected, arranged, and abstracted, it is essentially also created by the human mind, or, as Kant said, by human Reason.

It is not only in the Kantian theory of knowledge that we find a novel treatment of these three main points —the nature of time and space, the difference of appearance and reality, and the formative or active principle of the human intellect; even thinkers who, like Comte, Mill, and Herbert Spencer, elaborated their theories independently, have eventually arrived at conclusions which were more or less in harmony with views explained or indicated by Kant himself.[1] His philosophy, and as

[1] Among the contemporaries and early critics of Kant three deserve notice as dealing specially with the theory of Knowledge and connecting or contrasting Kant's doctrine with earlier speculation. Gottlob Ernst Schulze (1761-1823) wrote under the name (with its sceptical suggestion) of Aenesidemus (1792). He shows that the critical philosophy does not solve the problem left over by Hume; for, according to Kant, causality, being a necessary form of thought and applicable only to things of experience, is not applicable to the "Thing in itself," to that which transcends experience. The new philosophy thus contains an inherent contradiction, and the great problem of knowledge remains where Hume left it. Salomon Maimon (1754-1800) came from the Jewish religion through great vicissitudes of life and thought to study Kant's philosophy, after having become acquainted with the works of Spinoza, Leibniz, Locke, and Hume. He attempted to remodel the Kantian theory of knowledge by doing away with the unknowable "Thing in itself," and reducing the evident difference as to clearness and certainty of knowledge to that indicated already by Leibniz in his doctrine of the *petites perceptions*. Kant had a high opinion of Maimon's ability, and went even the length of saying that he was the one of his followers who had understood him best. The best and most concise of his writings is considered to be that on the 'Categories of Aristotle' (1794). It is interesting to note that he undertook to write a philosophical dictionary, evidently recognising the important part which verbal terms play in philosophy. The third and most constructive among the earlier critics is Jacob Sigismund Beck (1761-1842), who led on to three important developments of philosophic thought, to Fichte, Herbart, and Schopenhauer. He likewise rejected the Kantian solution as contained in the doctrine of the "Thing in itself." "He found the only possible position from which the critical philosophy could be judged in this, that what

part of it also his theory of knowledge, may thus be regarded as a focus in which the different lines of earlier thought, both ancient and modern, were collected and brought into mutual contact, and from which they emanated with altered shades and colours. And still more has the general tenor of his thought, his critical attitude, as shown in an earlier chapter, been almost universally adopted in the course of the nineteenth century, and more so towards the end than in the beginning of the period. Kant is, therefore, a representative thinker. His philosophy looks backward and forward and all around, and consciously or unconsciously mirrors the thought of his own and the subsequent age: that of his own country as well as that of the neighbouring nations. To show this, we need only take up the two aspects which I mentioned above. Consider, first, the emphasis which Kant laid upon the existence of a body of certain and assured knowledge contained in the mathematical and mechanical sciences. Here he not only inherited the predilection for mathematical treatment characteristic of French philosophers as well as of Spinoza and Leibniz, but he also assimilated the spirit

38. Acceptance of extant body of scientific knowledge.

to an individual consciousness is given as an 'object' must be contained in an original hyper-individual consciousness which is accordingly authoritative, so far as empirical knowledge is concerned. In the place of 'things in themselves' he put Kant's 'consciousness in general.' In this way he explained the *apriority* of mental forms and categories, so that what is given in the manifold of sensation remained also for him the unsolved residue of the Kantian problem" (Windelband, 'Geschichte der Philosophie,' p. 485). Prof. Windelband shows also how near he comes in some respects to Berkeley's Idealism. "It cannot be denied that between the standpoint of Beck and that of Berkeley the dividing lines are difficult to draw. But neither Kant nor Fichte occupied Berkeley's position. Kant did not, inasmuch as he stuck to the reality of things in themselves; neither did Fichte, inasmuch as he was far removed from the spiritualistic ground of the English thinker."

of the Newtonian philosophy in the exaggerated form in which it was later proclaimed by the school of Laplace in France.

And so far as the second point mentioned above is concerned, Kant's acceptance of traditional psychology and his reliance upon definite categories or forms of judgment suggested by the Aristotelian logic, supplied a fruitful subject for discussions among followers and opponents. These showed the necessity for that deeper psychological and anthropological treatment which logical doctrine subsequently received at the hands of English, German, and French thinkers.

39. And of traditional psychology.

In the following chapters we shall have abundant occasion to realise the central position which Kant occupies in philosophical thought. At present we are specially concerned with the new lights which, as we have seen, he was able to throw upon the problem of knowledge. And here one of the great defects of Kant's method has revealed itself as much through the labours of his followers as through the criticism of his opponents. This defect consisted in the apparent want of unity in his doctrine. That this was to a large extent only apparent has been shown by recent historians of philosophy, and more fully in the researches of a whole series of writers who have made the study of Kant's works their principal task.[1] That it struck his contemporaries

40. Apparent want of unity.

[1] Among these may be mentioned a series of publications which was started in 1896 by Prof. Hans Vaihinger under the title 'Kant-studien,' and which has been continued up to the present day; further, a number of independent works by thinkers all over Germany and latterly also in other countries, the titles of which may be found in the tenth edition of the 4th part of Ueberweg-Heinze's 'History of Philosophy,' p. 225. This extensive literature has been fully consulted in their respective 'Histories of Philosophy' by Höffding

so forcibly is owing to various circumstances, among which the two following are of special interest in a History of Thought. The first refers to the internal character, the second to the external fate, of the new doctrine.

41. Criticism predominant.

In Kant, the critical and analytical, the dividing and dissecting spirit, cast into the background the synthetic and constructive process of thought, and still more the synoptic and comprehensive view.[1] Although Kant had, as stated above, a central conviction which was in the end to be the crowning idea of his system,—the supreme reality, importance, and dignity of the moral principle,—this was not put forward with sufficient clearness and emphasis as a constructive principle in the first of his

and Windelband, who themselves have made important contributions. Prof. Vaihinger was also active, on the occasion of the Kant Centenary, 1904, in creating a "Kant-foundation" and a "Kant-Society." The Berlin Academy has been publishing since then a complete edition of Kant's Works and Correspondence. As Professor Heinze says, "a real comprehensive digest of the results of recent Kant researches has not yet appeared."

[1] Anticipating what I shall endeavour to bring out more clearly in this and following chapters, I may say that the synthetic and constructive spirit gained the upper hand in the most prominent of Kant's immediate followers, in Fichte. Subsequently, the synoptic view was that peculiar to Schelling, in whose writings the power of synthesis and of construction, and still more that of criticism and patient analysis, was much less conspicuous. The synthetical process, although opposed by Kant himself to the analytical in his celebrated distinction between synthetic and analytic judgments, leads always only to an artificial product in which the constituent elements are still discernible, as the stones are in a building, the particles in a mosaic, or the parts in a machine. In order to come nearer to the true nature of real, physical or mental, things, we must start with their Together as it presents itself in the expanded world of time and space, or as it is concentrated in the totality of human intellect and character. This was the starting-point of Schelling's original speculations, reached, to a great extent, under the influence of Goethe's poetical insight into the world of nature and of mind. Hegel, in his conception of the absolute mind, tried to combine the synoptical view of Schelling with the constructive spirit of Fichte, and in doing so has, in a different way from Kant, issued what has become the programme of philosophical thought ever since.

great works, nor did Kant ever carry out his intention of giving the new metaphysic or reasoned philosophical creed which he had in his mind, and which was implicitly contained in what he modestly represented as merely preparatory works. The result was that he was often misunderstood and misrepresented. Some misinterpretations, even of his followers and admirers, he tried to correct in his later writings, but it was left to others to import unity into the seemingly disconnected parts of his doctrine. As this unity was not that which Kant himself had in view, it led away from the main line of thought which he had marked out.

So far as the second point is concerned, it is important to note that the first successful attempt to introduce the Kantian philosophy to the general intelligence of the nation, and subsequently to the students of the German universities, happened to issue from that centre which had already become the home of the creative genius in German poetry, literature, and art. It was there, in the innermost circle of German culture, at Weimar and Jena, that the earlier Kantian school of philosophy was founded by a man who had started from entirely different beginnings, but who was troubled by the same religious and doctrinal perplexities as Kant himself had in view, and who had personally experienced, in the depths of his own soul, the reassuring and strengthening influence of the Kantian doctrine. This was Reinhold[1] 42. Reinhold.

[1] Karl Leonhard Reinhold was born in Vienna and received his education in a Jesuit College, which he had to leave when the Order was suspended by Pope Clement XIV. in 1773. Thence he entered a freer atmosphere in another Roman Catholic College, in which he subsequently became a teacher of philosophy. Carefully watched by the Order to which he still belonged, he escaped to Leipzig,

(1758-1823), who, as Kuno Fischer says, is "in a certain sense a compendious expression of the development of [German] philosophy during the last decade of the eighteenth century." An ardent admirer of Kant's first 'Critique,' which he had read five times, he set before himself two distinct tasks.

The first of these was to make Kant's doctrine more easily and more generally understood, to mitigate the uncouth terminology in which it had been propounded, bringing the leading ideas of his teaching into contact with the general thought of the age and making it a fit subject for academic instruction. The second was to import a greater unity and harmony into the Kantian doctrine, to fill up the gaps which had apparently been left between the different parts of the system, and to arrange the whole according to one all-embracing principle. The first task he brilliantly accomplished in his 'Letters on the Kantian Philosophy,' which were published in Wieland's literary journal five years after the appearance of Kant's first 'Critique,' and which may be said to have transplanted Kantian philosophy from its eccentric position

and from there, through an introduction of the Austrian poet Blumauer to Wieland, he came to Weimar and became an inmate of the family of Wieland, whose daughter he subsequently married. A contributor, and later on the editor of Wieland's literary periodical, 'Der Deutsche Merkur,' he first came across Kant's writings in a review of Herder's 'Ideen' which Kant had published in the first volume of the recently founded 'Jenaer Litteraturzeitung.' To this he replied, but was led to a profound study of Kant's first 'Critique.' Captivated especially by the practical and religious ideas contained therein, "he finds here the foundations of faith independent of all metaphysical knowledge, and, in consequence, the doubts solved which free thought creates. He is convinced that the Kantian philosophy, correctly understood, must produce a beneficial and radical change of human thought, and he determines to do his part to let this light be kindled in men's minds" (Kuno Fischer, 'Geschichte,' &c., vol. v. p. 43).

in the extreme north-east into the centre of Germany. From there it spread to Göttingen, Leipsic, and subsequently to all the Protestant and to some of the Roman Catholic teaching centres of Germany. At Weimar it came into contact with, and was eventually greatly influenced by, the new literary—at once poetical and religious—movement. The importance and promise of this new movement [1] had been early recognised by the spirited Duchess, Anna Amalia of Weimar, a Brunswick princess and niece of Frederick the Great, who, after the early death of her husband, ruled the small State with remarkable intelligence, and with an equal regard for the welfare of the people and the culture of art, science, literature, and learning. For the education of her two sons she had engaged the celebrated author, Wieland; his recommendation being that in one of his writings he had discoursed with much freedom and liberality on the education of princes and the administration of the State. By this step she laid in 1772 the foundation of the leading position which Weimar occupied for a long time during the golden age of modern German literature and art.[2]

[1] Many recent historians of literature and philosophy have tried to convey to the present more prosaic and realistic generation an idea of the great change which took place in German culture at that period. I quote only one passage among many. "The whole culture of the age had arrived at a great turning-point. It began to descend into more profound depths of thought and sentiment. Feeling and passion began to waken from slumber, imagination stirred gently and ventured, here and there, to penetrate through the surface dried up by rationalism. To act, to suffer, and to enjoy with one's whole being—this striving had awakened in deeper minds such as that of Hamann. In the poetry of the youthful Goethe it found vent in stirring revelations. It worked in no one so actively and in so many-sided a manner as in the soul of Herder," &c. (Haym: 'Herder, nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken,' vol. i., 1880, p. 577).

[2] During the fourteen years previous to the importation of Kantian philosophy into the literary circle, enormous changes had

Through the transportation of Kantian ideas into this centre the fate of the new doctrine was for long decided in advance. The exclusively critical character which the titles of Kant's larger works perhaps unduly emphasised, had, under the influence of a great national, educational, and literary movement, soon to be abandoned or left to secluded thinkers. The doctrine had on the other side to contribute what it could to that movement itself, which, as I have had frequent opportunity to remark, was destined to bring about nothing less than the poetical, literary, artistic, and, in the sequel, the political elevation and regeneration of the German nation. That in the midst of such interests the problem of knowledge would occupy an important position was just as clear as it was certain that this problem would not be conceived in a

taken place in the small Duchy, which comprised only 750 square miles. Three years after the arrival of Wieland the regency had been terminated by the accession of the young Duke, Karl August, who having, in the company of his military tutor, Knebel, a man with many literary and intellectual interests, become acquainted with Goethe at Frankfort, invited the latter to Weimar offering him a high position in his Administrative Council. Not long after this he had, at Goethe's suggestion, appointed Herder to fill the highest clerical position in the country, admiring in him a liberal and spiritual theologian, qualified to oppose the prevailing narrow orthodoxy. The University of Jena flourished likewise under this enlightened government, and counted among its professors many eminent scholars and naturalists. Among these were Schütz and Hufeland, who, as editors of a renowned literary paper, represented, as did Wieland in a different way, the new literary spirit in opposition to the prosaic 'Aufklärung' which had its centre in Berlin. As Goethe wrote to Eckermann, the Duke "possessed the talent to take the measure of different minds and characters, and to assign to each its place." And as the latest biographer of Goethe, A. Bielschowsky, says, "By means of this great gift, and with his generous temperament and his rich talents, he not only succeeded in gathering around him the first minds of the nation, but, what was much more, he retained them" (vol. i., 7th ed., 1905, p. 276). For the third time, as Julian Schmidt says, "after 1517 (Luther) and 1675 (Leibniz), one of the small States monopolised the intellectual movement in Germany and gave to it a special character" ('Geschichte der Deutschen Litteratur,' vol. ii., 1886, p. 240).

narrow and purely logical spirit. The consequence was that the critical movement which in philosophy was initiated by Kant's writings was for a long time cast into the background, being superseded by the more enticing and, as it seemed, more promising constructive movement of thought. The purely scientific position which starts from a definition and seeks for a criterion of knowledge was abandoned in the attempt to give expression to an actually existing higher kind of knowledge, an ideal content, which was labouring into birth in the writings of the great representatives of German literature, notably in the works of Herder and Goethe.[1] Those

43. Criticism superseded by construction.

[1] In order to realise the new influence which was to make itself felt in the development of Kantian ideas, it is well to recall some facts and dates showing the great activity in the literary world during the decade which preceded the arrival of Reinhold at Weimar. Herder had published the most important and stirring of his theological writings, having progressed from his early critical, through a poetical, to a deeper philosophical treatment of the religious problem. During the decade from 1774 to 1784 he published, *inter alia*, the following Works:—

'Vom Erkennen und Empfinden der Menschlichen Seele.'
'Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte.'
'Aelteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts.'
'Provinzialblätter an Prediger.'
'Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament.'
'Volkslieder.'
'Theologische Briefe.'
'Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie.'
'Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte.'

Lessing's 'Nathan der Weise' appeared in 1779; Wieland's 'Oberon,' 1780; Bürger's 'Lyrics,' 1781 to 1785. Above all there towered the enormous productivity of Goethe, who had given to the world 'Götz von Berlichingen,' 'Prometheus,' 'Werther's Leiden,' 'Klavigo,' 'Faust' (first form privately circulated), 'Wilhelm Meister,' 'Iphigenie.' Turning away from his earlier critical and lyrical writings, and liberating himself from the influence of the "storm and stress" literature, Goethe had assimilated the spirit of the Antique: through it and through a simultaneous study of nature and art during his journeys to the Harz, the Alps, and Italy, he rose to that unique conception of the world and life, and that philosophical calm which separated him for some time from Schiller, whose early stirring dramatic works began to appear in the year that saw the publication of Kant's 'Critique.' To this we must add the renewed influence of Rousseau, whose 'Confessions' appeared after his death in 1778, and the still greater influence which the study of Spinoza exerted on all these thinkers.

who were inspired by this new world of ideas saw in it a definite something which strove for realisation, and which only awaited a suitable form, the right word, the adequate expression by which it should be rendered intelligible to the expectant and receptive minds of the younger generation; a possession not limited to a few creative intellects, but the common property of the many that came under the influence of the great educational movement which was spreading over most of the countries and nations of Europe. In fact, the problem of knowledge was for them not contained in the questions, What is knowledge, and where and how is it to be found? They rather saw with their mind's eye the existence of a higher kind of knowledge in the shape of definite ideals, and the problem of knowledge consisted in realising these ideals and finding a suitable expression for them. No one had uttered himself more clearly in these matters than Goethe himself, who at that time had already in many ways declared that the Highest reveals itself to the human mind only through intuition,—that it is not elaborated by thought but felt and seen: he had in his own creations made it actually visible to the increasing number of his admirers. If some of the contemporaries of Kant, notably Hamann, Jacobi, and Herder, had contented themselves with emphasising the independence of feeling, belief, and faith, as the ultimate original sources of knowledge, Goethe succeeded through the wonderful intuitive powers of his mind in embodying in the poetical creations of his artistic genius what others only believed and felt, thus strengthening enormously the constructive and creative movement of thought.

These influences did not make themselves fully felt in the region of philosophical thought till ten years later. In the meantime a new element was imported into the philosophical and literary circles of Jena through the arrival of Reinhold's successor, Fichte. He took up and proposed to fulfil the second task which, as I stated above, Reinhold had set himself but had not successfully carried out—the unification of the Kantian doctrine. A great personality, a strong and unbending character, self-reliant in abstract thought as well as in action, he was the very man to bring out the moral power, as well as the ideal sides, of the Kantian system. 44. Fichte.

He professed to understand Kant better than did his immediate followers, including Reinhold.[1] Nor was it difficult for him to find in the writings of Kant, especially in the two later Critiques,[2] many valuable suggestions which would aid him in the accomplishment

[1] After having lectured for three years Fichte found it advisable to publish an authentic Introduction to his philosophy (1797); partly in order to correct certain misunderstandings, partly also to emphasise that his intention always had been to expound the true Kantian system. He remarks that Kant's intention to give to the philosophical thought of the age an entirely new direction had completely failed. "Kant is up to now, with the exception of one recently published suggestion, . . . a sealed book, and what has been read into it is just what is not adequate and what he desired to contradict. . . . I have not to do with the correction and extension of current philosophical views, but with the complete routing of them and an entire reversion of thought" (Fichte, 'Werke,' vol. i. p. 420). The one exception which Fichte refers to is the philosophy of Beck.

[2] After the publication of the first 'Critique' in 1781 Kant published in 1785 'Principles of the Metaphysics of Ethics'; in 1788 his 'Critique of Practical Reason'; and in 1790 his third 'Critique,' which was to give unity to the whole of his system, the 'Critique of Judgment.' Fichte published in the true Kantian spirit in 1791 his Essay on 'Criticism of Revelation,' in which he applied Kant's principles to the religious problem. This was followed by the last of Kant's important works, 'Religion within the limits of Pure Reason' (1793). It was in the year 1794 that Fichte came to the University of Jena.

of his task. But he also very soon became convinced that the Kantian scheme would require considerable modification in order to meet what he considered to be the demands of the age. What attracted Fichte most in Kant's philosophy was that Kant assigned to the practical reason or the moral principle in human nature the supremacy over the purely intellectual side. In this moral region were not only to be found the answers to the great fundamental questions, which the purely logical analysis was unable to give, but it also appeared that the "categorical imperative" or moral law was the greater, the only, reality with which man was able to confront the otherwise overwhelming and crushing reality of the external world. What in Kant's philosophy came at the end of a long and wearisome logical and dialectical process seemed to Fichte to be worthy of being elevated to the position of the initial and dominating principle of all speculation. This was the fact that the human mind was primarily not reflective and passive, but active and assertive. Action, self-assertion, comes before reflection; a primary synthesis precedes the subsequent reflective analysis. The many opposites and dualities which played such an important part in the 'Critique of Pure Reason,' such as sense and intellect, understanding and reason, form and content, cause and effect, appearance and reality, the phenomenon and the noumenon (or the thing in itself), freedom and necessity,—all these appeared to Fichte to be mere abstractions which were made out of the original unity by the activity of the intellect or pure reason, apart from which they could not be understood. This unity itself

indeed did not exist in the form of individual minds, but in that of the all-embracing mind or consciousness which formed the background of everything. To get hold of this the philosophical thinker had to retire into the recesses of his own mind and rise through a process of intellectual intuition. And that such was possible, and not only an interesting and poetical fiction, was made evident by the existence in every one of the prompting Will or active principle. This conception of an intellectual intuition,[1] of an intuitive understanding, had already been suggested by Kant in the first, and more fully developed in the last, of his three Critiques, in which he had thrown out the idea of an intellect which was not merely discursive and analytical, but which was synthetic and intuitive. The existence of organised beings in nature, and of the creations of the poetic and artistic genius, proved, according to Kant, that sense and intellect, the world of external appearance and the world of reason (freedom), are not absolutely separate, but are rooted in an original synthesis or common ground.

[1] Fichte has given several explanations of what he means by intellectual intuition. "This contemplation of his own self which we expect from the thinker, and through which he becomes aware of himself, I call intellectual intuition. It is the immediate consciousness that I act and what I am performing: it is that through which I know something, because I do it. That there exists such a faculty of intellectual intuition cannot be demonstrated nor developed through reasoning. Every one must find it immediately in himself. . . . The demand that one should prove it through reasoning is much stranger than the desire of one born blind that one should explain to him what colour is without his being able to see it. . . . Every one who claims to be active appeals to this intuition. In it lies the source of life, and without it there is death. . . . It is a remarkable thing in modern philosophy that it has not been perceived that what can be said against the existence of an intellectual intuition may also be said against sensuous intuition [perception]" (vol. i. p. 463).

Having once arrived at this conviction of an underlying spiritual unity, the difficulty for Fichte was how to descend from it into the diversities and contradictions of the actual world which surrounds us, or philosophically to explain how it comes that that which is essentially and originally united should have unfolded itself in the world of many things, many persons, and many contradictions. This difficulty Fichte does not profess to solve: he merely interprets it. The existence of materiality, of the mechanical, of all that destroys the original unity and harmony, is for him just as much an immediate and inexplicable fact as is the conception of the spiritual and deeper unity. But of the two facts the latter is for us human beings the greater and more important, brought home to us continually by the necessity to act, to do something, and by the possibility of self-determination according to some ethical principle or moral law.

The attempts of Fichte to elaborate the logical and psychological details of his great conception must now be regarded as unfortunate, and indeed at the time they tended to bring discredit upon the whole of his philosophy, exposing it to much criticism, and even to ridicule.[1] His greatness lay, not in the direction of logical analysis, but rather in the personal fervour with which he emphasised the principle of freedom and self-determination according to high moral standards. He did this in an age when the sense of liberty was making itself felt everywhere among the rising generation. With them it was frequently apt to run riot, and

[1] Fichte himself complains of this in the above quoted Introduction of the year 1797.

nothing was more wanted than the gospel of duty, of self-restraint, and the strong belief in the existence of high and realisable ideals.

Although Fichte called his philosophy "*Wissenschaftslehre*," a kind of theory of knowledge which was to precede the different doctrines in which special knowledge was communicated, we find little in his writings of those kinds of investigation which nowadays go under the name of Epistemology. Fichte's contributions to the problem of knowledge lay in a different direction;[1] and though he found it necessary

[1] Though Fichte's writings are now little read, it is well to note that we find in them many tendencies indicated which have been further developed in subsequent philosophical thought. Thus he suggested that only two systems of philosophy are conceivable, the materialistic and fatalistic on the one side, the idealistic on the other. This has been borne out in the history of subsequent thought. He terms the former dogmatic, whereas the latter is, following Kant, supposed to be critical. Not to decide which of the two to accept is the attitude of scepticism. The decision or choice itself depends on the resolution of the character. We shall see in the sequel how this view is also that of Lotze. What is peculiar to Fichte is that he sees more clearly the logical difficulties which stand in the way of the materialistic hypothesis than those which stand in the way of the idealistic. This is largely owing to the fact that he stands quite outside of the exact and natural sciences which were making such great progress during his age. A further important idea which has become fruitful in recent philosophy takes with Fichte the form of denying the existence of the "Thing in itself" which remained in Kant's philosophy as a limiting conception, a tribute to the common-sense way of looking at things. In modern philosophy this argument has taken the form of a denial of the conception of substance as a fundamental principle, and of replacing it by that of process. With Fichte the idea of substance, matter, or "Thing in itself" was in the course of the activity of the universal (hyper-individual) intellect or self produced as a necessary conception. The intellect, or pure reason, was not merely the form, as with Kant, with which to comprehend the material content given by our senses; it was not only the form but also the matter or content of knowledge. Thus Kant's idea of what he termed the transcendental unity of apperception became with Fichte identical with Kant's fictitious intuitive understanding. The unity of apperception became identical with intellectual intuition. Further, with Fichte the problem of knowledge received an extension in a direction indicated already by Leibniz, and brought out in the clear-

in his later years to enter into more detailed logical and psychological discussions, the principal interest he took in it was to enforce by argument, as well as by the influence of his powerful personality, a conviction of the existence, for the human mind, of a definite and immediate source of certainty regarding the highest problems of conduct, action, and duty. In fact, he laboured perhaps more than any other thinker at the establishment of a philosophical creed that should be of practical value in the solution of the great problems which were then being ventilated on the

est terms subsequently by Lotze. Knowledge does not deal only with an increasing number of purely empirical data, the things and events which surround us; it does not, secondly, consist in addition only in certainty—that is, in the necessary connection or relation of things (laws physical and mental); but it consists, thirdly, also in a comprehension of the meaning of things, of their purpose, of the all-embracing system or order of the whole. Thus Knowledge is, first, descriptive, and as such continually accumulating and extending itself; secondly, constructive and synthetical, joining together to a necessary system; and, thirdly, synoptic, viewing and interpreting the whole in a general scheme, revealing the meaning and purpose of things. And, lastly, we find two modern ideas foreshadowed already in Fichte's doctrine. The beginning of philosophy is not a logical principle which would require proof, and thus lead to an endless regression of thought. The beginning of philosophy is a postulate: you must do something, you must act. The idea of action nvolves that of overcoming a resistance. In following out this train of thought, a meaning is assigned to the objects or tasks which present themselves to be solved; ever reappearing in new forms, they constitute the activity of the intellect. Difference and opposition is always required to maintain action. The overcoming or solution of existing differences and difficulties produces ever new and higher tasks. Logically this scheme is indicated by the formula of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis; in Fichte's system we find the birth of the dialectical method practised and extolled later on by Hegel. Inasmuch, however, as Fichte is forced to throw back the whole of the active process of the intellect into a hyper-individual region, he leads the way to the world of the unconscious, out of which the difference of subject and object, of self and other selves, emerges in the minds of finite persons. The conscious activity of the conscious and moral self leads us back to the conception of an unconscious striving or instinct as the source and essence of all reality. This idea we also meet with under various forms in recent philosophy.

Continent: the problems of education raised in France by Rousseau, and practically worked out by Pestalozzi; the problem of reason and faith raised by Kant and Jacobi; the problem of liberty raised by the French Revolution; the problems of the reconstruction of the State and society which followed in the sequel of that great movement,[1] and of the breaking down of all the old landmarks during the Napoleonic wars. He found a foundation whereon to build in Kant's doctrine of the primacy of practical over theoretical reason, and he filled in the seemingly empty forms or categories of Kantian morals by emphasising a higher spiritual reality. The existence of such a higher reality was not merely a personal conviction of Fichte's; he only saw, felt, and expressed more clearly and tried to define what an ardent younger generation were striving for, and what had found expression and become an active power in a new literature and a new poetry.[2] In urging the necessity that all thought and

45. Fichte representative of a new generation.

[1] The earliest of these problems was that raised simultaneously by Kant in his first 'Critique,' and by Jacobi in his publication, after Lessing's death, of his conversation with the latter on the philosophy of Spinoza. Jacobi himself treated of it in his subsequent writings, in which he took up an independent position to Spinoza, Kant, Hume, and, later on, to Fichte. The problem of education assumed a definite form and received a practical and realistic treatment through Pestalozzi, who published the first of his popular Works in 1780, with a significant appeal to Goethe to identify himself with the new movement, just at the time when the latter was already, as is shown in 'Wilhelm Meister,' moving away from the purely classical to a more practical ideal of life. Fichte himself, before approaching theoretically the problem of knowledge in his 'Wissenschaftslehre,' had contributed to the solution of these various practical problems in his earlier writings on 'Revelation' (1792), on 'Freedom of Thought' (1793), on the 'French Revolution' (1793), and on the 'Vocation of the Scholar' (1794).

[2] Schiller had stirred the minds of the younger generation by a brilliant succession of poetical and dramatic productions; had been appointed to fill the Chair of History in the University of Jena (1787); had, under the influence

knowledge must be ultimately based upon the immediate evidence afforded by the senses, he did not limit the word sense to mean only the external or bodily senses, upon the evidence of which ordinary knowledge is based; he extended its meaning to denote the existence of a higher sense which, though latent in every human mind, requires, nevertheless, to be nursed and educated so as to furnish the entrance into the region of spirituality and form the beginning of the higher life.[1] And he

of Herder and others, developed independent theories on historical, æsthetical, and educational subjects; and had latterly, in prose and poetry, given a new turn to Kantian ideas on ethics and the vocation of art in the development of culture and society. Above all, there had appeared in the year 1790 the first rendering of Goethe's greatest and immortal work 'Faust,' in which there occur the memorable words: "*Im Anfang war die That.*" Kuno Fischer, with an equal knowledge of modern poetry and modern philosophy, was the first, in his 'History of Modern Philosophy' and in his smaller writings, to show the intimate connection which existed between the literary and the philosophical movement at Jena and Weimar at the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This interconnection, which nevertheless did not deprive either of the two movements of their independent and original character, has been more fully traced by Prof. Windelband and also by recent biographers of Goethe, Herder, and others. Using a modern phrase, we may say that Fichte preached Pragmatism—but on a higher level than is done in America and England at this moment.

[1] More recent expositions of Fichte's philosophy and the development of his ideas have brought out clearly that he laboured up to the end of his comparatively short career (he died in 1814 from hospital fever which he, as well as his wife, caught whilst devoting themselves, during the War of Liberation, to the nursing of the sick and wounded) to give more precision to the fundamental conception from which he had started twenty years before. This view, established notably by Kuno Fischer and Windelband, contradicts to some extent an earlier conception which had its origin mainly in the polemic of Schelling, who tried to show that Fichte, under his influence, had modified the character of his speculation. There seems no doubt that Fichte himself was aware that his fundamental idea required clearer exposition, a more thorough logical and psychological grounding; but he refused to see that what was lacking in his own treatment had been at all supplied either by Schelling or by Hegel. His independent attitude of thought is

maintained that the certainties which this higher sense reveals to those who cultivate it depend just as much upon immediate evidence, upon intuition and insight, as all the truth of external reality depends ultimately upon the evidence of our external senses. By this doctrine of the immediate certainty afforded by the perceptions of our lower and higher senses, he repeated the truth which has been many times urged by the greatest thinkers, and many times forgotten by those

brought out with much power in the last rendering of his 'Wissenschaftslehre,' which is contained in the last course of lectures which he delivered at the University of Berlin in the year 1813, published posthumously by his son, J. H. Fichte, in the year 1834. The immediate source of all higher speculation is asserted there very distinctly: the fact that all knowledge is based upon immediate conviction afforded by some lower or higher (physical or spiritual) sense. Starting with the declaration that neither Kant nor he himself had been correctly understood, he proceeds to state what he, in the beginning of his career, had represented as the cardinal point of his doctrine; what had not been quite clear to Kant; and what, after a lengthy acquaintance with this attitude of thought, had become clear to himself, viz., that "this doctrine presupposes an entirely new inner sense-organ through which a new world is opened out which does not exist for the ordinary human mind. This is not to be understood as an exaggeration or a rhetorical phrase thrown out only to claim so much more—with the secret reserve that so much less would be given,—but it is to be understood literally as follows: for human beings as they are through birth and ordinary education this doctrine is distinctly unintelligible; the things of which it treats don't exist for them, because they have not got the sense through and for which these things exist. . . . They cannot understand it, they must misunderstand it. The first condition, therefore, is that the sense be created in them for which these things exist" (Fichte's 'Nachgelassene Werke,' vol. i. p. 4). He then goes on to explain by analogy with the physical senses the nature of this higher sense. It aims at a reformation of the whole man, a renewing and expansion of his whole existence out of a contracted into a wider circumference. He further explains that this sense exists potentially, but must be drawn out or developed. That such a sense exists is not a new doctrine: it has been used ever "since human beings existed, and what is great and excellent in the world and through which alone humanity is preserved comes from the visions of that sense. That such a sense exists is not new, but it has only been clearly seen in recent times," &c., &c. (ibid., p. 7).

who do not penetrate to the fundamental questions. It is the doctrine with which Descartes started and with which Spinoza ended,—the reliance on the certainty afforded by intuition or vision, be this physical or intellectual.

46. Schelling.

Still less did Schelling, Fichte's immediate successor and disciple, make any important contribution to what we nowadays call the theory of knowledge; but he laboured, as did Fichte, at imparting a definite kind of higher knowledge which he believed he possessed, without being able in the course of the many phases which his philosophy traversed to satisfy himself that he had found the right and adequate expression. There is no doubt that he saw the task of the philosopher in his age to consist in the formation of a philosophical creed; but whereas Fichte was essentially a strong character and a man of action who taught and inspired the youth of the nation, Schelling was more of an artist and a poet. Addicted to symbolical expressions and to reasoning by analogies, he possessed a finer insight into the workings of the poetical genius and the mind of the artist. This led to, and was sustained by, his intimacy with Goethe; in fact, he seems to have been the only one among the great philosophers of the idealistic school for whom Goethe preserved a lasting interest and appreciation. Some of his deliverances embody, as it were, a few of Goethe's favourite ideas.[1] Thus he occupied a position

[1] One example instead of many may suffice. It shows the abstract form which Schelling gave to such ideas, and his assimilation and appreciation of the latest philosophy in Goethe's poetical creations. It refers, as Kuno Fischer has pointed out, to Goethe's 'Faust' in its earliest rendering. "As in consequence of their common origin, the inner nature of all things must be one, and as this may be seen to be necessary, so likewise this necessity lives in any construction which is founded thereon. Such, therefore, does not require to be confirmed by experience, but is sufficient of itself, and can be continued beyond the limits which experience cannot transcend, as, for instance, into the innermost mechanism of organic life and of universal motion. Fate does not exist only for action; Knowledge also is confronted by the essence of the totality of nature as an unconditional necessity; and if, according to the dictum of an ancient thinker, the strong man in conflict with circumstances is a drama on which even the gods look with pleasure, so likewise the struggle of the mind for a sight of the real nature and the eternal essence of the phenomenal is a not less inspiring spectacle. As in the tragedy, the conflict is not solved by the downfall of either necessity or freedom, but only through elevating each to a complete equality with the other; so also the mind can only step victoriously out of its conflict with nature in so far as nature becomes identical with mind and transfigured in the ideal. To this conflict, which arises through an unsatisfied longing for a knowledge of things, the poet has attached his creations in the most characteristic poem of Germany, and opened an ever fresh source of enthusiasm which alone was sufficient to rejuvenate science in this age, and to throw over it the breath of a new life. Whoever desires to penetrate into the sacred interior of nature may nourish himself with these tunes out of a higher world, and imbibe in early youth the power which emanates, as it were, in solid rays of light from this poem and moves the innermost centre of the world" (Schelling, 'Werke,' sec. i., vol. v. p. 325, &c.; Kuno Fischer, 'Geschichte der Neueren Philosophie,' vol. vi. (1872) p. 836).

to the philosophical problem of the age entirely unlike that of his master, from whom he separated when it became evident that the philosophy of the latter had but little love of nature.

47. Want of criticism and exactness.

One of the reasons which prevented the great thinkers with whom I am now dealing from contributing anything appreciable, beyond occasional brilliant suggestions, to a truly scientific theory of knowledge, was that they possessed neither the critical spirit of Kant nor the sceptical spirit of Hume, and that they had not, what Kant possessed, a personal acquaintance with what we now call exact or mathematical knowledge. One of the prevalent notes of their teaching was indeed the endeavour to counteract the scepticism of Hume and Voltaire, and the sceptical consequences of Kant's criticism; and further,

to impress upon the minds of their hearers and readers the existence of a higher, more unified, and more spiritual knowledge than that which the separate sciences afforded. With the conviction that such a higher field of mental activity really exists, and is within the reach of the human intellect, they started on their way. We must remember that they were neither surrounded by growing material prosperity and industrial enterprise, to which contemporary thinkers in this country might direct their attention, nor had they grown up in the midst of the great achievements which the exact scientific spirit could boast of in France at the end of the eighteenth century. Industrial progress and economic wealth were just as much wanting in Germany at that time as was the correct appreciation of the exact methods of research, notably of applied mathematics. The only thinkers of importance who were acquainted with what we nowadays look upon as exact knowledge were Fries and, somewhat later, Herbart. Both these thinkers stood, however, too much outside of the interests and aspirations which then guided German literature and German thought to earn speedily from their contemporaries the recognition which they deserved. No better example exists of the defects as well as the peculiar kind of inspiration which characterises the more impressive deliverances of the idealistic school, than the introduction to the series of lectures which Schelling delivered at Jena in 1802 "On the method of academic study." Without leading up to the elevated position which he desires to occupy, he at once propounds the idea of an unconditional and unified knowledge, and he bases this on the conviction that the

truly ideal is alone the truly real. He admits that even in philosophy this essential unity cannot be strictly proved, as it rather furnishes the entrance to all that can be called science,[1]—the only possible proof consisting in this, that what claims to be science aims just at realising this identity, at merging the real in the ideal, and *vice versâ* at converting the ideal into reality. Such announcements, which to us nowadays sound oracular and rhetorical, would no doubt have had only a passing and deterrent effect had the majority of German students been aiming (as they do nowadays) at becoming scientific, professional, or industrial experts. To such, in however noble a light their vocation might present itself, it would soon have become evident that this doctrine of the Immediate and of the Identity of the ideal and the real did not condescend to indicate the practical ways and means of research. They would have sooner or later turned away

[1] "The appropriate training for a special profession must be preceded by a knowledge of the organic whole of science. He who wishes to devote himself to a special pursuit must know the place which it occupies in the whole and the special spirit which enlivens it, as also the kind of culture through which it fits into the harmonious structure of the whole; the way also by which he has to approach his science, that he may not be a slave but free to move in the spirit of the whole. It will therefore be seen that an academic study can only proceed out of a genuine insight into the living connection of all sciences, that without it every precept would be dead, soulless, and narrow. But perhaps this demand has never been more pressing than in the present age when everything in science and art seems more strongly to aim at unity, when even things most distant come into contact, when every movement which takes place in the centre spreads more immediately into the different parts, and when a new organ of intuition is everywhere being created. Such an age cannot pass without the birth of a new world which leaves those who have no part in it buried in nothingness. It must be left mainly to the fresh and unspoiled powers of a youthful generation to preserve and develop this noble endeavour, &c., &c. . . . No one is excluded from co-operating. . . . He must contemplate his science as an organic member and recognise in advance its task in this new-born world."

from it. Illustrious examples of this kind are to be found, *e.g.*, in J. von Liebig, Johannes Müller, E. von Baer,[1] G. T. Fechner,[2] who nevertheless in their further development retained a large share of the idealistic spirit. Fortunately, however, for the idealistic school, it could count on the support of two movements which were then much more prominent in Germany than the culture of the exact sciences, whose only great popular exponent and later patron, A. von Humboldt, was then travelling in the tropical regions of the New World.[3] These two

[1] See vol. i. of this History *passim*, especially pp. 207, 208.

[2] The influence of Schelling upon Fechner is important and probably typical. It is described by Fechner himself in a characteristic passage quoted by J. E. Kuntze ('G. T. Fechner,' 1892). "Through my medical studies I had become a complete atheist, alienated from religious ideas; I saw in the world only a mechanical scheme. At that time I came across Oken's 'Naturphilosophie,' which I began to read with a friend. A new light seemed to me all at once to illuminate the whole world and the science of the world. I was as if dazzled by it. In truth I did not really understand anything properly—how could that have been possible?—and I did not advance beyond the first chapters; but, in effect, I had at once gained the position for a grand united view of the world, began to study Schelling, Steffens, and other philosophers of nature, failed indeed to find in any of them clearness, but thought I could myself do something in that direction, of which some Essays in 'Stapelia Mixta' (1824) bear testimony. But even now I remember that I once put to myself the question: Could anything, by the ways of Oken-Schelling, have been found of the beautiful and orderly connection of optical phenomena which Biot lays before us with such clearness? Certainly natural science does not lie in these ways. . . . The influence of that period in the direction of a uniting activity and a spiritual penetration of nature has remained for me and has found expression in later writings, although I could then no longer consider the view of Schelling-Oken to be adequate" (pp. 39, 40).

[3] There lived in Germany at that time, at the University of Göttingen, another prominent representative of the genuine scientific spirit, the great mathematician, C. F. Gauss. Although, however, he had already published in 1801 his most original work, 'Disquisitiones Arithmeticæ' (see vol. i. of this History, p. 120), he was practically unknown to German scholars and thinkers. Not a great teacher, he belonged to the small international society of foremost mathematicians and astronomers of the age, for many of whom his labours furnished the starting-point of entirely new developments. His 'Theoria motus corporum cœlestium' was published in 1809 (see ibid., p. 324).

movements were, as I have had occasion to point out before, the higher educational movement and the growth of the critical spirit in literature, art, history, and theology. For both of these movements the ideal aims, though vague, were nevertheless of inestimable value: indeed history has shown that both these movements have fallen to a lower level in proportion as these ideal aims have lost their meaning and their hold upon them.

But also within the idealistic school itself the want was felt of a distinct method by which the beginner could be gradually introduced into the region of philosophical thought. There must be some way of leading up from the position of common-sense and ordinary reasoning to the heights of speculation. There was wanted what the ancients called a special dialectic which should traverse the different stages of the intellectual process, leading the mind on from lower to higher, from familiar and concrete to larger and more ~~abstract~~ abstruse conceptions. The great work which was dictated by a feeling that this was the desideratum of the age, and which had for its aim to exhibit this gradual rise of the philosophic mind to the heights of speculation and the establishment of a comprehensive philosophic creed, was Hegel's 'Phenomenology of Mind.'[1] This work appeared in 1807.

48. Hegel aims at supplying the want.

[1] The 'Phenomenology of Mind' may be studied from various points of view, and the important position which the work occupies in the history of Thought becomes evident as we realise how many different sides and interests it represents. It may be considered as a logical development of the main idea which governed the philosophical and poetical thought of the age, and which was most clearly expressed in advance by Spinoza when he identified the order which prevails in things with the order which prevails in our thoughts about things. The philosophy of Spinoza introduced to the age by Lessing, Jacobi, and Herder came as a welcome and inspiring solution of the

In the preface Hegel breaks with what he calls the philosophy of reflection, and proposes to bring into connection the different elements of thought and the different philosophic positions which, in the critical philosophy and in the systems of Fichte and Schelling, had remained disconnected, as it were improvised at random, forming postulates in the former, and, in the latter, solutions

dualism which had been created as the result of the Kantian doctrine that no proof existed that the human intellect (the order of thought) was identical with, or an expression of reality (the order of things). To realise this solution Fichte had clothed the Spinozistic conception in that of a moral order or fundamental activity of mind. Schelling, inspired by Goethe, had proclaimed that the union of the ideal and real lies beyond nature and mind, and is exemplified to us in artistic creation; whereas Schleiermacher, about the same time, maintained that this union existed only in religious feeling. These three thinkers drew their philosophical inspiration equally from Spinoza and Kant, for the latter had exalted the moral law as the supreme reality, had suggested the unifying power of intuition, and had cleared the way for religious faith. One step more was required, and this was to give a scientific or logical expression, not only to the reasoning of the human mind, but also to the fundamental unity proclaimed in these various forms under the name of the Absolute. The method was to be a scientific process, and the Absolute was to be conceived as a subject or a spirit. This task was what the 'Phenomenology' professed to perform. Hegel had prepared the way in his earlier writings contained in the philosophical journal which he edited together with Schelling. Another point of view from which this work may be considered is that it is an attempt to show how, in the historical development of thought from the dawn of philosophy in the ancient world, that comprehension or definition of the Absolute was gradually matured which constituted the central conviction in the philosophical creed of the age; the timeless substance of Spinoza was to become a living process, the moving spirit in science and art as much as in religion and life. Again, we may see in the 'Phenomenology,' to a large extent, a personal history of Hegel's own mental development as it has become better known through the labours of Dilthey and others (see *supra*, p. 250, note). And lastly, we may regard the 'Phenomenology' as a programme, defining the highest intellectual task of subsequent thought, and giving the first sketch of a triumphant solution, to be followed by more detailed exposition. As such a programme, it has lived—perhaps unconsciously — in many historical and many critical labours since Hegel in Germany. It has been explicitly adopted by a modern school of thinkers in this country.

gained by intellectual intuition, *i.e.*, by a kind of inspiration which not infrequently degenerated into guesswork.[1]

In the conventional histories of philosophy, the exposition of Hegel's method and doctrine follows immediately and naturally after the exposition of the systems of Fichte and Schelling; but for our purposes, since we are at present interested in the problem of knowledge, we must desist for the moment from entering into an exposition of Hegel's ideas, and this for the following reason. It is quite true that Hegel's philosophy is much occupied with the question of knowledge, but it does not contain what we nowadays call a theory of knowledge. If it solves the problem of knowledge at all, it solves it not by an analysis of existing knowledge, but by unfolding the new and higher kind of knowledge compared with which the actually existing knowledge was not considered to be real knowledge at all, but only a lower stage of merely apparent or preliminary knowledge. Desiring to establish a philosophical creed, a reasoned and consistent view of life and its great questions, Hegel, as little as his predecessors Fichte and Schelling, considered it worth while to spend much time and labour in analysing such forms of existing knowledge as had proved themselves incapable of meeting the wants of the age, *i.e.*, of solving the great practical questions. In fact, the

[1] The most lucid exposition of Hegel's relation to the philosophy of his predecessors, and of their merits and defects, is to be found in the latter part of his posthumously published lectures on 'History of Philosophy' (see 'Werke,' vol. xv. p. 534 to end). This course he delivered—as the editor, K. L. Michelet, tells us in the Preface—ten times during the last twenty-five years of his life.

interest of these thinkers lay more in replying to the question, What is the truly real?[1] than in solving the critical problems which Kant had put forward in his writings: they desired to solve the problem of reality rather than the problem of knowledge. Accordingly I propose to relegate the exposition of the more systematic views of these thinkers to other chapters, where we shall deal with the problem of reality and other related problems which again and again present themselves to the philosophical mind. At present we must look for the beginnings of the modern theory of knowledge in a different direction.

III.

49. J. S. Mill's logic.

In spite of the small interest that J. S. Mill's 'System of Logic' aroused in philosophical circles in Germany,[2] it is nevertheless true that what is now

[1] "With Schelling the speculative form has been re-established, and philosophy has become again something specific; the principle of philosophy, thought in itself, reasoned thought, has again received the true form of thought. Thus in Schelling's philosophy the content, truth, has again become the principal object, whereas in the Kantian philosophy interest attached mainly to this, that knowledge, understanding, subjective reasoning, were to be examined: it appeared plausible, first, to investigate the instrument, the process of reasoning. It is the story of the σχολαστικός who would not go into the water before he could swim. To examine the reasoning process means, to reason about reasoning, but how we can reason without reasoning cannot be stated" (Hegel, 'Werke,' vol. xv. p. 657).

[2] It was owing to the influence of Liebig, who probably came across Mill's writings during his repeated visits to England in the 'Forties, that the 'System of Logic,' which appeared in 1843, was translated into German by J. Schiel (1849), and published by the firm of Vieweg in Brunswick, who for a considerable period brought out the principal scientific works in physics, chemistry, and the natural sciences. It does not appear to have had any influence on philosophical thought till much later, when the same subject—viz., the foundations and

termed *Erkenntnisstheorie* in Germany, and Epistemology in this country, is for the first time distinctly put forth in that work. It was prepared by the Baconian philosophy, the traditions of which, through Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, were inherited by the Scottish school, whose principal exponent in the first quarter of the century was Dugald Stewart. All these thinkers were impressed by the existence and growing volume of a definite kind of knowledge termed natural knowledge. This knowledge existed before an attempt was made to analyse it logically and understand it philosophically as a mental phenomenon. A serious attempt to do so was made by a group of thinkers who about the year 1830 marked the new era of mathematical science in England. Most of

method of scientific reasoning and research — had been taken up independently by German naturalists, among whom Prof. Wundt of Leipzig stands foremost. Wundt approached the problem of knowledge primarily from the side of the physiology of sense-perception, to which he added an original examination of the "axioms of the physical sciences and their relation to the principle of causality" (1866). Coming twenty-five years after Mill, when the exact and mathematical methods of research had, by him and others, been introduced and successfully applied in many fresh fields of natural science, he was able to approach the theory of knowledge with a much greater command of existing material and a better personal acquaintance than Mill possessed. It is interesting to note what Prof. Wundt himself says regarding Mill. "If the historian of science in the nineteenth century should wish to name the philosophical works which during and shortly after the middle of the century had the greatest influence, he will certainly have to place Mill's 'Logic' in the first rank. This only slightly original work has hardly had any important influence on the development of philosophy. It was first recommended by Liebig to the German scientific world, which at that time possessed few philosophical interests, and was frequently consulted when philosophical questions had perforce to be considered. Thus also the labours in the 'physiology of the senses' of Helmholtz . . . moved decidedly under the sign of Mill's 'Logic.'" Wundt then goes on to explain that it was not the association-psychology of Mill, but the Logic proper and the theory of the syllogism and of induction, that attracted Helmholtz, independently of their psychological truth or importance. (See W. Wundt in Windelband, 'Die Philosophie im Beginn des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts,' vol. i. p. 28, &c.)

these, such as Sir John Herschel, William Whewell, George Peacock, A. de Morgan, belonged to the Cambridge school: they not only aimed at enlarging and deepening the mathematical sciences by introducing the French methods, but they also strove to understand more clearly the logical foundations of the mathematical or exact sciences. They felt the necessity of rewriting the *Novum Organum* of Bacon. Each of them worked in an independent way at the same task. Herschel published in 1831 his "Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy," where in a number of examples he showed how the generalisations and discoveries of science were actually arrived at. William Whewell published in 1837 his "History of the Inductive Sciences" as Prolegomena to a "Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences founded upon their History" (1840). Peacock was one of the first who expounded the logical premises of general arithmetic. De Morgan's publications begin in the year 1831 with an essay "On the Study and Difficulties of Mathematics," which was followed by a series of writings dealing with the borderland of Logic and Mathematics, such as his essay "On Probabilities" (1838) and his "Logic" (1839). Some of these writings helped to stimulate Mill to the composition of his Logic, the first edition of which appeared in 1843. But there were two other influences which combined to give to Mill's work its representative character, both of which came from his father, James Mill. The first was the Association-psychology to which I referred in the last chapter; the other was the strong political bias which Mill inherited from his father, as well as from his father's friend,

Jeremy Bentham. This was strengthened by his early acquaintance with the political philosophers of France, notably those of the school of St Simon. Mill's acquaintance with Comte began before the publication of the Logic, but belongs mainly to a later date. Mill's Logic was the first systematic attempt in the direction of a theory of knowledge, and it starts by referring to "the modes of investigating truth and estimating evidence, by which so many important and recondite laws of nature have in the various sciences been aggregated to the stock of human knowledge." It is not likely that Mill had at that time any knowledge at first hand of Kant's 'Critique of Pure Reason.' Nevertheless it is significant to note how both he and Kant take for granted the existence of a body of correct knowledge as it is contained in the mathematical and natural sciences. But he at once separates himself by indicating as the final aim of his book "to contribute towards the solution of a question which the decay of old opinions and the agitation that disturbs European society . . . renders as important . . . to the practical interest of human life as it must be to the completeness of our speculative knowledge—viz., . . . how far the methods by which so many of the laws of the physical world have been numbered among truths irrevocably acquired and universally assented to can be made instrumental to the formation of a similar body of received doctrine in moral and political science." It is evident from this that Mill did not take, with regard to the problems of practical life, the same view as Kant and his successors, notably Fichte—viz., that the certainty in such matters starts

50. Ground common to Mill and Kant.

from a different and opposite pole to that from which natural knowledge takes its beginning.

It must, however, be admitted that in the course of his philosophical writings Mill came more or less explicitly to admit the existence of a something, of a mental factor, which could not be found and definitely traced by the process of analysis which he practised. And this admission dates from an early period in his life when he already, in opposition to his father, recognised the importance of Coleridge's influence, when he felt the power of Carlyle's oracular sayings, and when he was himself coming under the spell of Wordsworth's poetry. Regarding this hidden factor in mental life he nowhere expressed himself with sufficient clearness, though he rejected all the various attempts by contemporary English or foreign thinkers to define or locate it in a comprehensive philosophical creed. But there is no doubt that we find foreshadowed in Mill's writings the conception of the Unknowable which plays such an important part in later English philosophy. At present it is important for us to remark that we find in Mill something analogous to that position which, on a much larger scale, existed a generation earlier in German philosophy. As I have mentioned before, the constructive efforts of German speculation after Kant, the dogmatic assertion of a higher insight, which in single instances rose to a kind of inspiration, was derived from the regions of poetical, or creative, thought as it manifested itself in the great classical literature of the age. Similarly the poetical creations of the new school of poetry in England, notably of Wordsworth and Coleridge, the revelations of which were brought together by Carlyle, with cognate elements which Coleridge and he discovered in German literature, produced in the mind of Mill the impression of an actual reality, and elicited from him, in spite of his cautious and unimpassioned habit of mind, some very remarkable admissions.

51. Sir W. Hamilton.

Next to Mill and to those writers named above, all of whom continued the tradition of the Baconian philosophy, the thinker in this country who at that time laboured most effectually at the problem of knowledge was Sir William Hamilton[1] of Edinburgh. His writ-

[1] In point of time it would perhaps be more correct to say that the theory of knowledge in this country was first distinctly put forward as a special investigation and the problem of knowledge solved in a definite form by Sir Wm. Hamilton in a series of brilliant articles communicated to the 'Edinburgh Review' from 1829 to 1839. But the fact that they appeared anonymously and were more critical than systematic, also that they created what may be called a new style in the philosophical literature of this country, prevented their due appreciation till much later, when Hamilton exerted a great personal influence on Scottish and English thought through his (posthumously published) Lectures on 'Logic' and 'Metaphysics' at the University of Edinburgh from 1836 to 1856. The late Prof. Veitch of Glasgow defines Hamilton's conception of the philosophical problem as follows: "Science is knowledge—a form of knowledge. Whence knowledge in this form? If we seek a cause of the fact of experience, we may, nay must, equally ask for a cause of our knowing the fact. Knowledge has its cause or source in what we call mind, and it is possible only under certain conditions. The primary problem of philosophy is thus to investigate the nature and necessary conditions of knowledge,—the conditions of its own possibility. What is knowledge? and what are the laws of knowledge? Such is Hamilton's conception of the problem of philosophy proper. Keeping this in view, we can see how the philosophy of Hamilton rises to its highest question — that of the nature of our knowledge of the absolutely first or of the unconditioned. The line of causality in finite things leads backwards and upwards to the problem of an ultimate or primary cause, and we have the points—is this a necessity of inference? is it an object of knowledge? in what sense is it an object of faith?" (Veitch, 'Hamilton' in "Blackwood's Philosophical Classics," 1882, p. 36, &c.)

As to Hamilton's philosophical antecedents Veitch says: "Even in his youth he had gone far beyond the range of reading in philosophy then usual in Scotland. He had

ings, most of which appeared anonymously in the 'Edinburgh Review,' date somewhat further back than those of the Cambridge mathematicians, and formed in a certain sense an opposition to the arguments employed by what we may call the empirical school. At the same time Hamilton's philosophy worked quite as effectively in the direction of generating the agnostic attitude of the succeeding period. Hamilton was as much influenced by Reid's original refutation of Hume as he was by Kant's 'Critique.' He believed quite as strongly in the truthfulness of our sensuous experience as he did in the relativity of all that we may call knowledge. To this latter doctrine he gave the name of the Doctrine of the Conditioned, maintaining that all that deserves the name of knowledge cannot rid itself of its inherent conditional character. To possess knowledge meant, for him, to move in the region of the

studied the 'Organon' of Aristotle, and had acquired a mastery of it at an early age, rarely paralleled at the close of the long and laborious efforts of a lifetime. Even at Oxford he knew it better than all the tutors. He was familiar with the principal schoolmen. . . . Descartes and the Cartesian school had been matter of minute investigation; and from Descartes he gathered the ultimate principle in his theory of knowledge, viz., the subversion of doubt in the fact of consciousness. He had mastered German at a time when few people in the country knew anything about its literature or philosophy. He had given a quite competent attention to the 'Critique' and to the logical writings of Kant. He had traced the course of subsequent German speculation through Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, as his unpublished notanda especially show. The influence of Kant both upon the cast of his thought and his philosophical phraseology is marked enough. In point of positive doctrine, however, the two men in Germany he most nearly approached were Jacobi and G. E. Schultze. . . . When he made his first published contribution to philosophy, in the Essay on 'Cousin' in the 'Edinburgh Review' of October 1829, the first impression, even among people who professed some philosophical knowledge, was that of astonished bewilderment rather than admiration or even appreciation. The Essay on 'Cousin' dealt with a question regarding the reach and limits of human knowledge which was wholly new, in form at least, to British speculation" (ibid., p. 26).

Conditioned. The Unconditioned, though it exists, is not an object of knowledge, not even to the extent that Kant conceived it to be—viz., as a limiting idea and regulative principle. To accept it as such is, in Hamilton's opinion, the great error of the Kantian philosophy, which opened the door to the vagaries of Kant's successors, who attempted to superimpose upon the existing knowledge of the Conditioned—*i.e.*, upon the only knowledge that is possible — a higher kind of knowledge, the knowledge of the Unconditioned or Absolute. Hamilton's criticisms are directed as much against Schelling and Hegel and their pupil Victor Cousin in France, as against that philosophy in England which starts from the knowledge we possess in the mathematical and physical sciences, and aims at penetrating by their methods into the region of mental and moral phenomena, as Mill hoped to do. For, according to Hamilton, our moral ideas are based upon the Unconditioned, which we approach only by faith, and upon the idea of freedom, through which the human being is elevated beyond the laws of a purely natural order.

52. A. Comte.

On a larger scale than Sir John Herschel had attempted in England, an exposition of the leading ideas and methods of the exact and natural sciences was attempted about the same time by Auguste Comte in France. In many respects the influences which governed the early development of Comte's mind were similar to those which made themselves felt in the case of John Stuart Mill. Both had a precocious development; the ideas attained in childhood, which in the case of most, even of the great, thinkers are characterised

by vagueness, seemed to have acquired, both with Mill and Comte, definite forms at an unusually early age. Both also took at this early age a lively interest in social questions. But whereas for Mill the private and personal influence of his father ruled supreme and fixed permanently some of his mental characteristics, the great school for Comte was the *École Polytechnique* in Paris. According to his own statement,[1] in a letter to

[1] The letter to Mill is dated 22nd July 1842; to the same year belongs also the publication of the sixth and last volume of the 'Cours de Philosophie Positive.' This contains an elaborate preface occupied mostly with personal explanations. Comte there complains of the want of support and appreciation of his philosophical labours on the part of the members of the governing body of the École Polytechnique. To this he attributes his failure to gain a professorship, his connection having been limited to that of an entrance examiner. A reactionary spirit very different from that which governed the earlier period, when in 1814 Comte had entered the school, had, after a crisis in 1816, gradually supervened in the direction of the establishment. This change corresponds in time with the change which took place in Comte's own ideas, when, in the course of the composition of his great work, he came to deal with the biological and political sciences. He recognised more and more, what he had already indicated in an earlier tract (see above, p. 193, note), that the purely mathematical spirit, the analytical method, or, as he called it, the *esprit de détail*, must as we ascend in the sciences be supplanted or compensated by the *esprit d'ensemble*. This development of his own opinions, to which he gave full expression in the 57th chapter of the 'Cours,' is significant, and was accompanied by his personal experience of the disproportionate encouragement which the mathematical or analytic spirit enjoyed at the expense of what we may now term the synoptic spirit. He had at one time hoped to introduce what he termed *la vraie spiritualité moderne*, through Guizot, whom he reluctantly approached with a proposal of founding, at the Collége de France, a Chair devoted directly to the general history of the positive sciences. But the want of sympathy which Guizot himself exhibited towards the purely mathematical tendencies resulted finally not in a support of the *philosophie positive*, but in the "dangerous restoration of an academy happily suppressed by Bonaparte." This was the restoration of the "Académie de Science Morale" referred to in vol. i. p. 145 of this History. "It is necessary," Comte says, "carefully to distinguish the two schools which, spontaneously antagonistic, divide between themselves, though so far very unequally, the general rule of rational positivism: the mathematical school, properly so called, still dominating without serious contention the whole of the inorganic studies, and the biological school, striving feebly at present to maintain, against the irrational ascendancy of the former,

Mill, he found in the studies and the methods which were pursued in that great educational establishment the first beginning of a true scientific corporation. There he also met with the republican spirit among the pupils, and an enthusiasm for the practical value of the studies which united them. These studies embraced mainly what we now call the exact sciences. The foremost representatives of this large and novel region of knowledge, the founders of new sciences, were the teachers of that institution. It is no wonder that this great body of knowledge came to Comte as a kind of revelation, and that the methods which it employed fastened themselves on his mind as models of the highest form of thought. In opposition to the vagueness of the popular philosophy outside this circle of interests, and the scepticism promoted by the critical school of thought, there must have been something as restful and invigorating in the serene calmness and assurance which is characteristic of the mathematical methods. Comte early fixed this character in his mind by the term positive, and the aim of his life became to expound and extol the canons of the positive sciences and to apply them to the solution of social and political problems. His great treatise, the 'Cours de Philosophie Positive,' was published between the years 1830 and 1842 in six volumes. In it he leads up, from the mathematical and exact sciences,

the independence and dignity of the organic studies. In so far as the latter understands me, it is at heart more favourable than hostile, because it feels in a confused way that my philosophical endeavour is directed towards liberating it from the oppression of the mathematicians. I have found there not only complete scientific appreciation in the person of my eminent friend M. de Blainville, but also numerous and respected adherents, &c., &c." ('Cours,' vol. vi. p. 22, &c.)

beginning with astronomy, through the biological to the sociological sciences. Significantly he leaves out psychology and metaphysics. Through omitting the former he stands in opposition to the then ruling school of philosophy in France, headed by Royer Collard and Victor Cousin; through omitting the latter he stands in opposition to the ruling philosophical systems in Germany. Though we read a great deal in Comte's philosophy of the three stages of knowledge, the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive, and though he emphasises the fact that positive knowledge is not limited to that of facts, but looks for the connection of things or the laws of nature, Comte does not contribute anything material to the theory of knowledge. The exposition of the methods of exact research was not followed as it was in England by a psychological analysis of these methods. This was effected later[1] by

[1] Though English and, later on, German thinkers have gained a general reputation as having mainly dealt with the logic and methods of scientific thought, it is well to note that France all through the nineteenth century possessed an extensive literature on the subject which, on the whole, has attracted little attention in other countries, and has, even in France itself, been very insufficiently appreciated. There are notably four representatives of the mathematical, physical, and natural sciences who occupied themselves with the principles and the philosophy of the sciences in which they themselves had, through their original researches, gained great distinction. Foremost among these stands André-Marie Ampère (1775-1826). He was professor at the École Polytechnique as well as at the Collége de France, and one of the greatest physicists of the century, having earned through his memoirs on electro-dynamics the title of the "Father" of that science. Of his philosophical writings his classification of the sciences, differing from that of Bacon, became known in England through Whewell in his 'Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences.' Somewhat later another teacher at the École Polytechnique, J. Duhamel (1797-1872), a contemporary of Comte, through his textbooks on the Calculus and on 'Analytical Dynamics,' exercised for some time an important influence upon the teaching of higher mathematics in France and Germany. He published in 1866-1872 a large work in five volumes, 'Des Méthodes dans les Sciences de Raisonnement,' in which he insists upon analysis as the true method not only in mathematics but also in other sciences. Contemporary with Comte and Duhamel was A. A. Cournot (1801-1877), a pupil of the Ecole Normale, who, beginning with a mathematical treatise on the 'Theory of Probabilities,' published a series of writings all dealing more or less with the methods and fundamental ideas of the various mathematical, historical, and economic sciences. Though original, his works had little influence at the time, but his memory has been quite recently revived since a new interest in the various subjects of his researches has sprung up (see 'Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale,' 1905, pp. 291-543). As eminent and original in physiology as Ampère in physics, Claude Bernard (1813-1878) produced a great impression through his 'Introduction à la Médicine expérimentale,' 1865, and 'La Science expérimentale,' 1878, in which he successfully combated the older vitalism still prevalent in the medical schools of France without going to the opposite extreme represented by contemporary thinkers in Germany and some later biologists in France (see vol. ii. p. 409 of this History, where he is compared with Lotze in Germany). The traditional interest which some of the most eminent of scientific thinkers in France have, especially in later life, taken in the fundamental principles, the philosophy, and the history of their science has been maintained in quite recent times by such foremost thinkers as MM. Henri Poincaré, Jules Tannery, Duhem, and others, to some of whose writings I may have occasion to refer in the sequel. It is interesting also to inquire into the causes which gave notoriety to some of these writings, whereas others equally important and original were treated with comparative neglect. (See Lévy-Brühl in 'Revue de Mét. et de Mor.,' 1911, p. 292.)

other writers, such as Duhamel and Cournot. These latter writings, however, appeared at a time when other interests had already attracted European thought in all the three countries into other channels.

The conception which we form as to the nature of thought and its possible achievements, the attitude which an age takes up to the problem of knowledge, the natural history of the Logos which it believes in, does not depend so much upon theoretical investigations as upon those kinds of knowledge which are at the time prevalent and active, which are fruitful in new discoveries and suggestions, and increase the resources of the human intellect. A new region of knowledge opening out new fields of research is more interesting and

eloquent than an abstract treatise on logic. The latter solves the problem of knowledge theoretically, the former does so practically. The second quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed the growth and recognised towards its close the existence of new fields of knowledge in various directions.

53. Revival and deepening of the historical sciences.

The first great movement of this kind consisted in the revival and deepening of the historical sciences, under the influence of the critical spirit on the one side and the great ideals of classical literature on the other. On this I have discoursed in an earlier chapter. But this movement was very much strengthened by the peculiar development of the abstract philosophical systems themselves. In Hegel's system emphasis was laid on the genesis of ideas, on the gradual development of these ideas in the course of the history of the human mind. The consummation of the system itself was to be found in the History of Philosophy, which Hegel was the first to include as an integral and culminating portion of the whole edifice of philosophical thought. In the history of the different philosophical systems Hegel recognised the appearance in time of those categories or leading principles of thought which the 'Phenomenology' had traced in the individual mind, which the 'Logic' had brought into abstract expression, and which, with more or less success, had served as the leading canons through which to understand the development in nature, in art, in society, and in religion. This idea of mental development, of the movement and working of ideas in history, was put forward by Hegel with such force and supported by so many happy illustrations that it made a great

impression upon the younger generation. What was merely suggested by Leibniz, Lessing, and Kant, what remained vague and elemental in Herder and found poetical expression in Goethe, seemed to be raised to the position of a definite science by Hegel. What was the subject of a kind of inspiration with earlier and less methodical thinkers became now, as it seemed, a teachable method. The great idea of development became suggestive of researches on a larger or smaller scale in many regions of historical, literary, æsthetic, and theological criticism. Other thinkers who did not follow Hegel into the same daring abstractions, and who could not find in the rhythms of the dialectical process the key for the understanding of the phenomena of mental life or their historical development, supported nevertheless through their historical studies the same movement. If they did not possess, they at least sought for, the right points of view, the leading ideas, from which to comprehend the mental life of earlier ages. Foremost among these stood Schelling and Schleiermacher. Notably, so far as philosophical thought is concerned, a great gain must be recorded when the study of the leading systems of ancient philosophy, pre-eminently of Plato and Aristotle, was revived, the first by Schleiermacher, the latter by Trendelenburg. In the year 1862 Trendelenburg could write: "Had such a powerful mind as Schelling begun his philosophical studies with Plato and Aristotle instead of going in the reverse order, backward from Fichte and Kant to the analogies of Herder, then to Spinoza, then to Plato and Giordano Bruno, then on to Jacob Böhm, and only finally to Aristotle,

. . . a chapter of German philosophy would have come out differently, larger, more lasting, and more fruitful. So important is it to march with history and to follow the historic development of the great ideas in mankind."[1] Gradually almost the whole philosophical interest in Germany—with two or three brilliant exceptions—threw itself into historical studies, bent upon tracing everywhere the movement of ideas, and thus elaborating on a larger and more accurate scale the programme of Hegel's philosophy. But as the lofty ideas of the classical period of German literature, where philosophy itself had found its inspiration, receded into the past, and what Hegel had done and Schelling attempted appeared to the critical eye to be untenable or shadowy, the flood of historical literature descended more and more to lower levels, spreading out in the study of mere detail. A loss of grasp, a disintegration of philosophical thought as a whole, was the inevitable consequence. Not unnaturally, therefore, a generation succeeded for whom the earlier leading ideals had lost their meaning, and who would accordingly seize with eagerness any new suggestion which afforded the prospect of arriving at that unification of thought which had been temporarily lost, but without which no fruitful progress could be made in any large department of knowledge.

Through the working of the scientific spirit as well as through that of the critical spirit, with both of which my readers have become acquainted in earlier chapters of

[1] See the preface to the second edition of 'Logische Untersuchungen.'

this history, a great body of new knowledge had been launched into existence during the first half of the century. To this all the three countries contributed, though, as has been shown before, science was most systematically cultivated in France and the higher criticism in Germany, whilst English learning preserved its traditional character by adhering to the experimental, historical, and inductive methods of investigation and exploration, without attempting that unification of thought which was such a prominent characteristic of Continental learning. This country has, however, the merit of having, under the influence of Mill and Hamilton, laid the beginnings in the theory of those modern processes of thought and methods of research which were practised with so much success in the exact and historical sciences abroad. The problem of knowledge became accordingly a definite subject of a new science about the middle of the century: in England through Mill and Hamilton, abroad as a reaction against the perplexities which the criticism of the abstract, notably the dialectic methods had revealed. In Germany and France[1] the problem of knowledge became identified

[1] I must here draw attention, as I did on a former occasion (*supra*, chap. iii., p. 274, note 1), to the work of Charles Renouvier, who attempted from the year 1854 onward a reconstruction of the fundamental doctrines of logic and psychology on the lines of Kantian criticism. He proposed—as did, twenty years later, a school of thinkers in this country with reference to Hegel — to do the work of Kant over again, adhering more strictly than Kant himself to the lines of criticism and discarding the dualism which Kant had introduced into his system by adopting, in a special form, the old Platonic conception of the difference of appearance and reality. By doing this Renouvier deserves not only to be termed the first in time of the Neo-Kantians, but also the first of modern thinkers who aimed at a consistent system of pure phenomenism. This has been well brought out by Mr Shadworth H. Hodgson, who in two articles in

54. Epistemology and exact sciences.

with a solution of those questions which Kant had placed at the entrance of his celebrated Critiques. It may, however, be doubted whether these purely theoretical, logical, and psychological investigations would have brought about, by themselves, that great change which has come over our ideas on the nature and value of knowledge during the last forty years, had it not been that the exact sciences themselves, about the middle of the century, outgrew the boundaries which the older

'Mind' (vol. vi., 1881) has given, as it seems to me, what is still the best exposition of Renouvier's fundamental conceptions, which he classes with his own as "Phenomenism." "Had I," he says (*loc. cit.*, p. 32), "been acquainted with M. Renouvier's Works when I published the 'Philosophy of Reflection' [2 vols., 1878] (as I must now confess with shame I was not), I should not have laid claim, in the unqualified way I did, to have been the first to dispense in a system of philosophy with the notion of *substance*" (vol. ii. p. 189), "though basing that claim on my views with regard to time and space. It is equally dispensed with in M. Renouvier's system, though its place is not supplied in the same way; and this retractation, unimportant as it may be, is therefore his due." Mr Hodgson states, however, that "a prior name ought not to be omitted when we speak of a critical philosophy, the name of a younger contemporary of Kant himself, that of Salomon Maimon. He too was phenomenist and criticist, but he did not live to bring his philosophical system to completion. M. Renouvier's originality, too, is in every way beyond question. He can in no sense be called the successor of Maimon. Their ways diverge widely, though it is from a point *within* phenomenism. Both go together up to the point of complete correlation between consciousness and its objects, which is the note of phenomenism; but when they come to the analysis of phenomena within consciousness, then immediately their differences begin, differences which are of a fundamental kind."

If the painstaking investigation of the psychological and logical foundations of philosophical thought may be considered as one of the most appropriate subjects for philosophical teaching, then it seems to me that a careful study of M. Renouvier's earlier works would serve as an Introduction quite as valuable as that of Lotze's Logic and Metaphysic in German or Mr Bradley's Logic (assisted by Prof. Bosanquet's 'Treatise on Logic,' 2 vols., 1888) in English literature. Renouvier has the further advantage of being equally acquainted with the two independent movements bearing upon the problem of knowledge, that originating with Kant in Germany and that beginning with Mill in England, also with the one-sided development of the former in the direction of Idealism and Absolutism in Hegel, and of that of the latter in the direction of empiricism and naturalism under Spencer in England.

principles had fixed, and were thus forced to introduce new conceptions. These new conceptions have not only opened out in their application vast regions of natural and historical knowledge, but have also tended to change our ideas regarding its nature, leading up to a new theory of knowledge and novel solutions of the everlasting problem. It may be useful to consider somewhat more in detail some of the more important steps by which this change has been brought about.

55. Greater precision.

Foremost in this respect stand the modern definitions of two terms with which older science operated, frequently unconscious of the ambiguity inherent in them. These two terms are, matter and force. They have been supplanted in the exact or mathematical sciences by two other terms, viz., mass and energy,[1] which are capable of strict definition as measurable quantities in time and space. Upon them is built up the purely mechanical explanation of things and phenomena. It is true that in those natural sciences which deal with the individual things of nature we cannot yet discard the older terms, matter and force. But this—according to an opinion which can neither be proved nor disproved—only shows that where they have to be employed, as when we, for instance, deal with chemical

[1] Some thinkers would prefer to say Mass and Motion, and to define energy in terms of Mass (or Inertia) and Velocity (or rate of motion). If this is done, it is evident that phenomena in which mechanical motion does not primarily present itself must be translated into these mechanical terms before they can be treated with exactitude. On the other side, the leaders of the energetic philosophy abroad, with Prof. Ostwald at their head, conceive of energy as a fundamental quantity possessing two distinct factors, that of quantity (capacity) and that of intensity. With them mechanical energy is only one form of energy, and the term is conceived also to embrace non-mechanical (psychical) forms of energy.

substances and affinities or with the instincts and impulses visible in organic nature, there remain dark points into which the daylight of exact science has not yet penetrated,—relations which are not yet accessible to strict definition in terms of measurable quantities.

56. Conception of energy.

In the seventh chapter of the first portion of this History I have shown how the conception of energy has been gradually evolved out of vaguer conceptions, and how the two principles of the conservation and the dissipation (degradation or disgregation) of energy have been established which respectively maintain that the amount of energy in the physical world remains constant, and that this amount tends to change from a more to a less available or useful condition. It was shown how the experimental proofs of the conservation of energy were furnished mainly in England, the theoretical in Germany; how the idea of dissipation originated in France; and how the whole doctrine of energy, so far as mechanical processes are concerned, was brought into clear relief and mathematically formulated mainly by the experimental and theoretical labours of Lord Kelvin. At the same time I showed how a school of natural philosophers has arisen in Germany who see in the theory of energy, or energetics, the fundamental doctrine which is to explain all physical phenomena. Unfortunately, so far as philosophical writers are concerned, almost the whole literature down to quite recent times is permeated and vitiated by a want of clear distinction between the mechanical definition of the older term force, which is now superseded by the less ambiguous term energy, and the still prevailing

meaning according to which force is the hidden cause or spring of motion. For, in the same degree as the modern definition of energy has brought clearness into physical science, where the tendency is to look upon all natural processes as transformations of energy or of various modes of motion, it has been found more and more impracticable to comprise in this attempt, in the same way, a definition of life and an explanation, or even an adequate description, of vital phenomena.

Accordingly, this first great step[1] by which the physical sciences have been more completely elevated into the region of exact research would have left the biological and psychological phenomena at a comparative disadvantage, inasmuch as, the older sense (the duplex meaning) of the word force being destroyed, the connec-

[1] The dualism which, according to the modern conception, attaches to the term knowledge, and which differs from that which was characteristic of the middle ages, which distinguished divine and human knowledge, may—in one aspect—be defined by looking at the meaning of the term force. In the older and popular use of the term there lurks a reference to the subjective element, that connected with volition and conscious exertion, what we may term the active principle as known to us through personal experience or introspection. If on the one side the clarifying and simplifying process in scientific thought consists in removing this subjective element, then, on the other side, we may say that a parallel movement in philosophical thought consists in the increasingly distinct recognition how this subjective factor of volition enters into all mental phenomena. A one-sided and extreme expression of this fact is to be found in the philosophy of Schopenhauer, who, in his first great work (1819), influenced, no doubt, not only by Kant but also by Fichte and Schelling, identified the unknown "Thing in itself" of Kant with the Will. It is interesting to note that, when materialistic philosophy in the middle of the century had emphasised the purely mechanical aspect of the forces of nature, at a time when the conception of vital forces was banished from German physiology, many of those who still longed for the spiritual view of things were powerfully attracted by the philosophy of Schopenhauer, the fundamental idea of which in endless different forms permeates the whole of modern philosophy, as we shall have occasion to see in subsequent chapters.

tion between the exact and the biological (including the mental) sciences was removed. But, fortunately for the biological sciences, a second and equally important step was taken about the same time, by which one of the fundamental conceptions through which we fix our comprehension of the phenomena of living matter received likewise a clearer definition. The older terms of development and progress, denoting not merely change but change from the lower, simpler, and less interesting and valuable, to the higher, more complex, more interesting, and more valuable, received likewise a more definite expression by which the natural as well as the mental philosopher were enabled to connect facts which before seemed unconnected, and to give to their descriptions and classifications a deeper meaning; enabling them also to some extent to know beforehand in which direction to look for the discovery of new and significant facts and phenomena. This second step may be identified with Charles Darwin's work and the appearance in the year 1859 of the 'Origin of Species.'

57. Darwin and development.

The title of this epoch-making book was not without ambiguity; for, in the course of the diffusion and criticism of the ideas contained in it, it has become more and more evident that the process of natural selection could not explain the origin of living matter, but only the origin of separate species, the greater differentiation which is continually going on in all natural and mental processes. The genetic view of natural phenomena has become limited to a genealogical record, without being able to deal with first beginnings.

The same position has arisen with regard to that great movement of thought which originated abroad in the second half of the eighteenth century, of which Leibniz and Herder were the first exponents, but which received greater distinctness in the philosophical systems of Schelling, Schleiermacher, and especially of Hegel. Both in the history of nature and in that of mankind what was originally aimed at—viz., an exposition of the origin or genesis of things—has more and more had to content itself with a record of genealogies, generations, and transformations, *i.e.*, with a theory of descent or ascent, without being able to penetrate to first beginnings or origins. In the theories of the inanimate world, notably in the celebrated attempt of Kant and Laplace to explain the development of the solar system, the whole scheme reduces itself to a rearrangement of the constant quantities of masses and energy in space. This seemed feasible by taking into consideration the simple laws of motion, the law of gravitation, and—in the sequel also—the exchangeability of heat and mechanical motion. The question as to the ground or sufficient reason for the whole of this process which goes on in space and time could be left out altogether as unnecessary for the mechanical explanation of things. In the development of organic life, however, and still more in that of the mental life of individuals and of mankind, a new principle appeared. This was the principle of growth, including order, progress, and, at a later stage, what have been appropriately termed spiritual values and their increase.[1]

[1] The principle of growth, *i.e.*, of an increase which cannot be defined by the categories of more or less alone, but implies a certain arrangement or order, a Together of things accessible only to the

Already before Darwin, Malthus had pointed out that the main characteristic of social development consists in the growth of population. This idea put Darwin on the track of his theory of natural selection,[1] which appeared

synoptic, not to the analytic, view, forms really the fundamental and characteristic principle of the whole of the living, as differentiated from the non-living, world. Though the idea of order and arrangement as distinguished from mere quantity is a mathematical, or, if we like to call it so, a mechanical conception, this would not necessarily lead to the simpler or more complicated phenomena of living matter and of the animated world, were it not for the further characteristic that where certain forms of order and arrangement, of matter and motion exist, they have a tendency to spread in space like a vortex which draws surrounding things into its action. Through this property living things are not only, to a certain extent, self-centred and self-contained; they are also mutually exclusive, as in a world in which the sum of matter and of motion are constant quantities, an increasing absorption of these constituents in certain places must mean a diminution in other places. This leads to the phenomenon of crowding out, to unconscious or conscious selection, and underlies all the phenomena of physical and mental life. In the whole of this process there are involved two principles which among recent thinkers, as it seems to me, Prof. Wundt has the merit of having most prominently put forward in his analysis of mental life, namely, the principle of creative synthesis and the principle of the growth of spiritual values. But what is created in the process of creative synthesis exists only for the synoptic intellect, and this had been pointed out in various ways by other thinkers before Wundt. Allowing, however, that he has more clearly recognised the supreme importance and the connection of those two principles, it must be regretted that he has not devoted himself more exclusively to explaining and illustrating them. As it is, they are rather hidden away in the enormous bulk of his voluminous writings, and have hardly in recent histories of philosophical thought been duly appreciated.

[1] A remarkable passage is to be found in Lotze's early Tract entitled 'Leben Lebenskraft,' published in 1843 and reprinted in 'Kleine Schriften' (vol. i. p. 139 *sqq.*) Referring to the importance of Metabolism (*Stoffwechsel*) in plants, he says: "With reference to this point, we must admit that wherever a successive development of a form is to take place assimilation of matter is necessary; but that likewise rejection of matter, *i.e.*, metabolism, should take place can only have its reason in this, that the elements which are necessary for growth are not supplied in the suitable form, but in a connection which has to be dissolved, and of which only one part is utilised, whereas the other is rejected as a bye-product. Metabolism would, in plants, appear almost inconceivable if it consisted in anything else than in a rejection of that which is unsuitable, so that in this case it is not something unused by the organism, but something unsuitable that is rejected" (p. 206). This recognition of the connection of growth and selection is significant. Prof. Jas. Ward, in his "Gifford Lectures" on 'The Realm of Ends' (1911), referring to Wundt's conception of a creative synthesis, says: "The so-called conservation of mass and energy might be regarded as symbolising the initial state of the pluralistic world, and as symbolising too the mere permanence and abstract being of its many units. But it is notorious that these concepts are the result of ignoring those differences of quality which alone convert units into individuals. Without these we may have *Erhaltung* but not *Entfaltung*, as a German would say; we may have conservation and indefinite composition, but not development and definite organisation. In short, the concrete integration of experience is the diametrical opposite to the mechanical resultant of a composition of abstract units: it is a *creative* resultant or synthesis, to use Wundt's happy and striking phrase." To this Ward adds the note that to Lotze belongs the credit of first signalising the fact to which Wundt has given the name; and Lotze even gets so far as to apply the term creation to this "relating activity," as he calls it (p. 103 *sqq.*) This "relating activity" spoken of by Lotze in his 'Metaphysik' (§§ 268 and 271) is really identical with the synoptic view, or the *esprit d'ensemble*, of Comte.

to be the necessary consequence of overcrowding and the cause of the survival of the fittest. But this idea of the increase of population, which was applied by Darwin to the whole of the organic world on its physical side, can in the same way be applied to the growth of ideas and of ideal interests and values on the mental side of the organic world. In fact, in the whole extent of animated nature, we cannot leave out the question regarding the ultimate ground or sufficient reason as we do in the inanimate world, for the principles of the conservation of mass and energy do not suffice to explain the evident increase of that something which permeates all living things, from the lowest to the highest examples.

58. Cause and effect defined.

Now here we have to record another change in modern terminology and the striving after a clearer definition of ambiguous terms. As the word Force received, in the exact sciences, a purely mathematical definition, being supplanted by the word Energy, so likewise the terms Cause and Effect have undergone a

similar process of more precise definition. For the purposes of the mechanical sciences, cause and effect mean respectively merely the antecedent and the subsequent in time. But this definition, which is sufficient for the mechanical explanation of phenomena, and which can be mathematically expressed, does not embrace either the conception of the ultimate ground and sufficient reason of things, or of that power, of that principle of progress, of which we are conscious through our Will and our actions, and which we transfer by analogy to the explanation of the phenomena of growth in the region of organic and mental life.

This twofold development in quite recent times—the narrowing down of the meanings of the words force and cause to denote such relations as can be mathematically defined in terms of measurable quantities, excluding actual increase or decrease—has put an entirely different aspect on the problem of knowledge, and has, in its sequel, brought about the conception of two kinds of knowledge, corresponding to the two meanings of the word force and to the two meanings of the word cause. We have seen that Kant took up the problem of knowledge by asking the question, How is exact knowledge possible? He started from the admitted fact that such knowledge actually exists in the mathematical and mechanical sciences. We have also seen how, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the problem as it was defined by Kant was taken up again by Mill in England and by the Neo-Kantians in France and Germany. But, in the meantime, the nature of this exact knowledge which Kant took for granted has become more clearly

understood, and it has also somewhat changed through the development of these sciences themselves.

A few examples of this change and of its causes will suffice to show how the problem of knowledge has assumed a different aspect. Kant's view of nature was to a large extent comprised in that circle of notions which I have in an earlier chapter termed the astronomical view of nature. He worked with the conceptions of attraction and repulsion, of action at a distance. These notions, which are as old as philosophy itself, had received an exact definition through Newton's principle of gravitation and through the measurement of electric actions, all of which came under the same numerical relation. Accordingly not only Kant, but still more specifically Laplace and his school, made this numerical relation which obtained in all actions at a distance the fundamental principle of their natural philosophy. The warning of Newton that the principle involved could not be considered as ultimate, but itself demanded a further explanation, was forgotten till well on into the nineteenth century. Even Helmholtz, who did so much in the middle of the century to bring about the great change I am speaking of, stated, in his celebrated tract "On the Conservation of Force," that natural phenomena might be supposed to be explained if they were reduced to a combination of central forces acting at a distance. Neither can it be denied that, to the popular mind, action at a distance, attraction and repulsion, are of such common occurrence, and are met with in so many different forms, that they have, through habit, become elevated to the position of ultimate, not further analys-

able processes, which afford to our understanding a convenient resting-place, a temporary and provisional foundation upon which to build. But this aspect upon which the astronomical view of nature is based, which governs almost half the exact science of the nineteenth century, and which still enjoys popular favour, was in the course of the century dispelled or superseded by the theory of action by contact. According to this view, empty space disappeared in the imagination of natural philosophers, a plenum being put in the place of the vacuum of intermediate space. This change of aspect, which was brought about mainly through the study of the phenomena of radiation, may be identified with the name of Faraday. To him and his school it seemed more natural to reduce mechanical action to processes in the immediate vicinity of the acting centres, and they accordingly filled empty space with an imaginary something called ether, and undertook the very fruitful task of defining in terms of measurable quantities the properties and the behaviour of this all-pervading substance or entity. What we may call the second school of French mathematicians after Laplace, those who were largely influenced by Fresnel's discoveries, adopted an intermediate position, looked upon the ether as an atomic structure, and attempted to explain the movements of this structure on the same lines as physical astronomy had followed in the calculation of cosmic phenomena. They employed attractive and repulsive forces acting at very small distances, as astronomers had used them at very large distances. This remnant of the astronomical view was finally destroyed in the school of

59. Supersession of astronomical view.

60. Plenum substituted.

Faraday by the British mathematicians of the Cambridge school, and by the introduction of the conception of energy and the theory of its distribution in the plenum of space. In passing, it may be remarked that an absolute plenum and perfect contact present as much difficulty to the thinking mind as action at a distance does, but this does not prevent these conceptions being of great use as soon as they can be mathematically defined.

But this change in the fundamental notions with which the new school of natural philosophers, headed by Faraday, worked, not only proved extremely fruitful by opening out new vistas of research and avenues of thought leading to the discovery of many quite unexpected facts; it had also the philosophically far more important effect of shaking the confidence with which the popular mind regarded, not the results, but the processes and contrivances, of mathematical and mechanical reasoning. This was still more the case when it became increasingly difficult to construct mechanical models of those elementary motions and mechanisms through which the mathematician pictured to himself the fundamental processes of nature. The construction of such models, though only mentally, seems to the present day to be a desideratum for some of the greatest minds as often as they attempt to give mechanical explanations. But as these models grew more and more complicated, the conviction gradually dawned upon philosophical thinkers that such devices could no longer be considered as describing the real processes of nature, but that they were merely convenient and helpful means by which

to start a train of reasoning, the results of which might or might not be true, according to the verification—or otherwise—afforded by experience and observation.

Thus it has come about that what Kant, and before him Hume, looked upon as exact knowledge, has in the eyes of more recent thinkers acquired quite a different aspect from that which it presented to them. Mathematical and mechanical calculations are only a convenient method of joining together various facts and phenomena which surround us in time and space, a means by which we can fix, define, and describe them, and arrive at a knowledge of other facts and phenomena which, but for these methods, would remain hidden and unknown to us. The present aim of scientific knowledge is, to describe the occurrences round about us in the simplest form and as completely as possible. The object is on the one side to attain to a greater simplicity and accordingly to a more complete unification of knowledge, and on the other side to make this more and more complete. In order to do this, it has been found necessary to supplement what we can see and observe by imaginary pictures of that which we cannot see, either because it is too remote, too far away in space and time, to come within our horizon, or because it is too minute, and accordingly escapes our notice. But unless we return on these circuitous paths—which lead us beyond our horizon or underneath that which lies on the surface—into the limits of what we can see and observe, ending up with the visible, the tangible, and the finite, all those complicated theories, built up with so much ingenuity and elaborated with so much care, are of no use

whatever, and have no right to be called knowledge, however exact they may be. A recognition of these fundamental truths, and of the real nature of scientific knowledge, is gradually making its way into philosophical literature. It is also more and more being allowed by the leaders of scientific thought themselves, some of whom have probably done more than philosophers by profession to lay bare the roots and foundations of scientific reasoning. At best it has been, and is still, a slow process by which these plain truths are being elaborated and promulgated, nor is it possible to give any single names with which we could identify in anything like completeness the modern theory of knowledge. In a note [1] I have tried to collect references to the more

61. Limitation of scientific knowledge.

[1] The most important enunciation of the nature of exact science, viz., that it aims at describing and not at explaining natural phenomena, is probably to be found in the introductory sentence of G. Kirchhoff's Lectures 'On Dynamics.' On the idea expressed in this simple sentence the whole of the purely scientific discussion of the principles of natural philosophy hangs, together with the more recent interest taken by philosophical writers in this subject. The sentence has been quoted over and over again, not only in text-books of natural philosophy but also in philosophical treatises. It is, on the one side, the result of the labours of mathematicians and experimentalists, on the other side the starting-point for a clearer separation and recognition of the different aims of scientific and philosophical thought. Among German thinkers it is especially E. du Bois Reymond who, in many passages of his various Addresses, has referred to this subject. Shortly before Kirchhoff's Lectures there appeared E. Dühring's 'Critical History of the general Principles of Mechanics' (1873), a book which would have exercised a greater influence had it not been for the polemical invectives introduced into the later editions. Kirchhoff's definition should be contrasted with the closing sentence of Lotze's 'Logic' (1874), in which he expresses the hope that "German philosophy will always rise again to the attempt to comprehend and not only to calculate the order of things." The next important and epoch-making discussion of this subject is the 'Critical Exposition of the Development of Dynamics,' by E. Mach ('Die Mechanik in ihrer Entwicklung,' 1st ed., 1883), a book which has now acquired a world-wide reputation, and should be studied by every teacher of natural as well as of mental philosophy. Somewhat later, Karl Pearson published his 'Grammar

important works which deal with this subject since the age of Mill in England and the return to Kant in Germany. But it is hardly from a philosophical point of view—*i.e.*, from the point of view of the theory of knowledge as such—that the more important investigations have been undertaken, or that the great revolution regarding the aspect of the problem of knowledge is being prepared. This has been done in the interests of science itself, which everywhere has been brought face to face with fundamental problems, having outgrown the language and terms in which it was clothed a hundred years ago. With the intention of providing more suitable expressions, more elastic notions, and wider principles, some of the foremost scientific thinkers have, within the last fifty years, attacked the fundamental conceptions with which science operated in their time. This I showed, at sufficient length, in the first part of this History,[1] where the leading principles of modern science were discussed, and the different stages

of Science' (1892), in which he refers to Kirchhoff and Mach, and develops independently correcter notions of the principles of science; following on the lines indicated in this country by Mill and Stanley Jevons on the one side, by Clerk Maxwell and Clifford on the other. French literature, after having in the early years of the century, notably under the influence of Lagrange and later on through Poncelet and Carnot, contributed so largely to the clearing up of the principles of pure science, has quite recently produced two original works on the subject by M. Henri Poincaré, entitled 'La Science et l'Hypothèse' (1903 and 1905). But it should also be noted that already in his 'Essais de Critique Générale' Renouvier gave some very clear and correct definitions of fundamental mechanical principles, at a time when both in Germany and in this country the notions on this subject were still generally in a state of great confusion.

[1] I shall return to this subject in a later chapter, which will deal not so much with the leading principles of scientific research as with the philosophical problem of nature, *i.e.*, with the various attempts to comprehend the totality of things as revealed to us by our outer senses,—what we may term the cosmological problem.

of their gradual development identified with the leading representatives of the various mathematical, physical, and natural sciences.

If we now look at the whole of this change, in the midst of which we are living, from a different point of view, we are led back to the observation with which I opened the Introduction to this, the second, part of our historical survey. We may say that this change consists in finding and fixing new meanings to the existing words of our current language; occasionally also in coining new terms wherewith to fix certain ideas and meanings which are unconsciously striving after clearness and adequate expression. Prominent examples of this kind are afforded by the words force, cause, and development. It is a clarifying process. But every definition has not only the advantage of producing clearness and exactitude; it has also the disadvantage of narrowing the field of vision, of limiting the view, leaving out much that lies outside, but which, though less defined, is not necessarily less real and important. If the scientific definition of the word force tends in the direction of making the word superfluous in mechanical science, it does not therefore destroy the deeper meaning of force as the cause or origin of motion which we continually experience individually in our voluntary efforts. If the terms cause and effect are discarded for the more easily defined terms antecedent and subsequent in time, we do not hereby get rid of looking for the sufficient reason and ultimate ground of this sequence and for the final end and purpose. If we are told that the object of science is to describe phenomena as simply and as com-

pletely as possible, we do not thereby satisfy the desire of having things explained—*i.e.*, of seeing their hidden sense and deeper meaning. And lastly, if we reduce the meaning of the word development, or evolution, to mechanical processes of differentiation and integration, we do not thereby satisfy the abiding conviction that through these mechanical processes and their ever-recurring repetition something is developed or evolved, that the more advanced stage is richer in this something, containing more of that which is of value and interest to us human beings.

62. Dualism in the problem of knowledge.

We may further describe the most recent phase into which the problem of knowledge has entered by saying that we are confronted by a twofold meaning of the word. Everywhere we meet with a twofold aspect, a dualism in the nature and aims of knowledge. This dualism has been impressed upon the modern philosophical mind in many ways, and has found expression in various systems of philosophy and through many thinkers. I will at present refer only to four distinct lines of thought which are conspicuous amongst others.

63. Recognised by Lotze.

The first distinct recognition of the twofold aspect of the philosophical problem, and also of the problem of knowledge, will be found in the writings of Hermann Lotze. He continued in Germany about the middle of the century the traditions of the idealistic systems as well as those of the Leibnizian philosophy. Although he did not elaborate a special theory of knowledge and stood somewhat isolated, belonging neither to the school of Herbart nor to that of the Neo-Kantians nor to the historical school, he revived a conception of knowledge

suggested already in the writings of Leibniz. He recognised that a description of the phenomena of nature and mind would not permanently satisfy our thirst for knowledge or our search after truth, but that the human mind would look for an explanation in addition to a description of things, and that the highest task of science in the larger sense of the word—that is, of *Wissenschaft*—would always consist in an attempt to interpret or find out the hidden meaning of the phenomena which lay in and around us. He distinctly formulated this idea by emphasising the all-pervading, but also the subordinate, *rôle* of mechanism, and the necessity of penetrating to the deeper sense or meaning of this all-pervading structure. In his largest and most popular work, the 'Microcosmus,' he endeavoured to reconcile the view of things which was being elaborated in the natural sciences with the demands of the moral and emotional side of our nature, by trying to fix the meaning and significance which belongs to man and mankind within the larger universe, the position of the microcosm in the macrocosm.

As in many other instances the progress of thought has been dependent on, and assisted by, the introduction of a new vocabulary, so again it is the merit of Lotze that he has raised to the rank of leading conceptions familiar terms which before him had only restricted meanings. Appreciating as he did the growing importance of the exact or mechanical treatment of all natural phenomena, of the world of things and events which surround us, he recognised, earlier probably than any other thinker, how the growth and diffusion of

mechanical ideas would more and more leave out of consideration the existence of a different world which the idealistic systems had conceived as the world of ideas uniting and culminating in the idea of the Absolute. The importance of this other world which contains all that is of supreme interest to the human soul, the ideals of Truth, Goodness, and Beauty, requires to be placed on an independent foundation as the realm of human interests appealing to the emotional and moral side of our nature. To this he gave the designation of the world of Values or Worths,[1] and he conceived it to

64. His doctrine of Values.

[1] German philosophical literature, after having for a considerable time done but scant justice to the originality and independence of Lotze's position, has latterly made partial amends for this neglect by very generally absorbing at least the terminology introduced by him into current philosophical language. In addition to the appreciative references to his philosophy, as the last important philosophical system, which are to be met with in the closing chapters both of Erdmann's 'History of Philosophy' and of Kuno Fischer's 'Exposition of Hegel's System,' we are mainly indebted to Falckenberg and Windelband for creating a renewed and deeper interest in Lotze's writings. Shortly after the writer of this History had, in the year 1882, been obliged to state (in an article contributed to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' which has unfortunately been reprinted without the necessary enlargement and revision in the latest, the 11th, edition, 1911) that Lotze's system had met with little criticism, a large literature on the subject sprang up in Germany, and R. Falckenberg wrote in 1886: "The most important among the post-Hegelian systems, that of Lotze, proves that the scientific spirit does not refuse conciliation with idealistic convictions on the highest problems, and the esteem in which it is everywhere held proves that a strong desire exists in that direction" ('Geschichte der Neueren Philosophie,' 1st ed., p. 471). More specifically Windelband has drawn attention to that side of Lotze's teaching referred to in the text. "Since Lotze emphasised forcibly the conception of value, and placed it at the head also of Logic and Metaphysic, we meet with manifold attempts in the direction of a theory of values as a new and fundamental philosophical doctrine" ('Geschichte der Neueren Philosophie,' closing section). And in a recent work ('Grosse Denker,' ed. E. von Aster, vol. ii. p. 376) Windelband still more emphatically says: "Historical philosophy has its most promising support in the greatest thinker whom German latter day nineteenth century thought has produced, in Lotze. During the critical and empirical period he was wellnigh forgotten, as one among the remaining metaphysicians, and it is only recently that the fundamental ideas of his philosophy are coming again victoriously forward. This indeed shows itself in an assimilation of these ideas by the critical movement. . . . It is in the spirit of Lotze that the knowledge of the Actual is handed over to other sciences, while the recognition of values is claimed for philosophy. The elaboration of these principles, due to their origin in the critical movement, has shown itself mainly in the province of logic. Here it is that, through the researches of Rickert and Lask, the conception of validity, coined by Lotze, has in its relation to empirical and metaphysical reality been made the central philosophical problem."

[1] The philosopher who has most prominently put forward the problem of value is Prof. Höffding, who, I believe, has coined a new term: *Das] Wertungsproblem.* See his latest writings: 'Religions-Philosophie' (1901); 'Philosophische Probleme' (1903); and 'Moderne Philosophen' (1905). It is, however, remarkable that in this, his original development of a distinctly Lotzian idea, he expresses no allegiance to Lotze, and that the treatment of Lotze in Höffding's 'History of Modern Philosophy' does not emphasise what to us seems the most important conception of his system. When the writer of this History came to Göttingen in the year 1860, the principal writings through which Lotze's central philosophical views became known (the third vol. of the 'Microcosmus' and the two vols. of the 'System of Philosophy') had not appeared, and it was extremely difficult really to understand what

be the highest object of philosophy to show forth the realisation of these higher interests and values through human thought and action in the world of things. With this object before him, he conceived that the processes of thought which, working by the methods of scientific research, are more and more impressing on us the existence of an intellectual order, the so-called laws of nature, must be studied with a renewed interest. The philosophic mind is not contented to trace merely the formal connections of ideas, but desires to show also how, in ascending from the lower to the higher regions of thought, those supreme interests are consciously or unconsciously always at work. In this connection he introduces two other conceptions defined by the terms, the *validity* of our notions and the *meaning* or significance of thoughts and things. Around these three terms of validity, meaning, and value,[1] a new logic has sprung up which, suggested

first by Lotze, has been independently treated by original thinkers in this country.[1]

Indeed, nowhere has the change which has come over philosophical thought in the course of the nineteenth century been more conspicuous than in the science of Logic. According to a well-known dictum of Kant, this had remained stationary for two thousand years. Shortly after this expression the very fact that Kant himself, in his first 'Critique,' introduced a section under the title of transcendental logic as an integral part of his theory of knowledge, gave rise to various attempts to remodel the traditional logic of the schools to which Kant had so contemptuously referred. A real advance was, however, not accomplished till Hegel boldly conceived of logical and metaphysical notions as forming the stages of the development of the Absolute—*i.e.*, of the Spirit or Thought which lives and moves in the progress of the individual human as well as in that of the universal mind in nature and history. This development gave a deeper sense or meaning to the otherwise lifeless forms of logic, connecting them in the dialectic process of thought which moved in the orderly rhythm of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, as suggested already by Fichte.

65. Hegel's new conception of Logic.

—to use a popular phrase—Lotze was driving at. The first light that came to the writer was an expression of Heinrich Ritter, Lotze's elder colleague, that the central idea of his system was the *Werthbegriff*, the conception of Value or Worth. Before Lotze, Herbart had already separated æsthetics and ethics from metaphysics by introducing the idea of valuation or judgments of value which are concerned, not with realities, but with the relation that exists between realities. From this view, the influence of which on Lotze deserves to be appreciated, Lotze's idea of a world of Values or Worths, as distinguished from a world of Things, differs in principle.

[1] Notably by Bradley and Bosanquet.

66. Reaction against this.

This new conception of logic, which holds its position as one of the ideals of recent philosophic thought, gave rise to an extensive critical literature. It provoked, on the one side, a reaction in favour of the older purely formal logic, bringing the same into connection with psychology; and, on the other side, various attempts to show that the genuine Aristotelian logic stood really much nearear to the demands and positions of modern thought than either the new dialectic or the traditional logic of the schools which professed to be that of Aristotle. The former movement was in Germany represented mainly by Beneke, the latter by Trendelenburg.[1]

Both in this country and in France independent attempts were, as we have seen, mainly in the direction of understanding the applied logic of the exact sciences, not infrequently with a tacit supposition that the historical, notably the social, sciences should, or could, be submitted to similar treatment. The splendid results, however, which had been achieved

[1] Both these movements stood in opposition to the principal idea of Hegel's philosophy, and contributed to bring the latter into discredit. They came together in the logical writings of Ueberweg, who was also influenced by Schleiermacher. The latter had, like Hegel, revived the term dialectic, but his dialectic is something very different from that of Hegel. "Schleiermacher attacks the Hegelian position, that pure thought can have a peculiar beginning distinct from all other thinking, and arrives originally at something specially for itself. He teaches that in every kind of thinking the activity of the reason can be exercised only on the basis of outer and inner perception, or that there can be no act without the 'intellectual' and none without the 'organic' function, and that only a relative preponderance of the one or other function exists in the different ways of thinking. Agreement with existence is immediately given in inner perception, and is attainable immediately also on the basis of outer perception. The forms of Thought, notion and judgment, are made parallel by Schleiermacher to analogous forms of real existence—the notion to the substantial forms and the judgment to actions" (Ueberweg, 'System of Logic,' transl. by T. M. Lindsay, 1871, p. 70).

in Germany by the historical school, under the influence of the idealistic in combination with the critical spirit, attracted the attention of a few thinkers in this country who did not approve of the growing mechanical philosophy. They instituted a search[1] for the *rationale* of that line of thought which had produced abroad such an original and long-sustained intellectual effort. It was natural that the interest centred for a time in a study of Hegel, of that system which was supposed to contain the most mature expression of the logic of the mental and spiritual, as distinguished from the mechanical and naturalistic, movement of thought.

67. Lotze and English Hegelianism.

The philosophy of Lotze, which became known in England through the translations of the 'Microcosmus' (1885) and the 'System' (1884), came at an appropriate time to give to that current of thought which was moving away from the lines prescribed by the writings of Mill, a specific character somewhat different from the stricter Hegelianism which for a time was represented by Edward Caird and his school in Glasgow.[2] The Logic of Lotze began to be studied

[1] The merit of having started on this search belongs to J. Hutchison Stirling, who published the 'Secret of Hegel' in the same year (1865) in which Mill published his 'Examination of Hamilton's Philosophy.' This beginning of a European, as distinguished from the earlier exclusively German, interest in Hegel's philosophy was contemporaneous with that which started independently in Italy, mainly under the influence of Vera.

[2] The study of Hegel led to two distinct developments of thought in this country. We may distinguish them as the historical and the logical. Both were critical: the former studied the origin and genesis of Hegel's ideas, going back to Kant and to earlier thinkers—notably those of classical antiquity. The leading spirit in this movement was Edward Caird, whose Works on Kant mark an epoch in British thought, casting somewhat into the shade kindred labours such as those of Ferrier and Martineau, who likewise introduced aspects gained by a study of Continental thought. The second undertook to elaborate the Hegelian programme on independent lines, a task distinctly formulated already by T. H. Green. For this purpose its representatives studied not so much the historical as the logical foundations of Hegel's system, closely scrutinising what Lotze had already done in that direction, moving frequently in opposition to him, but with him also away from genuine Hegelianism. The former school had taken no notice of Lotze's writings, but subsequently formulated its opposition to the drift of his ideas in the first critical attempt which was made in this country to estimate the value of his system as a whole. This was done by Henry Jones in his 'Critical Account of the Philosophy of Lotze' (1895). After criticising in the Preface what others have termed the "theologising" tendency of Lotze's thought, he says: "Lotze's investigation of thought has had other and more valuable consequences. It has led modern writers to investigate the nature of thought for themselves, with a result that, particularly in this country, there has been a remarkable development of logical theory on Lotze's own lines. I refer more especially to the logical works of Mr Bradley and Mr Bosanquet. . . . This development of Lotze's position seems to me to issue in its refutation; and there are indications that the main contribution of Lotze to philosophic thought, the only ultimate contribution, consists in deepening that Idealism which he sought to overthrow" (p. xii). The quarrel, then, of the genuine Hegelians with Lotze is that "if his view of thought be true, . . . the power of that idealistic reconstruction of belief, which has so strongly influenced the modern mind, is entirely broken" (ibid., p. xi). We must be thankful for this clear and concise statement, as it is very helpful in trying to understand the aims of recent philosophical thought as conceived by opposite schools. It also leads us on to the metaphysical problem, of which I shall treat in the next chapter.

in the University of Oxford in the place of Mill, and —what is of prime importance—always in conjunction with the Logic of Aristotle.[1] This fusion of two dis-

[1] The philosophical studies in the University of Oxford would merit a special historical treatment. The only approach to this, so far as I know, is to be found in an article by Prof. Mackenzie in the 'Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale,' which in the year 1908 published a series of articles aiming to represent the state of philosophic thought in different countries. The articles are of value to such readers as have already a fair knowledge of the problems which now occupy philosophic thought; but they nearly all suffer through being overcrowded with names, and exhibit a prevalent tendency of such writings in the present day — the desire to do justice to everybody. They bear testimony to the general inconclusiveness of recent thought. I would suggest to those of my readers who, being outsiders like myself, wish to gain some idea of the position of one prominent side of philosophical thought represented in this country by the University of Oxford, to read the three articles on Logic contained in the three last editions of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica': the first, by the late Prof. R. Adamson, was

tinct currents of thought, which in Germany were represented by two different schools, has helped to give to recent works on Logic in this country—notably to those of F. H. Bradley and B. Bosanquet—a character of originality and comprehensiveness which places them in the forefront of modern treatises on Logic and the theory of Knowledge. As logic has, mainly through their labours, fully justified its traditional position as an independent science, the special doctrines elaborated therein hardly enter into a general history of thought. The latter, however, has to take note of the change which has come over the general points of view from which, and the interest in which, logical science has been reconstructed. In this respect there are two points which seem to me to have a general bearing on the development of modern philosophical thought.

68. Bradley and Bosanquet.

The first refers to the breaking down of the older

written in the year 1882, and in consequence does not embrace the more recent developments largely to be traced to the influence of Lotze. As being of permanent value up to this point, it is gratifying to know that it has been republished. The second is an article published in the "New Volumes" just twenty years later (1902). This article is written by Prof. Case, and contains a very trenchant criticism of recent logic, which in its distinctive and hopeful reforms is considered by the author to be approaching the position occupied by the genuine Aristotelian logic in antiquity — a view which was held similarly by Trendelenburg in Germany a generation earlier. In addition to the strong recommendation of the Aristotelian 'Organon,' it is strange to see the 'Novum Organum' of Bacon recommended for the study of inductive logic. Prominent authorities on the Continent—such as Prof. Alois Riehl (see his article in 'Systematische Philosophie,' 1907, p. 84)—maintain that this distinction does not belong to Bacon, "a schemer and dilettante," but to Galileo—a view initiated on the Continent by a celebrated pamphlet of Justus Liebig (1862), and destructive of the *fable convenue* of the Baconian method so prevalent in this country. The third article, in the 11th edition (1911), is by Mr H. W. Blunt. It is thoroughly up to date, and does full justice to the influence of Lotze and the new era in the science represented mainly by Bradley and Bosanquet.

separation between the form and the content of thought. This tendency is one of the most valuable bequests of the Hegelian Logic, which in this respect may be looked upon as the first brilliant attempt to carry out an idea which in Germany was kept alive by Lotze, and which was independently taken up at first hand by students of Hegel in this country. In both we find the desire to get at the deeper sense or meaning of words, terms, and symbols, to which the purely formal logicians, misled, not infrequently, by the mathematical forms of reasoning, gave exclusive attention. This is intimately connected with a second important tendency according to which units of thought are not to be found in distinct ideas, notions, or concepts, but in judgments; so that the older analytical and atomising treatment, from which even Lotze did not fully emancipate himself, must be abandoned in favour of what I have termed the synoptic treatment; all thought as well as all experience starting from a "Together," which is, for practical and scientific purposes, subjected to the processes of artificial analysis and subsequent synthesis. In this respect more recent treatment of logical theory in this country, perhaps even more than abroad, falls in with that general tendency of thought to which I have already had occasion to refer in earlier chapters of this History.

69. Lotze and Spencer.

Whilst Lotze was working at a new conception of philosophy which has since been adopted by many thinkers, Herbert Spencer in England, starting from very different beginnings, put forward a definition of philosophy which in some respects coincides with that

of Lotze, and which has become similarly popular. He sees in philosophy the complete unification of Knowledge, as distinct from the different sciences which afford only a partial unification of Knowledge. But he has paid the inevitable tribute to the trend of modern thought by introducing into the foundation of his system that inherent dualism which, as I said before, seems everywhere to confront us. Continuing the traditions of earlier English philosophy, and influenced as much by Hamilton as by Mill, he draws a sharp distinction between the Knowable and the "Unknowable." The former is really only concerned with mechanical connections, although the language in which these connections are expressed by Spencer retains many of the older attributes by which a duplex meaning is conveyed. But the deeper desire of arriving at an explanation and not merely at a description of phenomena is recognised and satisfied in Spencer's philosophy by acknowledging the existence of an unknown power which is at once the origin and the sustaining ground of everything.

70. The 'Unknowable.'

Through this doctrine of the Unknowable, Herbert Spencer has become the father of that School of Thought to which Huxley has given the pertinent name of "Agnosticism."

Somewhat later than Lotze in Germany and Spencer in England, philosophical thought in France came prominently forward with contributions to the solution of the problem of knowledge. The most important among these contributions are to be found in the writings of Charles Renouvier, a contemporary of Lotze, though his influence belongs to a much later date. In

the present connection it is of interest for us to note that Renouvier, from an entirely different beginning, combats the attempt to lay down any one principle by which all our knowledge is governed. A complete unification of knowledge on the purely scientific basis is not possible.

71. Renouvier on Discontinuity.

This contention finds in Renouvier's System a characteristic expression. He attacks the law of Continuity which, since the time of Leibniz, has played such an important part in modern Thought. According to Renouvier, we are everywhere confronted with discontinuities, with new beginnings, with breaks in what we would fain consider the orderly development of things.

The period during which, under the sway of the ideas of uniformity and continuity, science has made its enormous strides, will be followed by a new era of philosophical thought, by a new conception in which the idea of personality will be utilised for the explanation and interpretation, as opposed to the description and construction, of the phenomenal world.

72. And Personality.

The essence of personality is to be found in our individual experience and in the process of willing. The Will affords by analogy the key to the deeper explanation of everything.

With this conception Renouvier touches another and prominent development of modern Thought, which, no less than the three developments already mentioned, emphasises the dualism which everywhere surrounds us. The movement I refer to centres on the Continent in the philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer. It was prepared independently by the study of the ethical

problem in the English school. Beginning with Hume, who significantly turned away from the fruitless attempt to solve the problem of Knowledge, and betook himself to the more fruitful study of moral, political, and historical questions, English thinkers have the merit of having established the study of morality or ethics as an independent philosophical discipline which has latterly been enlarged into the modern science of Sociology.

73. Schopenhauer's Voluntarism.

The interest which led Schopenhauer to emphasise the problem of the Will was very different from that which had led or was to lead English or French thinkers. His aim was neither epistemological nor sociological, it was purely metaphysical. He desired to give what he considered the only possible answer to the problem left over by Kant, as it was understood by Kant's early disciples. What Kant called the "Noumenon" or the "Thing in itself" which underlies the phenomenal world, reveals itself, according to Schopenhauer, in its real nature in our will. What Spencer more recently termed the Unknowable is conceived by Schopenhauer in analogy with the human Will.

By emphasising the existence of the active factor, not only in the human mind but in the whole of nature, Schopenhauer perpetuated on the one side that dualism which exists already in Kant's philosophy between the theoretical and the practical reason, and on the other side drew attention to that region of psychology which had been unduly neglected by the contemporary systems of German philosophy, but which had been specially cultivated in this country—the region of the Emotions and the Will. Although it cannot be said that

the ethical theories of Schopenhauer are satisfactory, or that they follow with necessity from the initial position which he takes up, there is no doubt that he has powerfully influenced philosophical thought on the Continent during the second half of the century, as I shall have frequent occasion to point out in the sequel. He thus belongs to those thinkers who have combined to overthrow that extreme intellectualism which was characteristic of some of the prominent philosophies during the earlier part of the nineteenth century. It is now generally recognised that alongside of the problem of knowledge and of the intellect, the problems of action and of the will, including feeling and emotion, demand an equally independent study. The problem of knowledge, in the modern phase which it is passing through, thus leads us on to other problems, such as the problem of reality or the metaphysical problem, the problem of action or the ethical problem, and many more. The history of these we shall study in separate chapters.

74. Overthrow of extreme Intellectualism.

In the meantime my readers may expect me to sum up in a few words the present position of the problem of knowledge. This cannot be done without some risk, as the discussions referring to this subject are very diverse, indicating the unsettled position of opinion in this matter.

Nevertheless it seems to me that the following may be said with some approach to accuracy, though I cannot point, in the very extensive literature, to any single and prominent writer who has given expression to the view we are historically led to. It seems to me that the

problem of knowledge, at the end of the century, is narrowed down to the distinction between certainty and exactness.

Up to the middle of the century the conception of exact knowledge grew in importance with the growth and diffusion of the scientific spirit. To many thinkers it may have appeared as if the definiteness and exactitude which increasingly characterises natural knowledge carries with it the impress of certitude, and might, in due course, lead to that certainty of conviction which we are seeking to attain in questions of conduct, and as the foundation of a reasoned creed and a system of Morality.

The later developments of scientific or exact knowledge, the spread of the mathematical spirit, and the criticism of the foundations of the mathematical and mechanical sciences, have not realised this expectation.

More and more it has become evident not only that the mechanical view does not satisfy us as an explanation of things, but that its character of being exact, definite, and accurate does not include the feature of certainty. Lotze would call it *eine Gemüths-sache;* Renouvier, *une affaire passionelle.*

If knowledge is limited to that which is defined with exactitude, it appears to be doomed to be hypothetical, provisional, and uncertain.

This forces upon us the conclusion that we must seek for certainty in a different direction, that the foundations of our convictions must lie elsewhere, or that we must extend the meaning of the word Knowledge beyond the narrow and shifting region of that which can be clearly defined.

CHAPTER V.

OF REALITY.

I.

1. Epistemology and systems of philosophy.

HISTORY of philosophy shows us several instances when the philosophical mind started on new beginnings, initiating a new phase of thought, by attempting a fresh solution of the problem of knowledge. The statement that before taking up the important problems of philosophic thought it is necessary to settle the method and define the way by which we may hope to attain to their solution, has been repeatedly put forward both in ancient and modern times. Thus we find that in many instances philosophical systems have been introduced by preliminary discussions, of which the Organon of Aristotle, the Novum Organum of Bacon, the Discourse on method of Descartes, the Critique of Kant, and, to some extent, the First Principles of Herbert Spencer, furnish well-known examples.[1] Their object was to define the

[1] It must, however, be noted that the search after first principles of Thought has, in modern times, acquired a different aspect from that which it possessed in Antiquity or the Middle Ages; and this is owing to the fact that the pioneers in modern philosophy, both Bacon and Descartes, could refer to or build upon a certain amount of generally admitted and accepted knowledge, that of the mathematical and mechanical sciences which, as it were, did not require any preliminary discourse for their recommendation. The epistemological investigations of

starting-point and to justify the methods of advance which were to be adopted. At the end of the century which precedes the period we are dealing with this was done with much detail and patience and unexampled completeness by Immanuel Kant; his philosophy has accordingly been rightly and consistently termed Criticism, and the nineteenth century itself has marked its indebtedness to Kant, and to the thinkers who immediately preceded him, nowhere more than by continually and repeatedly urging the necessity of a theory of knowledge. And yet it can hardly be maintained that those systems which have had the deepest influence and have marked the great eras of philosophic thought are exclusively characterised by that cautious and critical spirit which would not venture on any bold generalisation without a previous patient examination. It is not always to the careful and accurate surveyor; often it is rather to the daring explorer of an unknown country that we owe the greatest discoveries, the enlargement of our knowledge and the revolution of our views. Though we must admit that the critical spirit, which during the last fifty years has acquired an almost undisputed sway over all but the purely exact and experimental sciences, favours the

Bacon, Descartes, Locke, and Kant, referred, therefore, not to knowledge in general but more exclusively to philosophical knowledge; scientific knowledge being considered as firmly established, in fact, frequently as a model of true knowledge. Investigations as to the hidden and unconscious principles which guided such exact knowledge have latterly been undertaken, not so much in the interests of science itself as rather with the intention of placing philosophical thought on a similarly secure foundation. Accordingly we find that scientific authorities themselves show, as a rule, little interest in the philosophy of their respective sciences. The widespread modern interest in scientific first principles is not purely scientific, it centres in the question: To what extent are they capable of supporting a moral and spiritual view of things?

cautious way of proceeding which I allude to, we are at the same time bound to acknowledge that this period is poor in creative efforts and new aspects of thought, and that to the small extent that such have made their appearance, they stand outside of, and sometimes in opposition to, the orderly movement of thought, being frequently stigmatised by representatives of the latter as unscientific and uncritical.[1]

2. Some systems start with theories of Reality.

In recent times this difference, which we may call the difference between the critical and the dogmatic attitude, has been much influenced by the requirements of academic instruction. This has variously laid the greater stress upon one of the two requisites of higher culture: the imparting, on the one side, of a strict mental dis-

[1] Examples of this are to be found in all the three countries, but most in Germany. During the last fifty years three names have risen to celebrity in philosophical literature, which, in the beginning, were either neglected or denounced and even violently denied a place by the ruling philosophy of the age. They are: Schopenhauer, von Hartmann, and Nietzsche. All three gained a considerable influence over the philosophic thought of their age and country before adequate notice was taken of their writings in academic circles or in some of the prominent works on History of Modern Philosophy. There is, however, no doubt that Schopenhauer contributed, probably more than any other individual thinker, to counteract a one-sided Intellectualism, to prepare the way for that Voluntarism which is a characteristic feature of recent thought. Von Hartmann's reputation has latterly rested more on his critical and historical writings, some of which are of the first order, than on the idea of the Unconscious which played such a prominent part in his earliest work. And, so far as Nietzsche is concerned, it is interesting to note that he has, after being violently proclaimed unphilosophic, gained at last a place among the 'Grosse Denker' (ed. E. von Aster, 2 vols. 1912), an honour not vouchsafed to thinkers like Comte, Lotze, or Spencer. In France, leaving out such eccentric thinkers as, *e.g.*, Saint-Simon and Proudhon, we have, in recent times, the remarkable writings of Jean Marie Guyau; and, in this country, a group of writers who have had a marked influence on philosophic thought, though the fundamental principles of their teaching are so little defined that it is difficult to do them justice in an account of the methodical philosophical thought of the century. They are: Coleridge, Carlyle, and Ruskin. A real appreciation of their views belongs to the section which should treat of poetical and religious thought.

cipline and, on the other side, the establishment of leading aspects of thought, whereby firstly to gain knowledge, and secondly to grasp and organise it. During the first half of the nineteenth century so many new fields of research were opened out, especially on the Continent, by the labours of the Academies and Universities, that the necessity was felt of gathering the newly accumulated knowledge into systems and of organising it under leading ideas. Accordingly it was the age of the great scientific systems of the mathematicians and naturalists in France, and of the equally celebrated systems of philosophy in Germany. Academic teaching then emphasied, perhaps unduly, the constructive ideas which governed those systems. Gradually, however, the critical spirit acquired a mastery over the dogmatic and constructive spirit. The necessity was felt of sifting the existing knowledge, much of which proved to be incorrect; also of examining the leading ideas and theoretical aspects under which it had been organised. Many of the conclusions which had been drawn appeared premature, and some of them dangerous. Theoretical and systematic teaching acquired accordingly much more caution and circumspection, and this tendency has been encouraged and strengthened by another influence which has made itself increasingly felt in quite recent times.

3. Interests of academic teaching

4. and of practical life.

This is the practical influence: the demands of actual life with its specific problems and difficulties. Everywhere these have made themselves felt, though in the different countries in different ways. The German Universities which, during the first half of the century,

had elaborated the ideal of Wissenschaft, *i.e.*, of science and erudition combined,—the union of the exact and the historical spirit,—have more and more become obliged to train specialists in definite branches of knowledge; and these specialists, who in earlier times were mostly occupied with purely theoretical or learned work, have latterly become largely practical experts, for whom professional experts have had to make room. In France the two great schools, the École Polytechnique and the École Normale, assumed more and more the leadership in higher education, which was for a time exclusively identified with instruction.[1]

In England the two older Universities had, in modern times, never aimed at that universality and completeness of learning which is the ideal of the German University, having always put in the foreground the imparting of a liberal education,[2] which appeared indispensable to those who would occupy high positions in the Church, in the State, or in professional or social life. Accordingly we do not find that at the latter—*i.e.*, at the English Universities—any comprehensive teaching of philosophy existed at all. To the Scottish Universities belongs, almost alone in this country, the credit of having kept alive the philosophical tradition in academic teaching. This has had the result that, in England at least, the higher branches of philosophy were for a considerable time cultivated almost exclusively outside the schools and, in consequence, with only a subordinate regard for the requirements of teaching or

[1] See vol. i. of this History, p. 112.

[2] See ibid., pp. 255 and 262.

for systematic unity and completeness. On the other side, whatever of theoretical and systematic philosophy existed in this country, stood in close connection with the practical interests and the social demands of the age.

In France the teaching of philosophy had to accommodate itself to the demands of the higher schools, which were, at that time, under the influence of the clergy.[1]

[1] On this point see the account given by M. Ribot in the year 1877 ('Mind,' vol. ii. p. 382 *sqq.*) "The Courses at the *Lycées* and Colleges (secondary instruction) are much less free than those of the Faculties (superior instruction), since they are not addressed to men but to youths preparing for an examination, and must besides keep within the one programme drawn up for the whole country. The professor is closely watched by the Faculties, the State, the bishops, and the families. Thus an official philosophy is formed which is rigorously orthodox. It has unvarying solutions for all problems, a fixed number of proofs of the existence of God and of the immortality of the Soul, &c., &c.; a student who does not answer in conformity with the programme is rejected. The consequence is that many think one thing and say another. I must add that the same is often true of their masters, though it is only fair to acknowledge that latterly many young professors have endeavoured to introduce the new doctrines under the form of historical expositions and discussions. Many of the students in our *Lycées* know something of the Logic of Stuart Mill and of the Psychology of Bain and Spencer, but the heads of Spiritualism are little in favour of these innovations. Spiritualism, such is, in fact, the name of this official philosophy. It would be useless to dwell at length on this doctrine which has reigned amongst us for fifty years, and which consists in a collection of opinions founded on common-sense, and adapted to the religious beliefs of the majority. If we extract from the different religions subsisting in Europe the common basis that is called Deism or natural religion, and deduce from this Deism the theology, the morals, and the psychology which it involves, we shall have Spiritualism; the rest is only matter of detail. It is a timorous, a fearful doctrine, that abhors all disturbance, and is very compliant to the clergy; many of its supporters are avowed Catholics" (p. 384). Those who are interested to see the difficulties of steering a middle course between Roman Catholicism on the one side and German Idealism on the other, resulting in a species of Cartesianism, should read the 'Life of Victor Cousin,' by Barthélemy-Saint Hilaire (3 vols., 1895). In his interesting 'Rapport,' already referred to, M. Ravaisson said, in the year 1868, somewhat prophetically: "A bien des signes, il est permis de prévoir comme peu éloignée une époque philosophique donc le caractère général serait la prédominance de ce qu'on pourrait appeler un réalisme ou positivisme spiritualiste, ayant pour principe générateur la conscience que l'esprit prend en lui-même d'une existence dont il reconnaît que toute autre existence dérive et dépend, et qui n'est autre que son action" (p. 258).

In the light of the development of philosophical thought during the last fifty years, especially in France, the last pages are well worth reading.

The teaching of philosophy in Germany has of late, through the growth of the scientific and industrial spirit, moved somewhat towards that position which has always existed in England. This we may define by saying that the solution of the highest philosophical problems must be found, not in and through the schools, but outside of them, under the practical influences of life. To this end the work of the schools can only be preparatory and introductory. But that such preparation must be complete, circumspect, and systematic, and not casual and fragmentary, this the English Universities have learned in modern times largely through acquaintance with and appreciation of the German systems and method.

In the course of the nineteenth century the position of philosophy, as an element of culture and a subject of higher teaching, has thus undergone two great changes. The failure of the constructive systems first of all impressed lastingly on the thinking mind the necessity of bringing philosophic discussions into immediate contact with the methods and the results of the special sciences. We now hear it proclaimed that no thinker is qualified to deal with the great problems of philosophy who has not been trained and disciplined through some special research where he has practised the true methods of inquiry, be they exact or critical; pref-

erence being usually given to the exact methods. This is equivalent to saying that the best preparation for the philosopher is to be found in the training of the scientific expert or learned specialist. And in quite recent times a further step has been taken, inasmuch as it is being more and more recognised that an acquaintance with the practical objects of life, a familiarity—in some form or other—with the actual work that goes on around us, is indispensable as a preparation for higher speculation: assuming that this is to be of real use to humanity and to the furtherance of culture. The one-sided influence which the much vaunted training of the scientific specialist exerts has to be balanced by the very different interests and methods which govern practical work and application. In passing I may remark that here again we are only reviving views which are as old as philosophy itself; that Plato had already proclaimed geometry as the best training for the philosopher, and that philosophy with him was not a purely theoretical occupation.

5. Discredit of Metaphysics.

All the different changes which I refer to, work in the direction of bringing discredit upon that central branch of philosophy which is usually termed Metaphysics; so much so that we find it frequently stated that no definite branch of knowledge exists which deserves this name. Scientific, religious, and practical interests have combined in denouncing metaphysics as a useless occupation, as an undertaking which has no foundation and method, no beginning and no end. Some have tried to save the dignity of philosophy by giving to the word quite a different meaning from that which it originally had, identifying it, for instance, with the theory of knowledge or with some branch of psychology. It is, of course, needless to fight over words. Still the existence and the continual reintroduction of a term which we thought discarded shows that it covers some meaning and has some significance. Many passages might be collected from recent writers—Continental as well as British—where the word metaphysic is used although the existence of such a thing is denied. It is more useful to observe how in Germany lectures on Metaphysics have become rare at the Universities; but that nevertheless philosophical literature shows there, though perhaps to a smaller extent than it has done during the last generation in this country and in France,[1] a tendency to

[1] In general it may be stated that the revival of the interest in metaphysics commenced in France and in this country just at the time when in Germany it had almost entirely disappeared. So far as British philosophy is concerned, the change which has come over philosophical thought is shown, for instance, in two treatises on Metaphysics which appeared respectively in the 8th and the 9th editions of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' both by thinkers of the first order, representing definite schools of thought. The earlier one was written in the year 1857 by H. L. Mansel (1820-1871), a pupil of Sir Wm. Hamilton; the latter by Edward Caird (1835-1908), the centre of the independent Hegelian movement of thought, in 1883. Both articles are important treatises, from very different points of view. In the earlier article Metaphysics is mainly concerned with psychology; the ontological problem, or the problem of reality, receives only subordinate treatment—in fact, the principal metaphysical problem as treated in the present chapter is, by Mansel, thrust beyond the limits of philosophical speculation, and philosophy is reduced to pure phenomenalism which, according to this view, has to be supplemented in the acceptance by faith of revealed truth; a position from which it required only one step to the philosophy of the Unknowable of Herbert Spencer. This extreme development of a view which originated in the school of Hamilton, and which was more popularly explained in Mansel's 'Bampton Lectures,' reacted as much in the direction of phenomenalism and naturalism as it did on the other side in the direction of a transcendentalism modelled very much on the Hegelian type. The latter is, together with the History of Metaphysics, expounded in a concise and masterly manner in Caird's article, reprinted in the second volume of his 'Essays on Literature and Philosophy' (1892).

6. Revival of Metaphysics.

revive those inquiries which were once termed metaphysical, and which for some time had been neglected and wellnigh forgotten.[1]

It is significant to see how in the later editions of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' as was the case with Logic so also in Metaphysics, the Aristotelian predilections of the Oxford school have again asserted themselves. The article on the subject by Prof. T. Case opens with the following significant sentence: "Side by side with psychology, the science of mind, and with logic, the science of reasoning, metaphysics is tending gradually to assert its ancient Aristotelian position as the science of being in general. Not long ago, in England at all events, metaphysics was merged in psychology. But with the decline of dogmatic belief and the spread of religious doubt about the creation and government of the world; as the special sciences also grow more general and the natural sciences become more speculative about matter and force, evolution and teleology; men begin to wonder again, like the Greeks, about the nature and origin of things, and half unconsciously discover that they are metaphysicians. Nor must we expect any great difference between the old and the new methods of dealing with these problems when the causes have been similar."

In France the revival of metaphysics may be traced to the influence of Renouvier and Jules Lachelier (1832-1875). Like Hamilton and Caird in this country, Renouvier and Lachelier were influenced by the Criticism of Kant. It is interesting to note also that France alone possesses since 1893 a periodical which prominently puts forward the metaphysical interest: the 'Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale.'

[1] So far as Germany is concerned, the metaphysical interest in the sense of ontology was kept alive for a considerable period almost exclusively by the philosophy of Lotze, and the revival of this interest attaches itself significantly to a renewed study and appreciation of Lotze's position, especially of his doctrine of validity and value. To understand the most recent movements of thought in this direction we may consult two publications to which I have referred on former occasions. The first is the Kuno Fischer 'Festschrift' (1904), the second the 'Systematische Philosophie' (1907). The former contains no chapter on Metaphysics, the latter contains a chapter on Metaphysics by W. Wundt: against this the former contains a chapter on 'Philosophy of Religion' by Tröltsch; in the other this subject is wanting. But the article by Windelband on Logic in the earlier work is important as showing how the treatment of the problem of knowledge is gradually leading over to the metaphysical problem of reality ('Festschrift,' vol. i. p. 183 *sqq.*). In the latter work we find in the chapter on Metaphysic no reference to the problem of reality and the truly Real. Metaphysics is there treated as poetical, dialectical, or critical, and, as examples of these three aspects which run through ancient and modern philosophy, we are surprised to find Haeckel as representing poetical and Ostwald dialectical metaphysics, whereas Mach is selected as representing the critical position. In reference to the recent history of Metaphysics, the name of Lotze does not occur, though the formal task of philosophy is defined by Wundt (p. 133), as likewise by Paulsen (see his 'Einleitung in die Philosophie,' p. 2), very much in the words used by Lotze fifty years ago (see Lotze, 'Diktate, &c.,' 'Logik,' p. 85). The view that Metaphysics and Philosophy have not only the formal problem of the unification of knowledge to solve, but that they have to interpret reality, to show the meaning of things, and that they, therefore, find their ultimate ground in Ethics—an idea contained already in Lotze's 'Metaphysik' of the year 1841 (p. 329)—is not referred to in this most recent deliverance of a leading representative of German philosophical thought.

[1] The earlier work of Lotze on 'Metaphysik' published in the year 1841 is purely ontological, and deals, in three sections, with Reality, with Appearance, and with the Validity of Knowledge. This work was followed by a Treatise on Logic (1843). The substance of both these earlier Treatises, which preceded the physiological, psychological, and anthropological writings of Lotze, through which he became known in wider circles, was incorporated after an interval of thirty years in his 'System of Philosophy' published

7. Necessity of the word.

In the present instance I propose to use the word Metaphysics to denote all those investigations and discussions which refer to the problem of Reality. It is the central problem of philosophy, a problem not treated specially and prominently by any other branch of philosophic thought nor in any one of the different sciences. It is true that the metaphysic of the schools used to be divided into three distinct parts: of these the first, termed Ontology, dealt with Being or Reality in general; whilst the second, termed Cosmology, dealt with the Universe or the outer world; and the third, termed Psychology, dealt with the Soul or the inner world. As it is now generally admitted that questions referring to the outer world, to nature and to the Universe, cannot be answered except on the foundation of natural knowledge, nor those referring to the inner world or the Soul otherwise than on the basis of Empirical Psychology, there remains as the specific problem of Metaphysics and the central problem of Philosophy, the question concerning Reality, or, what we may call real.[1]

8. The problem of Reality.

And here it is well to note that the word real was already in ancient philosophy, notably in that of Plato, used to denote that which is opposed to the merely apparent, and that it received an even greater accentuation by the introduction of the term, the truly real. In the first instance, then, if we speak of Reality, we do not merely place it in opposition to that which is non-extant, the nothing which is the negation of existence, but we place it in opposition to that which *seems* to exist, but

during the 'Seventies. In the 'System,' Logic precedes Metaphysic, but the treatment of both subjects is much enlarged, the Logic by the treatment of applied Logic, the Metaphysic by an application of ontological principles to cosmological and psychological problems. This elaboration of the original programme, from which Lotze did not materially deviate, is contemporaneous with the clearer definition of the principles and methods of the exact and natural sciences to which the philosophical literature in all the three countries contributed during the fifth, sixth, and seventh decades of the century. The change also in the position of Logic and Metaphysics in the arrangement of Lotze's 'System' indicates the decline of the influence of Hegel, which was more prominent in Lotze's earlier writings. It is to be regretted that Lotze never gave an adequate treatment of the ethical problem to which he points back in his earlier Metaphysics, and forward as intended to form a portion of the third and concluding part of the 'System.' In many earlier works on Metaphysics we meet with a section entitled Rational Theology. This has dropped out of Lotze's 'Metaphysik.' His attitude to such questions may be gathered from the introduction to his 'Diktate; Religionsphilosophie' (1882): "Could religious truth be found entirely through human reasoning, philosophy would be the organ for its definition and exposition. Could it, on the contrary, not be found through reasoning, but required an outer or inner revelation, philosophy would still have a task to perform: it would have to show in what connection the revealed content stood with other of our opinions, demands, and duties. Lastly the hopeless view, that religion is only a psychologically explainable error, could only then be held if philosophy could first give us the truth about the supersensuous world; for then only could it be shown why psychological processes, in consequence of the course they take, must necessarily miss such truth. For itself alone, however, the historical origin of any conception can never decide as to its correctness. The object of our investigations will thus be: first to find out how much reason by itself can tell us regarding the supersensuous world; further, to what extent a revealed religious content can be brought into connection with these fundamental positions."

which, on closer examination, reveals itself as merely apparent. In the second instance we make a distinction between that which, though possessed of reality, does not seem to us to have the true or full reality. We thus introduce the conception of a higher and a lower reality or of degrees of reality. These distinctions are not merely logical or metaphysical quibbles, but carry with them a deep meaning which pervades all the higher forms of thought and which finds expression in the language and literature of all civilised nations. In poetry as well as in prose, in science as well as in popular literature, we are continually brought face to face with two problems: we are asked to distinguish appearance from reality, that which merely seems to be from that which is; and among those things which are real and actually exist we are asked to distinguish those which have a higher and fuller reality from those which are poorer in reality. Thus, to give examples, we distinguish the real movement of the sun or planets from their apparent movement; the real events and facts of life from the merely apparent ones presented in a dream or in fiction, the true colours and dimensions of an object from those which, owing to the imperfections or distance of view, are merely apparent. And on the other side, some things have for us more reality than others; thus wealth and possessions may be more or less real than fame and honours, mind may be more or less real than matter, and there are probably few persons who would not admit that goodness or "the Good" is the highest reality of all; though they may differ in their conceptions of the nature of good-

ness and as to where its supreme existence is to be found.

That these aspects of Reality, these different meanings of the word "real," constitute the central and everlasting problem of philosophic thought, can be gathered, *inter alia*, from the fact that the oldest among the great systems of philosophy that have influenced speculation ever since, that of Plato, had already coined simple terms wherewith to express these meanings, and that they form the subject of elaborate discussion in the latest prominent metaphysical treatise published in this country—Mr Bradley's 'Appearance and Reality.' Thus, however often metaphysical discussions have been denounced as aimless and futile, the problem of reality has survived all vicissitudes of opinion; and its questions: What is Reality? What is the truly Real? will occupy the human mind, again and again, as long as it is capable of elevated thought.[1]

[1] The earliest discussion of the problem of reality in its threefold meaning expressed by the terms, the Real (τὸ ὄν), the Unreal (τὸ μὴ ὄν), and the truly Real (τὸ ὄντως ὄν), is to be found in the Platonic Dialogue, 'The Sophist,' and Benj. Jowett, in his Introduction to the translation of this Dialogue, has brought the treatment of the problem into juxtaposition with that of Hegel. Through the latter, indeed, the problem passed into its more recent forms, one of which, that adopted by Lotze, identifies the truly Real with that which has value or worth; whereas another, that of Mr Bradley, deals with the problem in the doctrine of 'Degrees of Reality' (see his 'Appearance and Reality,' chap. xxiv.) It is interesting to read in the Introduction to this work the following statement, very much in the tone of the passage quoted from Lotze in the last note: "The man who is ready to prove that metaphysical knowledge is wholly impossible has no right . . . to any answer. . . . He is a brother metaphysician, with a rival theory of first principles. And this is so plain that I must excuse myself from dwelling on the point. To say the reality is such that our knowledge cannot reach it, is a claim to know reality; to urge that our knowledge is of a kind which must fail to transcend appearance itself implies that transcendence. For if we had no idea of a Beyond, we should assuredly not know how to talk about failure or success. And the test, by which we distinguish them, must obviously be some acquaintance with the nature of the goal. Nay, the would-be sceptic, who presses on us the contradictions of our thoughts, himself asserts dogmatically. For these contradictions might be ultimate and absolute truth, if the nature of the reality were not known to be otherwise." No better proof could be given of the renewed interest which the problem of reality commands than the remarkable appreciation of Mr Bradley's own work, as shown by the appearance in less than ten years of four editions and the important literature which deals with it (see the 10th ed. of Ueberweg's 'Grundriss,' part iv., p. 524). It is significant that this literature is almost entirely English and American. The student of Lotze cannot help being reminded, almost at every turn of Mr Bradley's many-sided argument, of sundry passages as well as of the general tone of Lotze's writings. If, and as, the study of Lotze is resumed in his own country, there is no doubt that the important philosophical writings of the Oxford school will have to be appreciated in their orginality: a beginning of this is to be found in the closing chapter by Windelband in 'Grosse Denker' (vol. ii.)

In the last chapter I have shown how the philosophy of Kant has influenced all discussions bearing upon the problem of knowledge which have appeared during the nineteenth century. The modern theory of knowledge seems to centre in Kant. I have now to report that Kant occupies a similarly central position with regard to the problem of reality. In fact, Kant's immediate followers, and among them certainly those who exercised, at the time, the greatest influence on philosophic and general thought abroad, made the problem of reality the most prominent theme of their speculations. With them philosophy became again dogmatic and assertive, instead of remaining critical as Kant had desired it to be. The critical side of the new doctrine was cultivated by some of the less known disciples of Kant, and was raised to the prominence which it deserves only after the constructive effort had seemingly exhausted itself—*i.e.*, since the middle of the century. With this change of interests which, as I have shown before, had a deeper historical meaning beyond the region of philosophical speculation, the

9. Modern problem of Reality centres in Kant.

critical spirit revived, metaphysics being thrust into the background. Theories of knowing became more attractive than theories of being, Epistemology usurped the place of Ontology. In spite of this reaction the first half of the nineteenth century, and the systems which succeeded Kant's doctrine, deserve the credit of having elaborated certain views as to the problem of reality which are of lasting value, having left their mark on philosophic thought in the literature of all the three countries.

One of the reasons why Kant, whether he intended it or not, became the leader in metaphysics as well as in the theory of knowledge, may be found in a circumstance on which I have had frequent occasion to lay stress. Kant enriched our metaphysical vocabulary,[1] he coined certain words to denote deeper-lying conceptions, he defined what had been vague, and he brought into currency terms which for a long time exerted an influence, not to say a spell, over philosophical reasoning. One of these terms was "the Thing in itself," another was "the Categorical Imperative." These two terms fix, as it were, Kant's position with regard to the two main problems of reality, his answers to the two questions, What is Real? and What is the truly Real?

[1] The Kantian vocabulary has not only enriched philosophical thought ever since, but it has also created new difficulties and perplexities and increased those that existed before. Accordingly it has been the subject of much writing and many expositions. English readers will find the best introduction to the subject — as least, so far as the theoretical philosophy is concerned —in an excellent article on "Kant's Terminology" in Baldwin's 'Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology' (3 vols., 1901, &c.) It is written by Josiah Royce, who contributes a similar article on Hegel's Terminology. In that article will be found references to all the important German writers on the subject, including Eucken's little tract on 'History of Philosophical Terminology,' referred to above (see *supra*, p. 238 note; also vol. i. p. 21). The analysis of Kant's vocabulary began almost immediately after the appearance of his writings, the earliest work to take up the task being Mellin's 'Dictionary' (6 vols., 1797). All important later works on Kant—notably those of the Neo-Kantians in Germany and of Edward Caird in this country—contain elaborate explanations; and yet Royce can say that "a thorough history of Kant's terminology is still to be written."

10. The "Thing in itself."

To begin with the first, with "the Thing in itself." When Kant analysed our knowledge of things which we call real, he not only, with Locke, discarded as apparent and purely subjective the secondary qualities, dependent upon the nature of our senses, but he also discarded the primary qualities, the space which things occupy and the time during which events happen, as arising out of the form of our perceiving intellect. Depriving thus what seemed to be external realities, the phenomena of nature, both of their secondary and their primary qualities, treated as mere appearance, there remained over only an indefinable something by which real things were distinguished from purely subjective images. This something we can, according to Kant, only *con*ceive by thought, we cannot *per*ceive it. It was a Noumenon in distinction from the Phenomenon; the former he termed "the Thing in itself," or "Things in themselves," in opposition to the Thing or Things as they appear.[1] This is equivalent to saying that ex-

[1] A concise and lucid history of the influence of the conception of the 'Thing in itself' and its cognate but not synonymous designations as the Noumenon, the transcendental object or the x of the Kantian philosophy, is to be found in Windelband's 'History of Philosophy' (§ 41) frequently referred to already. Jacobi's pertinent remarks, made so early as 1787 ('Werke,' vol. ii. p. 304), "that *without* this assumption he was unable to enter the system, and *with* it unable to remain inside of it," indicates the difficulty of thinking of something of which we know nothing. Accordingly the Kantian

istence is the only thing we know about the reality of things, and that all detailed information which we possess about them is mere appearance, originating in the nature of our senses and the forms of our intellect. It has frequently been observed that this way of stating the problem of reality involves a latent contradiction, inasmuch as of a thing regarding which we know absolutely nothing, we cannot even maintain its existence. The same objection has been raised in more recent times against the statement of Herbert Spencer, who, in a more direct way than Kant before him, asserts the existence of the Unknowable, and places this at the entrance of his philosophy.[1]

position was unstable and, as Windelband has shown, led to two separate developments: the first, that indicated by Jacobi as unavoidable and necessary, was to throw this conception of an unknowable Thing in itself overboard and resort to pure Idealism, as was done in various ways by Fichte and his successors, who all took great pains to show how Kant's position was untenable. The second was to endow the empty idea of a Thing in itself, the x of the Kantian philosophy, with a definite meaning, whilst maintaining in substance the Kantian argument. The way to accomplish this had been indicated already by Fichte as well as by another philosopher of the Kantian school, Fr. Bouterwek (1766-1828), and was, without appreciation of either, consistently followed up by Schopenhauer. Thus the pure idea of reality either lapses into nothingness, the Unreal, or it acquires a higher meaning as the truly Real. It either degenerates, as Windelband says, "into a quasi-rudimentary organ without any function in the body of thought," or it rises to that highest object of contemplation on which the closing pages of Schopenhauer's first great work contain an eloquent rhapsody. A third investigation belongs to more recent times, and is not yet concluded. It would have to show how, psychologically, the perplexity has arisen out of the three notions of Self, which we involuntarily form in early life and which are continually intermingled and superposed in all our reflective and practical mental operations: the Self as one among many other Selves, its equals; the Self as pictured to us through the memory of past experience; and the Self as the sensations and feelings of the present moment. Beginnings of this psychological analysis are to be found in Renouvier's 'Essais de Critique Générale.' See also papers by Josiah Royce in 'Philosophical Review' (Sept. 1894, Sept. and Nov. 1895).

[1] We may get out of this difficulty, which applies as much to Kant's as to Spencer's Unknowable, by looking upon it as a limiting conception. An analysis of external phenomena (Kant) or of experience in general (Spencer) seems to leave an unexhausted Something without which neither the Unity, nor the "Together," nor the immediate evidence of phenomena, can be explained. We seem to have lost the kernel of reality and to grasp only the shell. Examples of a similarly unsatisfactory state of knowledge are, however, so to speak, of daily occurrence. A prominent example is the impossibility of defining life, that Something which distinguishes a dead from a living organism. We seem to grasp this only by the synoptical function of some sense, be this lower or higher, physical or spiritual. It can, so to speak, only be seen and experienced but not reproduced by any synthetic action of the intellect. A more serious objection attaches to Kant's Unknowable which does not in the same degree apply to that of Spencer. It recurs again in dealing with Schopenhauer's doctrine. Both Kant and Schopenhauer, following Hume, consider Causation as a subjective form or habit of thought, but they nevertheless —as Jacobi had pointed out in dealing with Kant's view — apply this category to the "Unknowable Thing in Itself" which lies, as it were, beyond or beneath the region of experience, whereas causation refers only—it is maintained—to things as they appear. A third objection which has been urged against Kant's Unknowable, and which does not apply to that of Spencer, is this: that Kant does not only speak of the Thing in itself, but goes even the length of speaking of Things in themselves. This plural is, as Lotze amongst others has remarked, quite unjustifiable, as no reason exists to conceive of the Unknown as a plurality and not as a unity. In fact, as the former error consisted in transferring and applying the phenomenal category of causation to that which is supposed not to enter into the phenomenal world at all, so, in the other instance, the error arises through tacitly applying distinction which depend on time and space to a content which is supposed to be outside of time and space.

There were several reasons which prevented Kant from destroying the remnant of reality which he assigned to external things. When it was pointed out to him by some of his critics that the logical consequence of his doctrine would be to negative altogether the conception of Things in themselves, and that this would lead inevitably to the position taken up by Berkeley, he strongly objected to the statement, maintaining that this would be leading back to the position of idealism, the refutation of which was one of the main objects of his critical philosophy. Whilst he insisted that all we know about things was what followed from our own sensuous and

11. His objection to Idealism.

intellectual nature, he as strongly insisted upon the reality of at least a portion of our perceptions—viz., those which were not merely subjective creations or illusions, but which were supported by some underlying ground or substance. This was evident through the fact that, not only our own subject or person, but likewise other persons around us, participated in the same experience. An agreement with other observing and thinking beings would not be possible without some common point of reference. Kant also employed the intellectual categories of substance and cause—unjustifiably as his critics maintained—to define more clearly the relation of the Noumenon or Thing in itself to the phenomenal world. But probably the greatest interest which, in his mind, attached to this purely noumenal and intelligible,[1] but not perceptible, entity was the importance that this distinction acquired when applied to our own personal self. Here, in the region of our inner experience, he found a similar dualism, a similar contrast, between what he called the phenomenal and the real self. In opposition to the phenomena which constitute our changing experience, the fleeting moments of our inner life, he detected a unifying principle, a regulative agency. This was Reason itself, which was intellectually a regulative, practically an active principle, and the very essence of this

[1] In the Kantian vocabulary, following earlier usage, the word "Intelligible" had a different meaning from that which it has acquired in the English language. Intelligible means with Kant that which we can think about but not see or perceive by our senses. It is the noumenon as distinguished from the phenomenon; it has therefore quite a different meaning, in fact an opposite meaning, to the word as used in current English, where it signifies that which we can understand. The difference is clearly marked in the title of one of Kant's earlier Treatises: 'De mundi sensibilis et intelligibilis forma ac principiis' (1770).

unifying and active principle—our Will—he conceived to stand in a relation to the changing events of our inner life like that of the Thing in itself to the changing phenomena of that outer experience which we call the external world, and which we have in common with other intelligent beings, our fellow-men. In fact the Will, in its self-restrained freedom, was as much the noumenal ground of our own self, its intelligible character, as the Thing in itself was the noumenal ground of external things with their merely apparent reality. From this point onward the real importance of Kant's philosophy is to be found in the stress which he laid upon the self-restraining freedom of the Will that brought with it its own law, the "Categorical Imperative," the "Ought" of our moral nature, the second and higher Reality which he regarded with wonder and veneration.[1]

12. His "Categorical Imperative."

Before we proceed to see how the various suggestions contained in Kant's doctrine were taken up by his successors, it is important to point out again how much of the novelty of Kant's teaching lay in that strange, yet telling and impressive, terminology which he invented, and through which he laid stress upon the different aspects in which the Real makes itself apparent to us. It is possible and has since been variously attempted to put Kant's ideas into the language of earlier philosophers, employing the terms used by Aristotle in older, or by Spinoza in more recent times, also to show how almost every one of his single statements was anticipated by one or the other of his predecessors. But this would not efface the historical fact that Kant, through his original way of

13. Importance of his terminology.

[1] See the celebrated passage quoted *supra*, p. 29.

stating the eternal truths and formulating the everlasting problems of knowing and being, succeeded in imparting to these subjects a fresh interest, inspiring his age with the courage to attack them once more and with the belief in their ultimate solubility.

In the last chapter, when dealing with the problem of Knowledge and Kant's epoch-making contributions to its solution, I pointed out how in his various suggestions may be found indications of the several further developments which the problem underwent in the course of the nineteenth century. Dealing now with Reality, we can similarly point to Kant's writings as containing or suggesting the different aspects which the problem assumed with his successors, and we can accordingly classify their contributions according to these different aspects contained implicitly in Kant's teaching. Fichte, the greatest among Kant's immediate followers, has pointed to the threefold meaning which the word reality had for Kant: see a remarkable passage[1] in his lectures on "Wissenschaftslehre" from the year 1804. In this passage he uses the expression, the Absolute,—a term frequently employed in earlier philosophies, and which in the present connection may be considered synonymous with what I have termed the central Reality or the truly Real. Fichte finds that Kant made three important attempts to determine the Absolute, corresponding to the three critiques. "In the Critique of Pure Reason sensuous experience was for him the absolute, . . . in a consistent exposition of the principles which he there adopted the supersensuous world would have to disappear altogether,

14. Fichte on Kant's terms for Reality.

[1] Nachlass II., p. 103.

and, as the only Noumenon, would remain, that which 'is' since it can be realised in experience. . . . The high moral nature of the man, however, corrected the philosopher, and so there appeared the Critique of Practical Reason. In it appeared the 'self'" (or subject) "through the inherent categorical notion" (*i.e.*, through its self-assertion) "as something by itself; and thus we get the second absolute" (or reality), "the moral world. Yet all the phenomena of human nature were not thereby explained. . . . Moreover, what is still more important, the empirical world was now lost in the moral world as the one world in itself" (*i.e.*, as the truly Real), "—a just retribution for its former victory over the moral world: and now there appeared the Critique of Judgment, and in it . . . the confession that the supersensuous and sensuous worlds must have some common though quite unknowable root, which root was the third absolute." From this passage we can see how three distinct ways were opened out to Kant's successors. Which of the three ways was adopted would depend upon the mental bias of the individual thinker, but also upon the practical interest by which his speculations were prompted. To those who move in the world of external realities, of the actual observable things and phenomena which surround us, *i.e.*, to the natural philosophers, the problem of reality would primarily consist in seeking an answer to the questions—What is the criterion of reality in external things? What is their essence? How is the real and actual to be distinguished from the imaginary or illusory? For a second class of thinkers whose interest lies in the mental and moral, as opposed to the physical, life of

mankind, those who are termed philosophers *par excellence*, the paramount question would be: What is the essential reality of the moral life of man and mankind? and what is its relation to the physical world? No doubt either of the two types of thinkers would in due course be led to the consideration of the other or opposite reality; the natural philosopher would have to ascend from matter to mind or to penetrate from the outer to the inner phenomena; the moral philosopher would try to gain an understanding of the outer world, of the environment upon which the development of mind and character depends. But there is a third position possible, a point of view suggests itself which, if attainable, would transcend or supersede equally the two aspects just mentioned. It is a view which has naturally suggested itself at all times to youthful and ardent minds when first confronted with the problem of reality. It is the attempt to assume at once that the two realities are essentially one, that they have, as Fichte says, a common root. This finds confirmation in the fact that, in the higher spheres of mental activity, notably in poetry, art, and religion, this higher unity is presupposed, and that the greatest work in these regions emanates from a belief in it.

To those of my readers who have realised the importance which the Ideal of Humanity, in an elevated sense of the word, had acquired in German culture at the end of the eighteenth century, how it was upheld and represented at Weimar and Jena by leaders of thought such as Herder, Goethe, and Schiller, and how from there, as a centre, a new spirit and a new life spread all over Germany, it will not be surprising that, of the three

aspects of reality just mentioned, the last should be held up and proclaimed by Fichte and Schelling, and that their predecessor in the philosophical chair, Reinhold, should find in Fichte's version of the Kantian doctrine the realisation of what he and other followers of Kant were striving after. In the passage quoted above from his lectures, Fichte goes on to say that his independent speculation was historically connected with Kant in this, its essence: "that it explores the root which to Kant seemed undiscoverable, but in which the sensuous and supersensuous worlds are united, and that its task consists in the actual and intelligible deduction of these two worlds from one principle." Once proclaimed by Fichte, this task became and remained the grand problem of philosophy for a whole generation of thinkers. At the same time Fichte admitted that this higher unity could not be reached by a psychological or logical train of reasoning, by an analysis such as Kant had employed, but that it must be reached by a process of intellectual intuition,[1]—*i.e.*, it must, as Lotze says, be guessed or

15. Fichte and Schelling.

16. "Intellectual Intuition."

[1] It is unfortunate that the English language possesses no term equivalent to the German *Anschauung*. The word intuition seems to imply something akin, though perhaps inferior, to inspiration, whereas the German word *Anschauung* implies something akin, though perhaps superior, to seeing or perceiving by means of the senses. *Anschauung* is thus more nearly equivalent to sight; *Intellectuelle Anschauung* might be rendered by "intellectual sight." The German term plays an important part in the philosophies of Fichte and Schelling, but was discarded by Hegel as too vague. The use which the two former thinkers made of the term connects them with Kant as well as with Spinoza. Kant did not use the term in his 'First Critique,' but, as Kuno Fischer has pointed out, employs instead "pure apperception" and "transcendental apperception," the unity of the perceiving and thinking subject or, as Fichte termed it, the *Ego*. But through the influence of Spinoza's writings, with which, as already stated, German thinkers after Kant became acquainted through Lessing and Jacobi, the term acquired a meaning somewhat akin to the *amor intellectualis Dei* of Spinoza.

divined, for it presents itself to the human mind in the immediacy of feeling and not by discursive thought.

Fichte emphasises in this way an important truth which, again and again, rises up in the history of thought, be this philosophical, poetical, or religious: If the human mind is at all capable of understanding, interpreting, or ideally reconstructing the world which surrounds it and of which it forms a part—*i.e.*, if it is at all capable of approaching the essence of reality—some point must exist where it is at one with the Absolute, the truly Real; and only when this point is reached—*i.e.*, *sub specie unitatis et æternitatis*—will it arrive at, and support, the conviction of the universal Order and meaning of things. From this point of view, so difficult to reach and so easily lost again, we should then be able to grasp

Therefore, as Kuno Fischer has remarked: "In the first use of the term Fichte agreed with Kant in maintaining an intellectual intuition as equivalent to the immediate self-consciousness of the subject. The principle of *Wissenschaftslehre* is the intellect in its self-observation. This self-observation of the intellect or the original act through which consciousness becomes its own object is called by Fichte *Intellectuelle Anschauung;* it is the original act of self-consciousness or of the *Ego.* Whoever ascribes to himself an activity appeals to this *Anschauung;* in it is the source of life, and without it there is death" (Kuno Fischer, 'Geschichte der neueren Philosophie,' "Fichte," 1st ed., p. 476, with quotations from Fichte's 'Second Introduction,' Works, vol. i. pp. 451 *sqq.*) Subsequently, through a remark which Kant made in his 'Third Critique,' the term acquired a more pregnant meaning. "Kant demonstrates from the conditions of human reasoning the impossibility of an intellectual sight, or of an intuitive intellect; the impossibility of a faculty for which the Thing in itself would be an object; the incognoscibility of Things in themselves and the impossibility of an intellectual sight are for Kant one and the same thing. In this sense Kant denies intellectual sight; in this sense Fichte denies it likewise" (Kuno Fischer, *loc. cit.*, p. 478). But it is just this suggestion made but not accepted by Kant in his 'Third Critique' which had a special attraction for Schelling, to whom it seems as if Lotze's remark applies more immediately than to Fichte, though the latter subsequently, not unlike Jacobi, seems to admit a similar conception under the designation of religious faith.

the meaning of those dualities and contrasts which we find around and in us, the difference of self and not self, of mind and matter, of subject and object, of appearance and reality, of truth and semblance. Fichte's endeavour is to bring, in many ways, this truth home to his hearers and readers: nor is there any doubt that he found as much in them an expectant and appreciative audience as they, on the other side, found in him an expositor of these sublime reflections; for he had understood the signs of the times, the want of the age, and also the way to satisfy it. The very fact that he appeared to his listeners as continually seeking, and never quite finding, the right expression for his central idea, kept them alive and intent upon following and assisting him in this arduous enterprise; for he only gave expression to conceptions which others around him had likewise, though vaguely, formed for themselves, and to express which was the untiring endeavour of that age.

But it was not in the spirit of Fichte's philosophy to remain content with an intuitive knowledge of the existence of this underlying unity of the Absolute. His was not a contemplative nature like that of Spinoza, who, before him, had given expression to the same idea, whose writings were at that time much studied in the circle to which Fichte belonged, and who had a growing influence upon the successors of Kant. Fichte's was an eminently active and practical nature, not practical indeed in the lower and everyday meaning of the word, but practical in that elevated region in which the great minds which surrounded him were living and into which

17. Fichte's practical aims.

it was their and his object to raise the interests and thoughts of the academic youth of Germany. That this was not only an aim which he had constantly in view, but that he also, to a large extent, realised it, is known by the reform which he worked among the students of the University of Jena. From this reform emanated, to a large extent, a wave of elevated feeling and aspiration; it stirred up the life which had for a long time been stagnant in the German high schools and universities. From that age onward they entered into a new phase and put on an entirely changed character. In this respect Fichte joined hands, from the highest regions of philosophic thought, with Pestalozzi who worked upwards from the innermost recesses of the hearts of the people. Fichte did for the select few what Pestalozzi did for the many. This practical tendency in Fichte's nature allowed him to realise, better than any other disciple of Kant's, the great moral influence of Kant's practical philosophy. He felt distinctly what Kant meant by the Categorical Imperative, by the self-restraining power of the human Will. In his search for an expression wherewith to describe the essence of the truly Real or the Absolute, he fixed upon this idea contained in Kant's philosophy; the truly Real was to him—Action or Self-realisation.

18. "Self-realisation."

Now, if we try to analyse this idea of Self-realisation which seems to me to be the most suitable rendering of the somewhat abstruse sentences and oracular sayings in which Fichte's discourses abound, we shall at once see how this conception led Fichte away from the position occupied by Kant into entirely different lines of reasoning, which for a long time became characteristic of German philosophy.

Kant's analysis, though it called itself transcendental, moved nevertheless almost entirely within the region of Psychology and Logic, that is to say, within the enclosure of an individually thinking, feeling, and willing personality. It is true that what he related or described in his several Critiques professed to refer to what all thinking, feeling, and willing minds have in common. His psychology and theory of knowledge moved, as little as did that of Locke and his school, within the region of the purely subjective; nevertheless all his statements refer to what any individual mind could—or must—personally observe and realise within itself. There is no doubt that, in various passages of his two later Critiques, Kant hinted at the conception of a position which was elevated above and beyond the casualties of ordinary experience or of merely subjective impulses. The Categorical Imperative, the "Ought" of our moral nature, the highest moral law as well as the possibility of an intuitive intellect, all these conceptions refer to something which antecedes or supersedes casual, subjective, and temporary facts and events. This suggestion Fichte took in real earnest. He postulated, at the entrance of his philosophy, an elevation of the thinking mind into that region where the everyday distinctions of subject and object and of many persons or selves would disappear. He here met with the same difficulty of "solipsism" which confronted Berkeley when he started from his own idealistic point of view. The existence of many minds or selves with a common world of objects obliged Berkeley to fall back

on the theological conception of a transcendent mind, and Fichte to take the word mind or self to mean a kind of universal mind, in which all single minds are merged or united. With this step his speculation, and German speculation in general, left the region of actual psychological analysis. It became not only transcendental but transcendent.

10. Fichte's Absolute is a process.

The second important step which Fichte took was involved in his attempt to conceive the nature of the truly Real or the Absolute as activity, or, as he also calls it, as a sequence of impulses towards action. In this conception is involved the admission that the truly Real is a process, not a substance in the sense of Spinoza. And Fichte is at considerable pains to differentiate his system from that of Spinoza, inasmuch as it takes a genetic, in opposition to a statical, view of the ultimate Reality. Further on his important philosophical writings deal mainly with the practical questions involved in the state and society, in history and the life of mankind. Here he deals with the realisation of the Absolute, with the unfolding of the truly Real in a world of many individuals. Beyond the very early introduction into his reasoning of a something which he calls the Not-self, and which others would call the external world or nature, he does not approach the outstanding problem of Kant's philosophy—the essence of things in themselves. In fact these have, for him, no essential or true reality.[1]

[1] Fichte, as well as Schelling, in his published Works exhibits the strivings of the thinking mind to arrive at a reasoned creed. The consummation, however, of this searching process of thought is not to be found with either but only in their successor Hegel. Whilst Hegel kept the gradual development of his final conception from the world, Fichte's writings and lectures laid open his repeated more or less successful attempts to arrive at, and give expression to, a reasoned body of thought or a creed. With Schelling the process becomes still more tentative and changing, and this was the more the case as he lived long enough to realise the insufficiency of the whole idealistic movement of thought. From the beginning to the end of his career Fichte had a definite purpose before him. He was, more than any of the other leading thinkers of the century, a man who had a conscious message to deliver to his age and nation. He was influenced by other thinkers, but they did not divert his thinking and teaching into new courses; they furnished only new aspects and new ways, with the help of which he could find a more and more adequate expression of his guiding idea and fulfil his mission. This view of Fichte's speculative labours is now, thanks to the painstaking researches and the lucid expositions of historians like Kuno Fischer, Falckenberg, and Windelband, generally established. Earlier writers of the history of modern philosophy, following misrepresentations and misunderstandings of Fichte's main object, which can be largely traced to the influence of Schelling, were wont to speak of an earlier and a later system of Fichte's philosophy. This view is now replaced by the conviction of the consistency of Fichte's main argument. For our purposes it is of special interest to note how, with Fichte, the interest in one and the same fundamental idea—the supremacy of moral law and order—moved away from the significance which this idea had for the problem of knowledge to that which it had for the problem of reality. The initial theory of knowledge (Wissenschaftslehre) in the light of the same central conception gradually developed into a theory of being (Ontology), an answer to the question; What is the truly Real? Of all the earlier philosophies the only one, in modern times, which has answered this question definitely was that of Spinoza; all other thinkers, such as Descartes, Leibniz, and even Kant, not to speak of the realistic school in this country, found the Real in something which was given or known already in some other way. This is owing to the essentially receptive attitude which all these thinkers took up to the existing regions of knowledge occupied by common-sense, science, or religious doctrine. The question: What is the truly Real? in perfect simplicity, directness, and independence presented itself in modern times first in Spinoza, and after he had been neglected and almost forgotten, in Fichte.

It was natural that the position taken up by Fichte should provoke much criticism and opposition, that his one-sided accentuation of the subjective side of reality should appear unsatisfactory. At that time a twofold interest was spreading in the study of natural phenomena, especially of the phenomena and forms of living or animated nature; it was also the age that witnessed the discovery of galvanic phenomena, which for a time seemed

to bridge over the two regions of the inanimate and the animated creation. We know how in the beginning of the century these phenomena attracted great attention, and how, especially in the medical sciences, great importance was attached to electrical, magnetic, and galvanic forces. But, outside of this scientific interest in natural phenomena, nature itself as a whole had become an object of a new interest, not to say veneration, in all the three countries I am dealing with, from an artistic, literary, and poetical point of view. A return to nature was proclaimed and practised in many ways and took many forms: Rousseau in France was the exponent of one very prominent form of this modern naturalism. He opposed the artificiality of society and the logical aridity of eighteenth century life and thought. He became the founder and the greatest master in a peculiar form of poetical prose, which had an enormous influence on Continental literature. In this country Goldsmith, Gray, Cowper, and Burns represented a quite independent and less pretentious school of naturalism, which opened out an entirely new vein of poetical feeling and created new forms of poetical diction. Both these products of poetical and creative thought had a great influence on German literature. There, an independent contribution to this line of thought was given by Herder, who, in his studies on the problems of humanity, the origins of language and history, had recourse to the elemental forces of nature as conditioning and producing historical developments. He created an interest in primitive cultures and in the popular poetry and songs of nations all over the world. All these influences, that of

Rousseau, that of the earlier poetry of the English naturalistic school and that of Herder, combined, as it were, to form the mental environment in which Goethe's original genius grew up; they found expression in his intuitive comprehension of nature, which forms such a prominent characteristic of his poetical genius. The speculative philosopher who came most under the influence of this twofold interest in nature and natural things, the scientific and the poetical, was Schelling. He was, after Wieland and Schiller, the third great personality in whom the South of Germany made its contribution to the assembly of representative minds which formed the circle at Weimar and Jena. Herder and Fichte came from the North and East of Germany, whence also had come the influence of Lessing and Kant.

20. Schelling.

It appears that, in the case of Schelling, the scientific interest in nature succeeded the artistic or poetical interest, and that the latter remained always the dominant one.

21. His central position in German Idealism.

In spite of the more matured labours of Kant and the more comprehensive and systematic speculations of Hegel, Schelling deserves to be looked upon as the central figure during the idealistic period of German philosophy.[1] and this for several reasons. In the long

[1] This is being more and more recognised and brought out by the latest historians of philosophy in Germany. The standard work on Schelling is still that of Kuno Fischer, forming the 6th vol. of his History (1st ed. 1872). And yet, even this monumental work stops short of an adequate and complete comprehension of Schelling's philosophic development: the last phase of his philosophy is not treated. The reason of this is that forty years ago, when Kuno Fischer completed this section of his History, that phase of Schelling's thought appeared to stand outside of the historical progress of German philo-

course of his philosophical career he came under the influence of almost all the prominent systems and doctrines of ancient and modern times. He assimilated successively many of the suggestions and leading ideas thrown out by his predecessors and contemporaries. He was thus an eclectic in the best sense of the word, in the sense in which Aristotle in ancient times, Leibniz in more recent, Schleiermacher and Lotze in quite recent times, may be called eclectics. Though very different from Aristotle and Leibniz, who aimed at putting their ideas into exact scientific language, and more akin to Plato in his love of the poetical form of diction, he nevertheless resembled Leibniz in his endeavour to reconcile existing differences and contrasts, to mediate between seemingly opposite points of view. His was an exceedingly receptive mind, whose originality consisted in finding unity among diversities and establishing suggestive analogies. To him were attached also prominent workers in very different regions of thought and learning: from the naturalistic pantheist Oken to the mystical theosophist Baader, from the pathologist Kieser to

sophy. For Kuno Fischer saw the consummation of this philosophy and the programme for its future in a form of spiritual rationalism towards which Hegel had given, as it were, a first approximation and a comprehensive programme. He did not recognise, as his disciple Prof. Windelband has done, that before this programme could or would be more adequately carried out a great reaction against the whole of rationalistic thought would set in and have to be dealt with. Accordingly Windelband's profound and advanced insight into the courses of quite recent thought has led him to add a new chapter to the history of German—as indeed also to that of European—speculation. This chapter bears the title of 'Irrationalism,' and comprises such names as Schelling in his latest phase, Feuerbach, Hartmann, and others, ending for the moment with Nietzsche. Out of the hopelessness of this final ending of the philosophy of Reason in Unreason the way to new vigour of speculative thought is, as is indicated in the closing page of Windelband's 'History of Philosophy,' to be found in the conception of value.

the æsthetical philosopher Solger, from all-embracing founders of systems like Hegel to specialists like Ast in history, Nees von Esenbeck in botany, G. F. Puchta and Fr. J. Stahl in law.[1] Schelling also occupies a central international position in the history of modern thought.[2]

[1] Many more names might be mentioned: intimate admirers such as, foremost of all, the poet Platen, who has given in his 'Diary' a graphic account of the thrill which Schelling's Lectures in Erlangen (1819) sent through his large audiences, confessing that during the whole Exposition the "to be or not to be fell on his heart with its whole weight, and that he felt as if for the first time a real comprehension of it had entered his soul." And on the other side cases of great disappointment and aversion, such as Justus v. Liebig, who in his autobiographical Memoir refers to the baneful influence of Schelling's teaching. Between enthusiastic admirers and angry opponents there stand the more temperate appreciation and criticism of such leaders of thought as K. E. v. Baer (vol. i. of this History, p. 207, note), and Fechner (vol. iii. p. 370).

[2] Schelling himself was well aware that he had led philosophy into wider fields and opened to it extensive realms of thought. In the remarkable Introductory Lecture which he delivered in the year 1827 on his appointment to the Chair of Philosophy in Munich, he said: "When, nearly thirty years ago, I was first called upon to take an active part in the development of philosophy, the different schools were dominated by a philosophy full of life and vigour but estranged from actual realities. Who would have then thought it possible that a teacher with no name, in years still a youth, should become the master of a philosophy so powerful and, in spite of its empty abstruseness, yet in intimate contact with some of the favourite tendencies of the age? And yet this has happened—indeed not through his merit and special worth, but in consequence of the nature of the Cause itself, through the might of an invincible reality which pervades all things; nor can he ever forget the grateful and joyful appreciation which then came to him from the first minds of the nation. Though nowadays only few know from what fetters and limits philosophy had then to be liberated in order to force an entry into the free and open field of objective science—a freedom and vigour of thought which they themselves now enjoy and the effects of which they experience. Now again philosophy seems to have arrived at a point beyond which she cannot progress, whilst what is offered as the last and best meets, in the opinion of the foremost, with a general opposition difficult to move. The invisible Spirit which rules over all calls forth at the right time and moment, in every case of arrest, such mental conditions as increase the power of conquest and make minds receptive of help when it arrives. Under such circumstances, in our land, our age, and our science, I come to you and appear in your midst. I greet you with love, receive me also with love. I shall live, work, and strive for you as long as it pleases God" ('Sämmtliche Werke,' vol. ix. p. 366).

It was in the form which he gave to some of the leading ideas in modern German philosophy that these became known in this country through Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and it was he also who among German thinkers made the deepest impression upon Victor Cousin and, through him, upon French thought.[1] And though so much has been said against the "philosophy of nature," some of the leading ideas of its way of looking at natural phenomena found their response partly independently and partly through Schelling's indirect influence in France as well as in this country.

We have already seen that in Fichte the philosophical interest had moved away from the critical position to the dogmatic and constructive, that the problem of knowledge had to give way to the problem of Reality. In Schelling we find little interest in the critical problem of Knowledge and no contributions to its solution. But this interest was not overcome, as it was in Fichte, by the ethical or practical interest; both of these were thrust aside by the artistic or poetical interest. The first Kantian school studied mainly the first Critique and its doctrines. Fichte threw the whole weight of his personality on to the moral and practical teaching as initiated in Kant's second Critique. Schelling's starting-point is that of the third Critique, which deals with final causes in nature and the conception of art, with the meaning and beauty of things.

22. Practical and poetical interests.

But nowhere is the central position which Schelling takes up more marked than in this, that he made the

[1] And even further afield the influence of Schelling is to be found in the writings of Emerson, as is hardly generally known and appreciated.

central problem of philosophy, the problem of Reality, the continued object of his speculation. His philosophy is, more than any other, an attempt to fix the truly Real, to find an expression for the highest form of Reality, for the ultimate ground and essence of things. It is pre-eminently a philosophy of the Absolute. This term he again introduced and made familiar in German philosophical literature. By this more than by any other term—*i.e.*, as a theory of the Absolute—has this philosophy been praised and extolled on the one side, vilified and ridiculed on the other. And Schelling's philosophy is, more than any other, the living proof for the correctness of the view which has been held in various forms and will again and again recur, that the Absolute or the truly Real is the highest object of our search, yet, at the same time, that for which we shall never find a lastingly satisfactory philosophical expression. But Schelling has enriched philosophical language and literature with many valuable suggestions which give us, if not a full view, at least glimpses of the truly Real.

In the first period of his philosophical career, when he saw in Fichte the greatest philosopher of modern times, Schelling conceived the idea of supplementing the one-sided emphasis which Fichte laid upon the subjective side of the truly Real or the Absolute, by a more appreciative treatment of the objective side—*i.e.*, of the phenomena of nature, of the external world which surrounds us. Fichte had seemingly reduced this to a secondary position, looking upon nature, which he defined by a pure negation as the Not-self, merely as the

means in and through which the Self or the Absolute arrived at a knowledge of itself and wherein it found a field to display its own activity. In this way of fixing the relation of mind and matter, all reality seemed to be contained in the former; the latter was degraded to a something which did not possess full reality, having its end and meaning, not in itself, but in something else; this being the universal consciousness which it, as it were, helped to arrive at self-consciousness. This existed in the form of many individuals and their reunion in human society. Schelling's love of nature and his admiration of the philosophy of Spinoza, which centred in the idea of an underlying ground or Substance with its two attributes of extension and thought (*i.e.*, of nature and mind), led him to consider that Fichte's view of the external world as a Not-self was a degradation of nature which did not do justice to its manifold purposes and beauties, nor to the fact that consciousness itself made its appearance at the highest point of the natural order of beings. The first step which he accordingly took, was an attempt to show how the forms and things of nature exhibit in their way a realisation of the Absolute, analogous to, though essentially different from, the realisation which Fichte's philosophy had tried to demonstrate in the region of mind. In this endeavour of Schelling's we find a resuscitation of that parallelism between the external and internal worlds and their phenomena, which played such a great part in Spinoza's philosophy and which, in more recent times, underlies the doctrine of psycho-physical parallelism. But, whereas Spinoza's system

23. Rehabilitation of Nature.

centres in the idea of the eternal substance, Schelling conceived the Absolute after the fashion of Fichte, not as a substance but as a process, as activity; an idea which has also been revived in many shades in quite recent speculation. Schelling's idea of the process of the Self-realisation of the Absolute is, however, more akin to that of Leibniz, who introduced into philosophy the ideas of development and continuity. We may therefore say that Schelling's philosophy was much more a reconciliation of Spinoza's and Leibniz's views than a development of the critical philosophy of Kant, or the ethical of Fichte. From Leibniz, Schelling also inherited the tendency which is inevitably connected with the idea of continuity, that of reducing qualitative differences to those of quantity; the latter having the property of a continuous flow, a gradual and imperceptible transition from one to another.

The correct and valuable ideas which underlie Schelling's earliest philosophy are twofold. They have asserted themselves in recent times in a more definite form, having become divested of that admixture of the fanciful element by which they attracted, and also misled, many of Schelling's contemporaries. And I may here remark that it is hardly correct to speak of disciples of Schelling, inasmuch as he began to publish his ideas when quite young and only put into language conceptions which were at the time common to many, though in a much less developed form.[1] Of the two

[1] In many passages of his History Kuno Fischer has pointed to the fundamental difference which separates the philosophical attitude both of Fichte and Schelling from that of Kant before, and of Hegel after. The two former philosophies represent a continual unsatisfied

ideas I refer to, through which Schelling connects earlier systems with more recent thought, the first is the idea of the successive development of natural

striving, such as is peculiar to youthful minds. "In very remarkable contrast to Kant, who proceeds thoughtfully and in measured step from problem to problem, all of which he equally masters, an impatient and impetuous striving now takes hold of philosophical thought. In the life also of ideas there are turning-points and crises which require for their decision the freshness of youthful vigour. It appears as if philosophy in its progress from Kant to Fichte and Schelling tries with each step to rejuvenate itself. Kant was fifty-seven when he brought out his fundamental work, Fichte was thirty-two when he introduced his *Wissenschaftslehre* (1794), Schelling stands at twenty on the height of Kant-Fichtian philosophy (1795) and entered two years later (1797) on the course which is peculiarly his own. Hardly had Fichte spoken the first word of his new doctrine when he was understood by no one better than by the twenty-year-old Schelling, who now, together with the master, developes the doctrine, and plans already the transition to the philosophy of nature whilst Fichte is still occupied with his system of Ethics." This absence of finality in the writings of Fichte and Schelling — of whom Fichte was the greater and more impressive personality, Schelling the more suggestive and inspiring thinker — is probably the reason why the philosophy of neither has met with due appreciation outside of Germany. But this want of finality appears in very different forms in the two philosophies. Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre*, of which his Works contain several apparently different renderings, is based upon a fundamental and unvarying conviction, not only of the supremacy of the moral principle in man and mankind and, in consequence, of moral obligation and of the necessity of the development of character, but also of the immediate requirements of his age and country. On the other side Schelling is continually progressing. Beginning with the knowledge of Self, he advances to that of the World, and from thence to that of the Divine Principle; *Wissenschaftslehre*, philosophy of Nature, Cosmology, Theosophy. "This necessary succession of problems marks the stages of Schelling's philosophical development. The first years are dominated by *Wissenschaftslehre*, the second period comprises Philosophy of Nature and the doctrine of Identity, the third and longest, Theosophy. The philosophical development which Schelling presents to the eyes of his contemporaries covers hardly more than fifteen years; they are the most brilliant and active period of his life. He was nineteen when he entered on this important period, thirty-four when he ceased to let the world witness his mental labours" (Kuno Fischer, 'History,' vol. vi. pp. 6 and 7). The ethical problem which was, as it were, solved in Fichte's great personality but not in his philosophical rendering, became in Schelling's mind more and more the great enigma at the solution of which he laboured during the last forty years of his life. It was the problem of Evil and Redemption.

forms. This has become extremely valuable to naturalists through the greater precision given to it by French transformism (Lamarck), von Baer's Embryology, Darwin's Theory of Descent, and Spencer's Evolutionism, though it has probably also misled many through one-sidedness and exaggeration. The second valuable idea leads us away from the position taken up by the pure naturalist. It has been most clearly defined by Lotze, who was the first to see in Schelling's philosophy of nature the attempt, not only to describe natural phenomena and to calculate them — this being the specific task of science—but to interpret them, *i.e.*, to show their deeper sense and meaning.

In carrying out this scheme Schelling made use of all the new ideas and discoveries which were then revolutionising the natural sciences. Among others the polar forces, as exhibited in electric and magnetic phenomena, are considered to be symbolic of the two sides of reality which confront us everywhere; also the phenomena of light, and generally the properties of what was then termed imponderable matter, were opposed to its ponderable properties and looked upon as symbolical of many contrasts which nature exhibits, such as, *inter alia*, the maternal and paternal principles. Everywhere also the formula appears of positive and negative factors or elements which neutralise each other, leading up to and producing a new reality. Great stress is also laid upon organisation. In fact, in the phenomena of organised nature the different activities of the Absolute are seen as it were on a smaller and more easily observable scale.

24. Formulæ of "polarity."

By means of repeated steps from lower to higher potencies or powers (to set forth which algebraical symbols are employed) the soul of nature as it were unfolds itself, rising to higher and higher developments, culminating in the phenomena of sensibility, with which the natural or external order of things comes to an end, to be again absorbed and carried into a different region in the philosophy of mind with its three regions of intellect, activity, and the union of both in poetry and art.

This latter region acquires in Schelling's ever-progressive mind more and more reality. This was due to the influence of the artistic life, interests, and creations which surrounded him, to Schiller's inspiring doctrines, and above all to the intuitive and poetical comprehension of nature peculiar to Goethe, under whose personal influence Schelling came during those years. For a time at least he conceived Art to be not only the highest identity of the Real and Ideal which is accessible to the human mind, but also the union of the latter with the Absolute, the actual manifestation of the truly Real: the intellectual intuition of Fichte has become with Schelling an artistic or poetical intuition. In and through it the truly Real becomes an immediate, not merely a mediated reality. This extremely fruitful and inspiring idea was taken up in many versions by Schelling's contemporaries, notably by the representatives of the romantic school. It was the melody which lent itself to endless variations, being enriched by all the harmonies and resolved discords of which the creative mind is capable; the whole musical orchestra becoming emblematic of the world-process in its symphonal presentation and development.[1]

A further stage in Schelling's successive attempts to fix the essence of the Absolute or the truly Real was

[1] For the understanding of the development of philosophic thought in Germany at the turn of the centuries it is essential to realise the shortness of the period during which it took place, the unusual congregation of minds of the very first but very different order at the same place, the limited duration of concord, the causes of arising differences and discord, and, lastly, the breaking up of this concourse followed by the dispersion of the new wealth of ideas into the different centres of life and learning in Germany. Schelling himself, whose sensitive nature was quick to detect nascent developments, speaks of the disruption of what had hitherto been the point of indifference of North and South in Jena, whence one part is thrown to the south, another to the north. (See 'Aus Schelling's Leben,' vol. i. p. 482.) We read also in the 'Life of Schiller' that in the last years of his life, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, he had to deplore the loss of many of the first intellects which surrounded him at Jena. The principal centre of attraction seems to have been Berlin, where, with the reign of Frederick William III. and his highly gifted Queen, a new era in literature and art had arisen, to be followed, later on, by political regeneration and social reform. The extravagant expectations with which the beginning of the new reign had been heralded had indeed not all been realised, but a hopeful view existed. Many who had migrated to Berlin, as, *e.g.*, Fichte, felt themselves stimulated in the great moving life of the capital, where the indications of increasing political weakness were known to few, and where most felt as if they were surrounded by new and aspiring life. (See Karl Berger, 'Schiller, Sein Leben und Seine Werke,' 1911, vol. ii., 5th ed., p. 702.) On the other side, the poetical element which came from the South of Germany felt itself repelled by the rationalising tone which ruled in the Prussian capital. This antagonism is represented in philosophic thought by the rupture of Fichte and Schelling. It showed itself publicly when Fichte, after leaving Jena, allied himself with the larger political, social, and educational interests centred in Berlin, and gave a turn in this direction to his unfettered academic influence at the Prussian University of Erlangen and in several popular courses in Berlin. This turn was entirely opposed to Schelling's own conception of what was needed to further and deepen the philosophical movement of thought. And this antagonism, this parting of the ways, is very clearly indicated by the polemics and criticisms which Schelling published about the year 1806, on a Course of Lectures ('Über das Wesen des Gelehrten') delivered by Fichte in the year 1805 at Erlangen. Fichte must indeed have felt the great want in the exposition of his System. Through Schelling the apparent depreciation of nature and of the sensuous and intuitively receptive sides of mental life which characterised his doctrine must have become evident to him. He had also, as he says himself, made a profounder study of the religious problem with

reached under influences which made themselves felt when he left the Weimar circle, migrating to Munich and later to Berlin. But before referring more explicitly to this further advance of his speculation, it will be necessary for us to understand and appreciate the last great step which the idealistic philosophy took, and by which it for a time riveted the attention of all thinking minds in Germany, and later on also in other countries of Europe.

25. Hegel.

This last step was taken by Hegel, who had for some time (1800 to 1806) worked together with Schelling, who was a younger countryman and friend of his, in editing a critical journal of philosophy. The object they had in view was to bring out more clearly the characteristics of the latest form of the idealistic philosophy, the Philosophy of the Absolute, as opposed to the earlier teachings of Reinhold and Fichte. It has, however, been correctly remarked that the orbit in which Hegel's ideas moved and developed was different from that of Schelling; that their courses met only for a short time in order to separate again and to diverge more and more. This divergence was clearly manifested when Hegel published, in 1807, his first great work, the 'Phenomenology of Mind.'[1] Perhaps it would be more correct to

its ethical and educational importance. The endeavour to give expression to these two new lines of thought, but in the original spirit of the *Wissenschaftslehre*, is manifest in those lectures. Schelling, rightly or wrongly, in his Tract of the year 1806, regarded this as an indication of a change of front, brought about through his own "philosophy of nature," and henceforth lost all sympathy with what he termed Fichte's "improved" doctrine.

[1] The estrangement between Schelling and Hegel was of quite a different kind from that between Fichte and Schelling, and not accompanied by violent mutual recriminations before the eyes of the world. It seems as if Schelling had been taken by surprise when he read the

translate the title of this book as the Phenomenology of Spirit, for by this word (in German *Geist*) the philosophy of Hegel is most clearly distinguished from that of Schelling. Both philosophies profess to be, as was that of Spinoza, philosophies of the Absolute. With Spinoza the Absolute was conceived as substance, with Schelling it meant at that time the identity or indifference of matter and mind, of the inner world and the outer, the hidden ground, source, or unity of both. From that point where he conceived the Absolute as the deeper lying unity or identity, Schelling went on in search of other fuller and more adequate expressions, at the moment when Hegel, after many years of preparatory work, conceived the essence of the Absolute to be Spirit.

Preface to Hegel's 'Phenomenology' in the year 1807. The last letter which he addressed to Hegel, six months after receiving the great work of the latter, is accompanied by a copy of his own celebrated Address before the Munich Academy which created such a sensation. The contrast between Schelling's and Hegel's minds, as well as that between their work, is indeed significantly expressed by these two characteristic products of the genius of each. On the one side, a ponderous volume, full of enigmas, which has ever since its appearance furnished material for philosophical thought and on which the last word has not yet been spoken. On the other side, a finished oration, one of Schelling's best productions, admired by many, full of artistic and poetical life and suggestion, comparable to some of Goethe's best writings in German or Ruskin's in English. And at the same time we have Schelling's own expression of the deep-lying difference which separated him afterwards and increasingly from Hegel. "Our real difference of conviction or opinion—an irreconcilable difference — can be shortly and clearly found and decided: for indeed everything might be reconciled, one thing excepted. Thus, I must confess, that I can so far not understand your meaning when you oppose the notion [Begriff] to the intuition [Anschauung, *i.e.*, 'seeing']. You cannot possibly under the former term mean anything else but what you and I have called the Idea, the nature of which is to have one side from which it is 'notion' and one from which it is 'intuition'" (Ibid., vol. ii. p. 124). Expressed in terms which I have used several times already, we may say that Hegel represents the analytical method to be completed by a subsequent synthesis; Schelling on his part started from, and remained permanently in, the region of synopsis, of seeing things in their Together. (See *supra*, p. 192 note.)

26. Philosophy of the Absolute Spirit.

We may therefore say that Hegel's philosophy is the philosophy of the Absolute Spirit. The word Spirit combines many meanings, in the same way as the German equivalent *Geist* does. We express by it the essence of the highest, of the Divine mind as well as of the human mind, and we also speak of the Spirit of nature, and the Spirit of the age. It further includes the idea of life and development, as opposed to that of rest and stability which is implied in the word substance. The very title, therefore, of Hegel's work was happily chosen.[1] It gave some definiteness to what had been left quite vague in contemporary philosophy, and it also gave expression to an idea which underlay the best of German thought since the time of Leibniz, the idea of development, the history of the various phenomena[2] in which Reality, the

[1] The German term *Geist* is even more comprehensive than the English term Spirit, for it includes what we mean by Mind as well as by Spirit. This work of Hegel has quite recently been admirably translated into English by Prof. J. B. Baillie in the 'Library of Philosophy,' edited by J. H. Muirhead (2 vols. 1910). He has chosen the term "Mind" to represent *Geist*, whereas I note that Ed. Caird (see 'Hegel' in Blackwood's Philosophical Classics) speaks of the "Phenomenology of Spirit" (p. 62). The translator of Höffding's 'History of Philosophy' uses the term "Mind" (vol. ii. p. 177). This twofold rendering exhibits the ambiguity of the German word *Geist*, which in its derived adjectives *Geistig* and *Geistlich* shows more clearly that it comprises the two meanings of Mental and Spiritual.

[2] The 'Phenomenology' is not more intelligible to the student of to-day than it appears to have been to Hegel's contemporaries. Fortunately, however, in our days, over a century after the appearance of the book, two important works have been published which have done much to promote a better knowledge and appreciation of Hegel's great design—which, in a certain sense, may be considered to furnish the programme of thought for a certain class of intellects that will never die out. The first of the two works I refer to is Kuno Fischer's 'Paraphrase of Hegel's Teaching' in the last part of his monumental History. As Prof. Windelband says, the present generation will resort to this as the best guide to a just appreciation of Hegel's doctrine. The other work is Lord Haldane's 'Gifford Lectures' (2 vols., 1903-4), the very title of which most happily represents what Hegel was striving for, The Pathway to Reality. That the independent position taken up by the English school of Hegel's interpreters is perhaps not yet sufficiently recognised abroad may be gathered from the following passage in Windelband's 'Geschichte der Neueren Philosophie' (vol. ii., 4th ed., p. 331). Speaking of the obscurity of Hegel's 'Logic' he says: "We can only recommend the German reader of to-day to acquire through Kuno Fischer's 'Exposition' a detailed and clear insight into the wealth which Hegel's mind has woven into the System of the Categories: we possess in it a translation, intelligible to the present age, of Hegel's work that greatly excels the manifold attempts which before this have already appeared in foreign, especially English literature. It is to be hoped that through it the prejudices under which Hegel's memory has long suffered will be increasingly dissipated." In order not to leave my readers quite in the dark, I may here state that the great difference which separates Neo-Hegelianism in England from genuine Hegelianism is, in my opinion, to be traced largely to the influence of Lotze, who was the first to attempt in a truly Hegelian spirit an exposition of the logical forms of thought or of the categories in connection with the content of such thought and with the object with which it is carried on. And this seems also to agree with Windelband's own words (*loc. cit.*): "Only by adhering to the principle [of an epistemological logic] that all forms of thought have meaning only with reference to their object-matter is it possible for Logic to preserve contact with the actual reality of human thinking. Hegel is, next to Aristotle and Kant,—in spite of all the arbitrariness of his constructions,—the greatest logician whom History has known, and he is, together with them, the proof that a truly original and creative treatment of Logic is possible only to such as have gained, through a rich and scientific experience, a comprehensive view of the intellectual work of man." As might have been expected, the Oxford School has also brought Hegel into closer connection with the philosophy of Aristotle. This is eminently characteristic also of Lord Haldane's Lectures.

essence of the truly Real, manifests itself in the actual world of facts and events. In the preface to this work Hegel clearly puts his finger upon the weak points of the philosophy of Schelling or—as Schelling himself tried to understand it—of the philosophy of many of Schelling's followers and admirers: the want of method, the licence with which vague analogies, poetical images, and fanciful *aperçus* had been put in the place of strict definitions and logical analysis. In this he only gave expression to a conviction which must have been that of many leaders of thought at that time, who felt that the wholesome discipline exerted by the writings of Kant

and by the earlier lectures of Fichte was gradually being relaxed, thus rendering philosophy unfit to be a training school for the youthful minds of the nation. This suspicion that the philosophy of romanticism contained dangerous elements which would unfit it to be a definite subject of University teaching, was significantly confirmed by Schelling's subsequent career when, for various reasons, he ceased to give regular courses of lectures, confining his utterances to casual discourses and dissertations; which, however, rose to great distinction and had a deserved influence on thought in very wide circles. *Inter alia*, it may be noted that in the year in which Hegel's 'Phenomenology' appeared, Schelling delivered his celebrated address at Munich "On the relation of the fine arts to nature." [1]

[1] See *supra*, p. 42, note 2. Through the labours of Kuno Fischer and Windelband as contained in the Works frequently referred to, and to a large extent also through the appearance in 1905 of W. Dilthey's 'Jugendgeschichte Hegels,' a new and altered view has been gained of the historical succession of the idealistic systems of German philosophy. Earlier historians, both those who looked upon Hegel's System as the last word of Idealism and those others who, like Zeller and Ueberweg, had thrown off the traditions of Idealism and given entry to the spirit of exact research, were in the habit of representing Hegel as a follower of Schelling and his philosophy as the last act in the speculative drama in which Kant represented the first act. This view was also introduced and accepted in this country through the earlier writers, beginning with J. H. Stirling, who introduced Hegel to English students. The result has been that the philosophies of Fichte and Schelling have never received adequate attention in this country. It is now quite evident that Hegel's philosophy stands in as immediate a connection with Fichte, and through him with Kant, as that of Schelling. A close friendship existed between Schelling and Hegel, both having received at Tübingen the same training within the same intellectual surroundings; both studied Fichte's philosophy and were, for a time, fascinated by it; both experienced the necessity of transcending the subjectivism of Fichte's earlier speculation—as indeed Fichte did himself. But the courses they took were very different, and of the three courses that of Hegel was the most independent, the most thorough, hence also the latest to reveal itself. Schelling's was the earliest, his mind was the most receptive and, though not the least original, certainly the least independent of external influences. Fichte came under the influence of Jacobi and Schleiermacher and, though not avowedly so, under that of Schelling. With all three he had, for a time, intimate personal intercourse, living and moving in the same circle. Hegel did not move in this circle,—his contact with it was maintained mainly through his correspondence with Schelling. He had carried on deep studies mainly in the history of ancient classical and Christian thought and religion; had written elaborate dissertations upon historical and theological subjects,—among these a 'Life of Jesus.' An analysis of these unpublished remains which were to some extent accessible already to Rosenkranz and Haym, is given fully in Dilthey's work. After reading this we are driven to the conclusion that from Kant and Fichte there emanated four tolerably distinct developments of idealistic thought in Germany, viz.: Schelling's later philosophy, that of Hegel, that of Schleiermacher, and that of Schopenhauer. They are historically co-ordinated and cotemporaneous. The old formula of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, which even by Kuno Fischer was only awkwardly broken up by a somewhat incongruous Introduction of Schopenhauer, must, so far as the deeper History of Thought is concerned, be abandoned.

According to Hegel, the essence of the Absolute as Spirit was not revealed only by intellectual or artistic intuition; it was to be reached by a process of severe thought. And this process was at the same time conceived not to be merely a logical scaffolding by which the human mind rises to an eminence from which it comprehends the truly Real, the Spirit of things; the process was considered at the same time to exhibit the different stages in and through which the Spirit itself unfolds its reality in the regions of nature and mind, of history, art, and religion. It was accordingly not only a process of thought; it was also a process of actual development. In this way, what were in earlier systems considered to be merely logical forms and categories were elevated in Hegel's doctrine to be the successive stages of the development or evolution of the ultimate Reality or Spiritual ground of things. Logic, with Hegel, meant not merely the laws and forms of thought; it meant the development of the Logos, the living and moving

27. Logical process identified with world-process.

principle of the world. In describing the categories of thought, Hegel thus meant to describe also the forms and stages of the world-process. The detailed account of this, which was significantly called the dialectical process, must necessarily follow the order of the abstract notions with which the human mind operates and in which it is, as it were, forced to move onward from one idea to another. The Logic or the evolution of the Logos exhibits therefore at the same time the deeper meaning of the formal categories of the ordinary logic, and brings into a scheme, intelligible to the human mind, the life and movement of the underlying spirit and essence of things. The different philosophies which preceded Hegel had already suggested the formula or rhythm which seems to govern the various stages of human thought. Thus Kant had already pointed out how affirmation and negation become united in limitation; how the notion of unity and its opposite, the notion of plurality, are united in the notion of the all. Fichte had employed the rhythm of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis; Schelling had conceived the idea of an identity which splits up into opposites and comes together again in the position of indifference. Following these suggestions and partial applications of what he considered the general process of thinking and being, Hegel conceived that every content, be it the highest idea or only a lower stage of its manifestation, finds its first definition by its contrary or opposite, by something which it is not, and from which it is differentiated; that a second and fuller definition consists in finding what is common to the two opposites,

and that in the discovery of this common ground consists the progress to a higher conception, which again requires to be subjected to the same process of contrasting and harmonising, of going out of and resuming itself in a higher unity. The peculiarity with Hegel is that this process is not only a process of human thought, but is emblematical, a conceivable image, of the development of the highest content itself. This, at the time, novel and fascinating general conception was applied in many particular instances; the general process being illustrated by an extraordinary wealth of examples drawn from all the existing regions of knowledge. Foremost stood history and, in the large region of history, principally that of society, art, religion, and philosophy. In fact, it may be said that many of the modern branches of the history of culture, civilisation, and the higher manifestations of the human mind were for the first time systematically treated and co-ordinated to a living whole in the writings and lectures of Hegel.

28. Reason of Hegel's success.

The extraordinary impression which Hegel's philosophy made in an age when the mind of the nation was in a state of ferment, but when it also put forward its greatest creative efforts, is not difficult to understand. For this philosophy came forward in many ways as a realisation of the ideals of that period. It understood the greatness of Goethe and Schiller and the aims of the Romantic movement, without following the latter into the dreams and vagaries of the purely imaginary. It had at the same time a full appreciation of the strictness of scientific method and of the critical spirit which was then slowly but surely making itself felt in many de-

partments of knowledge. It further participated in, and to a large extent directed, the historical interest, being nursed and brought up in the same school, that of classical literature and learning, in which so many of the leading minds of the nation have been trained. And lastly, it took as the highest subject of philosophic thought the religious problem, the attempt to put something better in the place of the narrow orthodoxy or the prosaic rationalism of the eighteenth century. All this was to be done by ascending to, and getting hold of, the living spirit that pervaded everything; by rising beyond mere forms and categories, but through them, to the truly Real which manifests itself in all actual facts and processes in nature, mind, and history, giving to them their deeper meaning and value. This philosophy must have appeared to its disciples to be the very Rationale, the abstract exposition, of the various aims and endeavours which then formed the programme of many an eminent academic teacher. Notably in two directions and on two independent fields of research, the thought of the age had at that time put forward definite problems. Foremost stood the task which F. A. Wolf had defined as that of the new science of Philology: the reconstruction of classical antiquity, the task of finding again, through patient study of the remains of Greek art and literature, the spirit that lived in that greatest era of bygone human culture. The other and independent movement I refer to was the birth of modern German theology,[1]

[1] It is well to remember that nearly all the leading thinkers of that age in Germany, beginning with Lessing, onward through Kant, Herder, Fichte, Schleiermacher to Schelling and Hegel, came originally through theology to philosophy, and that they all preserved a genuine theological interest. Others of equal or, in one instance, of even greater eminence, such as Goethe, Schiller, Fr. Schlegel, though without theological bias, had a genuinely religious interest. And this formed one of the important connecting links between what we may term the spiritual and the profane or secular literature of the whole classical period. The entire circle of their interests, the whole body of thought which they put forward, was antagonistic only to two extremes: narrow clericalism on the one side and soulless materialism on the other. An idea or an ideal common to them all was the unity of the Divine and the human. And to this Goethe added and Schelling adapted the idea of the immanence of the Divine in nature. It was only for a moment that Fichte, under the influence of Spinoza, seemed to be contented with representing the Divine as the moral order of the Universe; he soon adopted again a more spiritual view. And at a very early stage both Schelling and Hegel identified the Absolute with the Divine principle, using interchangeably the terms Mind, Absolute, and God. This reintroduction of the words and terms used in specifically religious writings into philosophical and scientific discussions—a habit, if we may say so, not indulged in by Kant—gave again to the philosophies of Schelling and Hegel from the beginning and likewise to the later philosophy of Fichte, not only a poetical but distinctly also a spiritual character, and this in addition to the intellectual and ethical tone peculiar to Kant. But it was in reality more than a mere habit of thought—it was the central conviction that the truly Real, the ultimate Reality, is what religion terms God, a living and active Spirit and, as such, a Personality. Whether the latter conviction can be logically defended (if not also demonstrated) is a problem which occupied a later and more critical generation and has produced an enormous literature. The perusal, however, of the philosophical literature of that age does not, as it seems to me, permit any doubt that a conviction that the truly Real is a Spirit essentially identical with the God of religion underlies the thought and the writings of the foremost thinkers of that age, and that thinking readers and listeners expected from its great leaders in thought a demonstration of this truth; that this formed one of the main attractions which their speculations possessed and that, at a later period, the interest in them declined in the same degree as a general impression gained ground that this expectation was not—or could not be—fulfilled. And when, in the year 1865, J. H. Stirling initiated that serious study of Hegel's Philosophy before which Ferrier recoiled, but which has been continued in this country ever since, it was one of the main points which he urged that this philosophy was destined to stem the tide of materialism and scepticism and strengthen the spiritual or religious view of things which was threatened in this country. A similar interest seems also to have drawn T. H. Green to a study of Hegel, though his foundations lay

or rather the regeneration of the conventional theological and religious teaching through a critical study of the Scriptures on the one side, and a philosophical fathoming of the deeper meaning—*i.e.*, of the spirit of the sacred

records and of the Revelation which they contained—on the other.

What was demanded in these two great scientific tasks and stood out in tolerable clearness and definiteness, thus becoming a fit subject for academic teaching and study, existed, though less clearly and definitely, in many other branches of literature and learning. What was common to all these movements and endeavours and enlivened the lectures of many prominent academic teachers from that time onward, was the attempt to penetrate beneath forms and facts which had become dead through age, routine, and convention, to the moving spirit which had once vivified them. This was to be done by hard work and severe method, not only in the form of a poetical fancy. That this could be done was the common faith of all the great founders and leaders of German *Wissenschaft*, notably in the historical and philosophical sciences. Of this common faith the philosophy of Hegel appeared as the methodical and abstract enunciation: a statement which would serve as introduction to all critical, historical, and philosophical studies, but also as their consummation. As such it was announced by Hegel himself and accepted by a whole generation of eager and thoughtful listeners.

The further elaboration of the scheme put forward by

in a different quarter. Nor is there wanting in this age and in this country a parallel to the disillusionment which was widespread in Germany two generations ago. This is, *e.g.*, expressed in the 19th chapter of Mr A. W. Benn's 'History of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century' (2 vols., 1906); in reference to which it may be remarked that this author takes no note of Lotze and of his influence on English thought, nor of the altered position which he occupies with regard to the relation of science and religion.

Hegel in his first great work occupied him up to the end of his life. During his enforced retirement from the academic career (1806 to 1816), he wrote and published 'The Science of Logic.' In 1816 he again took up this career at Heidelberg, and published there in 1817 his 'Encyclopædia of the Philosophical Sciences.' In 1818 he migrated to Berlin, where, for thirteen years, he expounded his system in various courses of lectures which treated not only of the abstract principles of his philosophy but also of their application to legal and social problems and to those of æsthetics, history, and religion. One of the most inspiring of these courses of lectures was that on 'The History of Philosophy,' which he was the first to treat as the manifestation of the hidden but inevitable movement of human thought, the condensed epitome of the growth and development of human ideas, philosophy being throughout conceived as the highest form of intellectual life, destined to embrace and exhibit the essence and latent truth contained in all the other higher regions of culture. What he there attempted to do with a few bold strokes has ever since his time been the theme taken up with more or less success by historians of Thought. Knowingly or unknowingly, they have been influenced by his ideas, even though the principle of progress has been variously sought in other than the purely intellectual forces which Hegel saw at work in the advancement of the human mind.

It was, however, inevitable that the problem which Hegel had set before himself, and which he had the ability, energy, and courage to attack, transcended even his powers and his erudition; that the whole

scheme was much more in the nature of a postulate, of a great task which he set before the age and the nation,—a programme which had to be worked out by many labourers, by the co-operation of many minds, and after generations of research. It is, however, quite as certain that this programme, which covers really, up to quite recent times, the best work of many minds,—not only in Germany, but also in other countries,—would not have become intelligible if Hegel himself had not made an attempt to carry it out; the philosophical spirit, which culminated in him, would—without his efforts, his successes and his failures—not have got such a firm hold of the thought of the nineteenth century, that all attempts to supersede it—as, for instance, by the exact or the critical spirit—have proved vain. Hegel did not create this philosophical spirit, he only represented it in its most abstract form; but he proclaimed, formulated, and introduced it into many regions which it has since enlivened. Nor can he justly be blamed for having clothed it in terms which were too abstract, or encased it in formulæ which were too rigid. As Francis Bacon was held up in the seventeenth century as the herald of a new movement of thought in spite of the errors which abound in his enunciation of its methods, so Hegel deserves to be looked upon as the greatest representative of philosophical thought in the nineteenth century; who has done more — and this more effectually — for modern philosophical thought than the great Chancellor did for scientific thought. Those who first see the general importance and far-reaching power of a new movement

29. Compared with Bacon.

in thought or life, are rarely those who carry it on in the most judicious manner or give the best examples and proofs of its application. Their boldness and enthusiasm leads them into error, but they nevertheless conquer in the end. We have in another sphere and more recent times a telling example in Ernest Haeckel's labours in the theory of descent. Who could deny that his "Generelle Morphologie" gave currency to Darwinian ideas and created Darwinism on the Continent, if not also in this country? but who would look upon this work as anything but a suggestive, yet premature, *mise en scène* of those ideas?

II.

When trying to define the position which Schelling occupies in the idealistic movement of thought, I observed that this is, *inter alia*, characterised by the fact that he put the problem of reality at the centre of his speculation. The same may be said of Hegel. With him this problem gained even greater importance than it had with his predecessors, through the fact that he gave a distinct, and, to his age, intelligible answer to the question, What is the truly Real? and that he combined with the solution of the problem of Reality that of the problem of Knowledge, which was the central problem in the Kantian philosophy. The answer to the first question was, the Real is Spirit; the answer to the second question is, Knowledge, in the highest sense, is the self-realisation of the Real or the Spirit. I must

repeat again that these answers, which may nowadays appear to us vague and unscientific, were not so for an age which thought itself in possession of a new inspiration, which had brought forth great creations in many regions of thought, art, and life, which was in fact conscious of having got hold of the underlying ground and essence of the truly Real in a fresh and original manner. In countries and times where this inspiration has disappeared, the understanding of Hegel's answers has disappeared likewise. That the problem of Reality acquired this foremost position in Hegel's speculation, may be seen in innumerable utterances of his—in none more emphatically than in his well-known saying: "What is rational is real," and "What is real is rational." This statement has been variously interpreted. It has been explained to mean that in all reality we must look for a deeper sense and meaning, and that this meaning is intelligible. It has been criticised as implying that everything that exists is justifiable, and as denying the existence of things or relations which are to us not only unintelligible but also irrational — such as evil and sin. It is not necessary at the moment to discuss what position the Hegelian philosophy took up to these gravest problems of human life; it is sufficient to indicate that this, like many other of Hegel's oracular sayings through which his philosophy has become popular and proverbial, can only be understood if we give to the word Reality a double meaning—the twofold meaning, in fact, which I have all through this chapter tried to impress upon the minds of my readers, and

30. Meaning of the identification of the Rational and the Real.

which has come down to modern thought from the great thinkers of antiquity, notably from Plato. We must distinguish between the truly Real and that which is only apparently so, between that which possesses and deserves to possess full reality and that which has only a semblance of reality or exists only by and for something else, which shines only with a reflected light. Further, we may note that Hegel, in a similar manner, in speaking of that which is rational and intelligible, distinguished, as Kant did before him, between a higher and a lower stage of intelligence. He distinguished between understanding and reason. And one of the great points which he continually urges is this—that it is the object of the highest science, *i.e.*, of philosophy, to rise from a mere understanding to a conception of the reason of things. This is identical with saying that we must rise from a merely apparent and mechanical knowledge to an insight into the meaning and value of reality.

Before we proceed to see how in recent philosophical thought this idea of the twofold or manifold meaning of the word Real has more and more asserted itself, it is of importance to note how other contemporary speculations co-operated—though sometimes quite independently—in creating an opposition to what we may call the monistic tendency of the idealistic school of thought. The latter tendency began with Reinhold and Fichte, with whom the aim prevailed to find in consciousness the point of unity, to overcome the dualism of the theoretical and practical reason which had been established by Kant; it went on to Schelling, who took a greater interest in the problem of Reality than in the

31. Opposition to the monistic tendency.

problem of Knowledge, trying to establish the underlying identity of mind and nature; and it finally culminated in Hegel, whose speculation is not only based on the conception of the uniting principle in all knowledge and the unity in all that is real, but who also reverted to the antique conception of the unity of knowing and being. This dogmatic assertion of the monistic view was opposed by two quite independent thinkers — by Herbart[1] on the one side, and by

[1] Herbart (1776-1841) is a unique and isolated figure in modern philosophy. But though he had a considerable influence in various, only slightly connected, directions of thought, it cannot be said that he has left a permanent mark on philosophical thought as a whole or outside of his own country. The great revolution which has come over philosophical thought through Kant is only partially represented in Herbart's writings; and though he called himself a Kantian, it has been correctly pointed out that he really stands nearer to the philosophy of Wolff, to some of Leibniz's ideas, and to others peculiar to ancient Greek philosophy. Nothing strikes one more in Herbart's writings than the want of reconciliation of different lines of thought which he takes up and follows out independently; and this is so much the more remarkable, as his fundamental methodical precept was that philosophy consists in removing contradictions met with in the philosophy of common-sense and in the sciences. Not only is his conception of reality pluralistic, but his manner of thought is unsystematic. In religious matters he was conservative, not to say orthodox; but there is no attempt to give a philosophical interpretation to religious doctrines, as was the aim of the idealistic systems, or to deal with religious belief as a psychological phenomenon, as was done in an original manner by Schleiermacher; nor does he, lastly, deal with the great problem of Evil, Sin, and Redemption, as was done by Schopenhauer. The truly Real and the doctrine of degrees of Reality are not to be met with, and his metaphysics present, in consequence, no religious or ethical interest. Although one heard at one time a good deal about the Herbartian school, this seems to have died out after having, through some of its representatives, produced important works in special limited regions of research; in one direction, that of anthropology, even pioneer work. Some of his disciples have cultivated such branches of philosophy as were only sketched by Herbart himself—such as Æsthetics, Ethics, and Philosophy of Religion. In those chapters of this History in which I shall deal with special philosophical problems, we shall meet with Herbartian ideas, as we have already done in the chapter on the "Psychological Problem"; and notably we shall find in Lotze's philosophy marks of Herbartian influence which led some early critics of Lotze to place him erroneously in the Herbartian school.

Schopenhauer on the other. These thinkers both start from that outstanding problem of Kant's philosophy—the conception of the "Thing in itself" or "Things in themselves." Herbart agrees with Kant that no direct answer can be given to the question, What is the Thing in itself? Though he thus introduces or retains what we nowadays should call the agnostic position regarding the ultimate nature of Reality, and agrees with Kant that we only know appearance, he at once adds the significant remark, characteristic of his whole philosophy, that appearances, though not Reality, are indications of Reality. He maintains that we can make use of these indications to arrive at a consistent conception of the Real — the object of philosophy being, through a remodelling of our empirical notions, to introduce into them agreement in the place of seeming contradictions. The first result of this process of remodelling is the necessity of acknowledging the existence of many things in the place of only one substance; whereupon we may remark that Kant himself never thoroughly explained the relation of the "Thing in itself" to "Things in themselves," and the precise usage of the two terms. Thus Herbart opposes to the monistic view which the idealistic systems had inherited from Spinoza's Substance the pluralistic view inherited from Leibniz's Monads. In doing this he approaches, as Leibniz did before him, the atomistic view. At that time this view prevailed and was being greatly developed in the natural sciences. By adopting it Herbart prepared the way for a mechanical construction of phenomena which he, as already stated, subsequently introduced also into psychology. In

32. Herbart.

addition to this pluralism in his solution of the problem of Reality,[1] Herbart draws a sharp distinction between theoretical and practical philosophy. Our ideas regarding the ultimate nature of Reality have nothing whatever to do with the principles of our conduct. The latter must be sought quite independently in ultimate judgments of Æsthetical and Ethical approval and disapproval, and of the corresponding value or worth which we attach to things or actions.

33. Schopenhauer.

With Herbart, Schopenhauer is in agreement on one point.[2] He looks the question of the ultimate nature

[1] We may say that the solution of the problem of Reality remains with Herbart on a lower level. The common-sense view of Reality and the notions developed by science lead him to conceive of the phenomenal world as consisting of a finite multitude of independent entities which he terms "Reals," of which we know nothing but their existence or that they are "posited." The manner in which, out of this plurality of independent Reals, an orderly scheme or system results, is nowhere clearly explained by Herbart. He indeed maintains that relations exist between this multitude of Reals, but "it is really very difficult to say what we are to understand by the hazy conception of a relation which is quite indifferent to its related entities. And it is equally difficult to combine with this the other conception that there exists a certain kind of relation in which two entities are no longer quite indifferent to each other, but where the difference of their qualities acquires such an importance that what we usually term interaction takes place. This relation, which is the condition of a causal connection between the Reals, Herbart terms 'their Together': to begin with only in an abstract sense; further on, however, without any clear reason, as a 'Together' in Space" (Lotze, in 'Geschichte der Neueren Philosophie,' Lecture Syllabus, 1882, p. 91). Further on we learn "that what happens consists in a change of relations between the Reals, and what is really new takes place only in the consciousness of an observer to whom those Reals present different phenomena accordingly as they are variously connected, like the trees in a wood which to the approaching eye separate but at a distance merge into one mass, whereas they themselves experience no change whatever" (Ibid., p. 92; also Herbart's 'Works').

[2] There was another and a personal trait common to Herbart and Schopenhauer, though they in other respects represent a peculiar contrast in thought and personality. Neither of them had any theological interest. They are the first two eminent thinkers of modern times who did not come to philosophy from the side of theology. But whereas Schopenhauer had a deep sympathy with the mystical side of religion, this was quite foreign to Herbart. With the latter the central interest was the ethical, and through this he had a genuine understanding for Kant and Fichte, especially for Fichte's personality, though he soon developed a marked aversion to the constructive attempts of the earlier, and the mysticism of the later, form of Fichte's speculation.

of Reality full in the face. He does not shirk the task of finding an answer to the outstanding problem of Kant's philosophy: What is the "Thing in itself"?[1]

Ignoring the complicated nature of the problem—which results from the fact that in discussing the question of the difference of the subjective and the objective side of reality, each individual mind mixes up what is its own inner experience with what it knows by considering itself, as it were, as one of the many persons which exist around it—Schopenhauer treats the problem of the Thing in itself in its most abstract form. Starting from the statement that our own self is certainly a reality, he maintains that we must be able to find within ourselves the essence of reality, the nature

[1] Schopenhauer in philosophy, like Goethe in literature and life, seems through external circumstances to have been at liberty to choose his career without what are usually termed pressing worldly considerations. He was thus, of all the thinkers of that period, the only one who came to philosophy with no other interest. This is shown in an interesting anecdote of an interview which took place, about the year 1811, between him and the aged poet Wieland. When Wieland tried to dissuade Schopenhauer from following the philosophical career, the student of twenty-three replied to him: "Life is an awkward affair: I have resolved to pass my life in thinking about it." This answer impressed the aged poet so much that he recognised in him the born philosopher. When, shortly after, he met Schopenhauer's mother at Court, he addressed her as follows: "I have lately made a highly interesting acquaintance! Do you know with whom? with your son. I was delighted to see this young man; something great will some day become of him" (see Kuno Fischer, 'Arthur Schopenhauer,' 1893, p. 29). Schopenhauer was in other respects the very opposite of Herbart, who was driven to philosophy through an early interest in education and the desire to be a teacher, a vocation which Schopenhauer only tried for a short time when his pecuniary independence seemed threatened, and which he very soon abandoned in order to devote himself exclusively to the working out of his System.

of the Real, the core and kernel of existence. He there finds in addition to our external sensations, perceptions and impressions, the fact of the Will: this manifests itself in striving and feeling, in pleasure, pain, and desire. The whole of these manifestations of the Will he opposes to the region of the intellect and, by analogy, explains the reality of the not-self, *i.e.*, of things around us, as consisting in a similar activity, which, in the form of resistance, they oppose to our own reality, *i.e.*, to our Will. Schopenhauer maintains that this is the last and only step which can be taken beyond Kant's agnostic position. In the place of the unknown and unknowable x of Kant's philosophy, he boldly places the Will, which we know by inner or immediate experience, *i.e.*, intuitively, and a large part of his writings is occupied with showing how something analogous to the Will, *i.e.*, to the active principle within us, is to be found everywhere, and how the whole world consists of the two principles of the Will and the Intellect, the active and the receptive sides of Reality. To this purely metaphysical conception he gives further significance and interest by attaching to it an ethical interpretation. This will occupy us in a subsequent chapter. It does not form a necessary conclusion from the metaphysical position, but it differentiates Schopenhauer's philosophy from the main idealistic movement; to the optimism of which it opposes an equally decided pessimism. Through this it became, after having been ignored for more than a generation, the favourite philosophy of all those who turned away in disappointment when they found that Hegelianism did not fulfil the hopes it had created, and

who had lost or never taken part in the inspiration which characterised the age that gave birth and substance to the whole idealistic movement. Outside of this ethical interpretation, which forms by far the most popular — though not the most important — side of Schopenhauer's teaching, the points of contact which unite his treatment of the problem of reality with that contained in the writings of Fichte are numerous and striking.[1] For Fichte had already emphasised the active

[1] These relations are well brought out by Herbart himself in the only really important Review, so far as I know, of Schopenhauer's great work which appeared at the time of its publication, 1819. In quite recent times, notably through the influence of Windelband, the philosophies of Herbart and Schopenhauer have been placed in contrast and appreciated in this position. This is very suggestively done in the two brilliant chapters written on these philosophers in the 2nd vol. of 'Grosse Denker' (ed. E. von Aster, p. 269, &c.), by Prof. Rud. Lehmann. Herbart's 'Review,' however, is so exhaustive, and brings out so clearly the fundamental difference of his and Schopenhauer's points of view, that it should be read by every student interested in the subject. The Reviewer recommends Schopenhauer's work as a fine literary production, well worth reading, and as a stimulating reflection and criticism, though he fundamentally disagrees with the principles as well as the result of his doctrine. With great knowledge he shows how nearly Schopenhauer agrees with some of Fichte's earliest enunciations. He remarks that Fichte's doctrine might quite as suitably be entitled: 'Die Welt als Vorstellung und Wille,' so much so that "the Reviewer believed, at first, that he had to do with a Fichtian, and was much surprised when, in reading further, he came upon the hardest judgment of Fichte which has probably ever been put in writing." He blames the author further for apparently not having read Fichte's 'Sittenlehre,' and goes on to say: "In truth the *Wissenschaftslehre* is no more than an ingenious exercise which should have remained unprinted because it frightens away the reader from the more mature works of Fichte. Nevertheless Fichte may be illustrated through Schopenhauer. The same metamorphosis of Kantian doctrine which occurred twenty years earlier in Fichte's mind has . . . repeated itself in Schopenhauer; and may, after another twenty years, occur for a third time; but a better result will never proceed from it than hitherto. Invariably the theoretical side of Kantian doctrine will develop itself more completely into idealism; ever also the last foundation of a true realism will be wanting,—and then the gap will be filled by the Will which the 'Critique of Practical Reason,' if not in so many words, had already stamped as the 'Thing in itself': ever also a mystical yearning for the One which is considered to be the Real will be the last sentiment

principle as the kernel and source of reality; and the further attempt of Schopenhauer to show how this principle manifests itself in nature, rising from blind impulses and instincts through many stages to the height of conscious life, reminds us in altered terms of Schelling's expositions in his 'Philosophy of Nature'; also the ideas of the two thinkers on the function of art have much in common.

Schopenhauer's writings remained without influence on the main currents of thought till after the middle of the century. In the meantime a great change was taking place in philosophical thought in Germany, a change which brought it nearer to the currents in which philosophical thought was moving in the neighbouring countries, notably in England and France. We may define the purport of this movement by saying that the tendency of thought was in the direction of positivism.

whereinto such a philosophy will resolve itself. But whether Plato, or Spinoza, or the Indians should be admitted? As good friends we shall always have them near us; whether they gain influence over the system depends upon individuality. A thinker so accurate, so valiant and independent as Fichte was, at least in his earlier years, does not permit them to come along. They have too many foreign features; they do not agree amongst each other. But the majority does not take matters so minutely; every plausible testimony is welcome; the oldest and the remotest witnesses count as the most valid; how could one despise Plato and the Indians?" (See Herbart's 'Sämmtliche Werke,' ed. Hartenstein, vol. xii. p. 369 *sqq.*) Further on Herbart objects to what Schopenhauer has in common with Kant—viz., "the secret effect of practical needs which show themselves in every system in which the practical and the theoretical are not most carefully and distinctly separated as completely independent, and to be kept from mutual influence" (p. 378), and he repeats (p. 379) "what no doubt will appear very strange to Schopenhauer, that to the Reviewer he seems only to repeat Fichte, though in a new and formally improved edition." The analogies with Fichte are followed up with considerable detail in the sequel (p. 382) of this interesting document, in which many difficulties are referred to which later historians of philosophy have discovered and criticised in the writings of Schopenhauer as well as in those of Herbart.

It is interesting to note that, in the beginning of the second third of the century, the word positive was used by two of the leading thinkers in Europe, probably without knowing of each other's designs and not quite with the same meaning. Schelling in Germany used the word positive as indicating the opposite of negative, by which latter term he characterised that development of idealism which had culminated in Hegel's logical system. Comte in France about the same time introduced the word positive to denote a philosophy which stood in opposition to the whole tendency of idealism.[1] With him positivism meant more nearly what we should call realism. From this point of view he opposes his philosophy to the older metaphysics which he desires to see banished and altogether overcome. For him reality is not a problem but simply a fact, or rather a body of many facts which are connected by certain regularities or laws. All the favourite problems of philosophy of

34. The term "positive."

[1] We owe to Kuno Fischer the bringing together of these two names in the closing paragraph of his great work on Schelling which forms the 7th vol. of his 'History of Modern Philosophy.' But he does not proceed to give us a detailed analysis of the latest phase of Schelling's speculation. This has been done in quite recent times. The expectancy with which Schelling was received, ten years after Hegel's death, in Berlin, and which led to the dramatic incident of his opening address (15th Nov. 1841)—impressive as much through its intense seriousness as through its dignified self-assurance—was soon to be disappointed. This disappointment led to a complete neglect of philosophy under which no great thinker suffered more than Schelling himself. It is again to Prof. Windelband that we are indebted for a renewed interest; and quite recently there has appeared in the 2nd vol. of 'Grosse Denker' mentioned above, a highly original chapter on Schelling by Dr O. Braun, including a personal characterisation of him, which I recommend to my readers, especially to those among them who may have been influenced by the summary way in which Mr A. W. Benn disposes of this great figure in modern philosophy in the closing lines of his Review ('Mind,' N.S., vol. xvii. p. 281) of the new edition of 'Schelling's Selected Works,' published by A. Drews (4 vols., 1907).

which I have been treating so far, the problem of the Soul, the problem of Knowledge, the problem of Reality, do not exist for Comte. He starts with a belief in the certainty and finality of exact or scientific knowledge, and finds the problem of philosophy merely in understanding and accepting the existing methods of this knowledge and in extending the use of them into those regions where they have not been successfully introduced, notably into the historical and social sciences. Thus we shall not expect to find in Comte's writings any valuable contributions to the solution of the central problem of philosophy, though we may find many useful beginnings and suggestions in the direction of the methodical or exact treatment of social or practical questions. When we come to deal with these we shall meet with many of Comte's suggestions and shall have to recognise the importance of his influence.

35. Schelling's positive philosophy.

For the moment it is more interesting to understand what Schelling really meant by his continually repeated demand of a positive philosophy to supplement and complete the then current negative philosophy of the Hegelian school. Schelling had recognised that the purely logical development of thought, even if it were capable of reaching up to the highest reality or descending to the ultimate source and root of all existence, would end in a mere formalism, being at best able only to unfold the necessary stages in which any or every reality must be conceived by us to move and develop, without further affording an insight into the varied nature of all the real things which surround us in space and time, and which exhibit individual life and

freedom. In opposition therefore to Hegel, who regarded the necessary forms of thought and the stages of the logical process as representing also the phases of existence, the life of the Logos, Schelling thought it incumbent upon philosophy to recognise in the existing world an element of freedom or, as it has since been frequently termed, the contingent in contradistinction to the necessary. His later philosophy, which existed however only as a postulate or an unfilled programme, was therefore significantly characterised by him as the philosophy of Freedom. In the actual existing world of things and phenomena he recognised something that might also, so far as we could understand, have been otherwise, and which, though following the necessary and eternal laws of all reality, was only one of the many ways in which the Absolute or ultimate ground of everything realised itself. To this idea Schelling in his later philosophy gave a distinctly religious colouring by conceiving the actual or contingent world as having come into existence by a falling away from the original identity in which it lived in the bosom of the Absolute or Divine Being. This religious turn in his speculation will occupy us on a subsequent occasion. Here it is only necessary to point out how Schelling, though unable to give a satisfactory solution, put his finger upon the difficulty which was inherent in Hegel's scheme, and which became more and more apparent as the manifold examples and applications of this scheme had to submit to rigorous tests and to meet the attacks of criticism.[1]

36. His religious turn.

[1] We may thus say that Schelling's mind, during the last forty years of his life, wrestled with the two great problems which have since been brought out more clearly and on which philosophical thought

The middle of the century thus found the problem of Reality pushed into the foreground from many sides. A multitude of ideas was floating about in the philosophical atmosphere. They were largely remnants of the idealism which pervaded the earlier systems as well as the classical and romantic literature of the first third of the century; they were partly also new suggestions coming from the recently cultivated and prolific fields of the natural and the historical sciences, and they were lastly in no small degree revivals or reminiscences of the

has more and more become concentrated. These two problems are not kept sufficiently separate in Schelling's writings. To have separated them is, *inter alia*, one of the merits of Lotze's philosophy; to have attempted the solution one of the claims of two systems, both of which have had an important influence upon Continental thought. I refer to the philosophy of the Unconscious (v. Hartmann in Germany) and the system termed "Personnalisme" (Renouvier in France). Of both these we shall have to take cognisance in the sequel. For the moment the simple statement of the two problems may suffice. The first problem has not necessarily an ethical or religious meaning. It is most clearly defined by Schelling in the well-known Preface which he wrote in the year 1834 to a translation of the lengthy explanation which Victor Cousin prefixed to the 2nd edition of his 'Fragments Philosophiques' (1833). It contains also the distinct enunciation of Schelling's objection to the development which his and Hegel's common position had found in Hegel's own doctrine. He there explains that if the purely Rational, that which we cannot help thinking, is pure subject, then that other subject which rises through becoming objective to higher subjectivity is no longer the purely rational, but is endowed with an empirical specification. "One who has come later and whom Nature seems to have predestined to give to our age a new Wolffianism, has removed that empirical element, putting in its place the logical notion to which he attributes by a remarkable feat of hypostasis a similarly necessary movement. . . . The logical movement of thought sufficed so long as the system moved within the purely logical; as soon as it has to take the weighty step into reality the thread of dialectical movement breaks; a new hypothesis is necessary so that the idea—we do not know why—may happen to fall asunder into its different moments, so that nature might originate" (Schelling's 'Werke,' vol. x. p. 212). This means, expressed in modern language, that to the necessary must be added the contingent. But, of all that is merely contingent, a matter of accident or of free choice, the most mysterious and inexplicable is the problem of Evil; upon this problem Schelling concentrated his thoughts during the latter half of his lifetime.

philosophies of bygone ages, notably of Plato, Spinoza, and Leibniz. The systematic unity, however, of these ideas had been broken up, they existed as scattered fragments of an edifice which had fallen, but which it was the duty of the philosophical mind to reconstruct on broader and safer foundations and with more careful workmanship. On this task the philosophical mind has spent its labours ever since, not only in Germany but also in the neighbouring countries. In consequence of this the character of modern philosophy has become to a large extent critical and eclectic. In many instances it has not gone beyond the limits of a critical and historical survey of the valuable materials handed down by former ages and prepared by the original efforts of ancient and modern thinkers. But we must not forget that criticism can lead to no valuable and positive result unless the point from which it is undertaken is clearly defined, and that history cannot be written except in the light of definite ideas and convictions which are implied if not expressly stated.

37. New eclectic spirit.

The philosopher who during the third quarter of the nineteenth century approached the philosophical problem in the critical and eclectic spirit just indicated, but who, at the same time, possessed more than any other the firm individual position and the central conviction which was to irradiate all his writings, was Hermann Lotze. In him we find united almost all the best characteristics of recent thought, with perhaps one exception, and it is probably just this one defect in his philosophical attitude which has been the cause that his works did not, for a long time, receive that attention which they deserve and

38. Lotze.

which is only now beginning to be bestowed upon them. We find in Lotze a full appreciation of the critical and the scientific movements of thought, of the great aims, if not also of the specific formulæ, of the idealistic systems, and we find an equally genuine understanding of the methods of exact research, which he in fact handled himself with conspicuous success. In addition to all this his mind had a distinctly poetical and artistic side, which shows itself nowhere more than in the elegance and refinement of his style.

Through Kant and Hegel, as also through some of the purely systematic writings of Fichte, philosophical style in Germany has, not undeservedly, acquired the reputation of obscurity. Some of Schelling's writings, as well as those of Jacobi, are characterised on the other side by much simplicity and literary grace, and those of Herbart by directness and clarity. But Schopenhauer was the first great thinker of modern Germany who raised philosophical style to the level of excellence which literary style had attained through Lessing and Goethe. Lotze's style is not marked by the same directness and lucidity. Though his sentences are not as heavy as those of Kant nor as enigmatical as many of Hegel's, there is in them a certain round-aboutness and laboured structure which makes the prolonged study of his works exacting and sometimes fatiguing. In his reviews, criticisms, and polemical writings[1] he is as dignified as Kant and Herbart

[1] Unfortunately one of the most instructive writings of Lotze, the 'Streitschriften' (1857), has not been reprinted in the collection of his smaller works. It is directed against Fichte the younger, and is a model of decorous and dignified polemic, containing, moreover, Lotze's first attempt to fix his own philosophical position with reference to the idealism of Schelling and Hegel on the one side and to Herbart on the other, notifying especially his indebtedness and allegiance to Weisse.

had been; he is never impolite as Fichte and Schelling frequently were; nor does he fasten upon his opponents any stigma as Hegel frequently succeeded in doing;[1] he is quite above that virulent and unmannerly invective by which Schopenhauer tries to crush, but actually never damages, the arguments of thinkers whom he chooses to regard as enemies. But the style of Lotze reflects one characteristic trait of modern thought. The confidence and self-assurance of Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schopenhauer, and of the earlier Schelling have disappeared. It is the style of a period of transition and uncertainty; much of the light which the preceding age thought it possessed has vanished and the new light has not yet dawned.[2]

[1] The ill-disguised contempt with which Hegel treats contemporary thinkers of eminence, such as Jacobi, Fichte, and Schleiermacher, in his contributions to the 'Critical Journal,' is less objectionable, though probably more effective, than the unpardonable rudeness with which Schelling treated some of his opponents and even friends, such as Jacobi, Eschenmayer, and Windischmann (see 'Aus Schelling's Leben').

But lasting harm was done to the cause of philosophy by the antagonism which existed between Schleiermacher and Hegel. The frequently quoted criticism in which Hegel, in mature years (1822), attacked Schleiermacher's conception of religion, as arising out of a feeling of absolute dependence which would put it on the level of "the feelings of a dog," was never forgiven by Schleiermacher. It appears that he prevented Hegel's election as a member of the Berlin Academy, and, on the other side, Hegel threatened to leave Berlin if the proposition to secure Schleiermacher's co-operation in an intended philosophical Review was persisted in: the result being that this Review ('Jahrbücher für Wissenschaftliche Kritik,' 1827) did not include, in the list of its celebrated patrons, the important name of Schleiermacher, and was subsequently regarded as an exclusive organ of the Hegelian party (see Kuno Fischer, 'Hegel, &c.,' vol. i. p. 180).

[2] With Lotze as with all of the best of recent thought the labour and search seem to be much greater than the achievement; the criticism quite out of proportion to the result. The latter consists frequently merely in indications, in suggestions, or in conclusions which are intentionally termed subjective; in fact, Lotze seems to draw a sharp line between knowledge and conviction, and we are reminded of a dictum of David Hume that arguments may be logically unanswerable and yet carry no conviction. In this there is involved a psychological problem which no line of thought has done more to force upon the present age than that initiated by Lotze.

39. Defect in historical sense.

But to characterise Lotze fully, we must take into consideration the above-mentioned defect in his philosophical attitude, through which he, to a large extent, placed himself out of the current of philosophical thought as it existed during the last third of the century. The latter was dominated by the idea of Evolution, which in many instances was narrowed down by the watchwords of Darwinism and the categories of the theory of Descent. For this narrowing down of the larger idea of development as it had enlivened the writings of Leibniz, Herder, and Schelling, within the limits of a purely mechanical and automatic succession, which is termed evolution, Lotze had no more appreciation than he had for the logical triads of the Hegelian philosophy. This in itself is not a defect of his philosophical temperament; it becomes such only to the extent that it implies an absence of the genuine historical sense. The latter, as I have had repeated occasion to remark, has grown enormously during the nineteenth century, with the result that the in itself meritorious exposition of the successive phases and stages of thought and art, of religion and life, has largely taken the place of a genuine interest in these things themselves, culminating in the marked tendency of many modern philosophical writers to see in a continual unfolding process the essence of existence, the definition of all ultimate Reality. Those who are satisfied with this revival of an idea represented in antiquity by Heraclitus and the Sophists, will have little understanding for the ever-repeated assurance with which Lotze urges that the truly Real is a definite something, a substance, not merely a shifting unreality, an existence

which carries in itself the ground of its being, and is worthy to exist for its own sake, being not a mere relation but a value in itself.

This conception leads us at once into the centre of Lotze's philosophy. In his earliest philosophical publication, the 'Metaphysik' of the year 1841, he introduces us at once to the great theme of which his later writings treat in endless variations and illustrations: the idea that the truly Real is that which has supreme worth, and that the whole scheme of existence possesses reality only to the extent and in the degree that it is a realisation of this supremely valuable content. From the following passage of this early work the reader will at once get a large glimpse of the region of ideas in which Lotze's philosophy is moving. "This valuable and only truly Real cannot be grasped through any finite form of thought; only the terms: the Eternal, the One, the Infinite are suggestive and fluctuating enough to give it for a moment definiteness and objectivity. Out of this it always again retires, through the loss of a definite meaning, into the Void, the Immeasurable and Ineffable. That supremely rich content is therefore only what the mind *means* by it; it possesses no fixity of thought by which it exists outside of this meaning and by which it could be severed from the silent consciousness of an individual soul or by which it could be imparted to others. Wherever this is to take place, appeal must be made to the feelings, that they may create by a similar mood a similar content. As therefore meaning and opinion change, so also the essence of that inner world will seem to change, which is nevertheless supposed to

40. Doctrine of Values.

be the imperishable and unchangeable substance of all that appears. Wanting in every special determination which could protect it from the many-coloured interpretations of the changing moods of the human mind, what we mean by the real world is a product of these variable moods, just as variable quantities determine each other in nature: whilst in sublime and beautiful moments it appears surrounded by all the splendour of the most actual reality, it vanishes in moments of satiety and reaction into absolute void and nothingness. It is the fate of all such inspired vision to possess that which seems to be an immensely rich and glorious content ever only in fleeting transition to nothingness; the beautiful world of the one moment does not continue into the next; it is given only to a few beautiful souls to retain, through the troubles of life, the old possession as a reflection, it may be, but nevertheless as an enduring mental undertone."[1]

According to Lotze the truly Real is thus, as it were, a silent possession of the human mind, which reveals itself only in favoured moments and favoured individuals.

[1] Lotze, 'Metaphysik' (1841), p. 6 *sqq*. Lotze then goes on to state that although we have primarily to do with what is given to us, as it were, only in reflected light, this reflection is not meant to be merely that of a casual and evanescent mood but *should be* the reflection of the truly Real, and that to prove it such forms the inducement to speculate, the impulse which produces philosophical thought. "That infinite content must, if it is to be valid, present itself to the thinking mind in single definite thoughts; only by gaining such objective presentation can it be secured and elevated beyond the uncertainty of sentiment. We cannot abandon the content of that inspiration; . . . and thus it is a duty to protect what we consider to be the Highest from the fluctuations of our own feelings, and to advance from a purely subjective aspect to the serious work of logical reasoning which is the region common to all thinking minds" (p. 8). And thus philosophy is at one with other endeavours which all have the aim to secure the real content of our mental life from being destroyed through the casual nature of individual conditions.

Nevertheless what is seen by them in such moments is deposited in the various products of art and life and in external creations such as the laws of the State, the rules of society, the doctrines of religion, and the rituals of the Church. All these put together form what we call culture: the objective manifestations of the truly Real, in which it finds a changing and fluctuating embodiment. But inasmuch as this great body of thought, art, and life is created by an automatic fusion of an infinite number of casual, momentary, and fragmentary individual experiences, it is not an harmonious whole, but merely an aggregate wanting everywhere in consistency, completeness, and unity. Now it is, according to Lotze, the object of philosophy or of philosophical thought to impart unity and completeness to this existing aggregate of ideas, which are supplied by general culture, by the special sciences, by poetry, art, and the interests of life. But he is careful to add a further caution. Philosophy is a science in the wider sense of the word, but only a science; it appeals only to the intellect, not to the whole soul; it has indeed the task to exhibit to the thinking mind as a definite possession the truth which is contained in existing meanings, opinions, and aspirations, to present to the soul the content of its own self, to interpret the dream by which it is haunted;[1] it is, as it

[1] "The object of philosophy is not to start from an unmediated position, but to convert into a general possession that truth which, in an elemental form as opinion and intuition, is common to all; to show to the soul what is the content of its own self and to enlighten it regarding the dream by which it is haunted. Whilst philosophy, therefore, appeals to the free movement of the thinking mind without forcing upon it a ready-made doctrine, on the other side it appeals *only* to the thinking, not to the whole mind; the result is that possession of the general mind in the fixing of which

were, the knowledge which the objective mind possesses of the essence of things; and yet this knowledge and truth only becomes a reality for the whole soul through the higher activity of faith and practice, through submission to law and order.

41. Ethics the root of Metaphysics.

From this we see that Lotze recedes from the purely intellectual attitude of the Hegelian school. The realisation of the Absolute is not to be found in the intellectual process but in practice. Accordingly the root of Metaphysics lies in Ethics. The essence of Reality, the truly Real, is an ethical ideal, a moral conception. It is the conception of the highest moral worth. All the forms of existence have true reality only to the extent that they contribute to the realisation of this highest moral ideal. Their reality consists in their value for the attainment of this end—*i.e.*, in their intrinsic worth.

Before giving somewhat more explicitly the final expression in which Lotze summarises his answer to the problem of Reality, it is interesting to note how he assimilates the leading ideas contained in the earlier philosophies with which we have become acquainted. With him the problem of Reality, of the truly Real, and of degrees of Reality, becomes again the central problem in philosophy: as such it is introduced on the first pages of his earliest work.[1] From the speculations of

the individual mind has no merit; it is only through the higher activity of faith and conduct, in the submission to custom and right [law], that what has been accepted as truth is confirmed as a reality for the individual mind itself" (p. 10).

[1] It is to be regretted, as has already been pointed out by Erdmann in a well-considered digest of Lotze's doctrine ('Geschichte der Philosophie,' 3rd ed. vol. ii. p. 841 *sqq.*), that Lotze's earliest work, the 'Metaphysik,' has been unduly neglected in favour of his later scientific, popular, and systematic writings. For the history of Thought, it is, together with the above-mentioned 'Streitschriften,' by far the most important of Lotze's writings, and this for two reasons. It shows that in addition to the special interests which led to the publication of his biological and medical treatises, his whole thought stood on the firm ground of an original conviction which, as he himself says, he found in later life no reason to change materially. And further, it shows the distinct transition from the position occupied by Hegel and, especially, the influence of the 'Phenomenology.' Students of Hegel in the present day may rightly see in Lotze's 'Metaphysik' a paraphrase of the Introduction and the earlier sections of Hegel's first great work, as indeed Lotze's later 'Microcosmus' repeats likewise, on a larger scale and with more abundant material, Hegel's attempt to trace the life and workings of the mind in all the labyrinthine and devious paths of its growth and development in the history of the human individual and the human race. What T. H. Green conceived to be the task of philosophy a generation later, that the work of Kant and Hegel had all to be done over again, was exactly what Lotze attempted in a concise manner in his earliest 'Metaphysik' (1841), and 'Logik' (1843), and, more fully, in his 'Microcosmus.' In the interval of more than thirty years which elapsed between his earliest works and his later "system," the interest in Hegel had almost entirely disappeared in Germany, and the references to Hegel's logical and metaphysical deductions, so frequent in the earlier work, have gradually disappeared, as indeed they were then no longer likely to facilitate an understanding of the main objects of speculation or the task of philosophy which Lotze had in view. A recognition, however, of these historical connections seems at the present moment to be particularly opportune, and is certainly of prime importance in a history of Thought. It can only be hinted at in this connection. A republication of Lotze's early 'Metaphysik,' with full references to passages from Hegel's and Herbart's writings, supplemented also by relevant extracts from the 'Streitschriften,' would indeed be a useful performance in the present state of philosophical thought.

Schelling and Hegel, Lotze adopts the conception of the Absolute—*i.e.*, of something expressive of supreme reality, and he conceives with them the existing world of things and processes which surround us to be a realisation of this truly Real. In the emphasis which he lays upon the practical side of life and upon the ethical value of this supreme Reality as the beginning and end of the world-process, he reminds one of the energy with which Fichte developed, in his philosophy, the active principle, the self-restrained freedom of the human Will. But Lotze does not follow Fichte in attempting to deduce

from this active principle the forms of actual existence in the world, but maintains with Herbart that for us there remains an inherent dualism between the forms and things which exist or appear to exist and the rules and precepts of that which ought to exist. He bridges over this dualism by the initial thesis of all his teaching: that we have to comprehend though not to construct the phenomenal world in the light of the idea of that which ought to be: the world of things and forms which are, finds its interpretation in the world of worths or values which *ought* to be, and, *vice versa*, the latter are realised for us only in the former.

We thus see how Lotze continues and brings together lines of thought which found independent and frequently one-sided development in the systems of his predecessors. Though he believes with the idealists in the existence of an Absolute or highest reality, of which the real world is merely a reflection or appearance, he replaces their attempts to construct the phenomenal by the more modest task of merely interpreting it; yet he does not believe, with Herbart, that we can by a mere process of remoulding empirical notions arrive at an adequate conception of the underlying reality. Of the latter we not only require to have, but actually possess, an intuitive, though fleeting and fluctuating, knowledge. It is the object of philosophy to insist on this primary insight or possession, to try to fix it more precisely and, in the light of it, to effect that reconstruction, rearrangement, and completion of our empirical knowledge which Herbart proposed to carry out by a purely logical

analysis. And lastly, we may remark that Lotze's philosophy, like all other important systematic attempts, owes its influence to certain characteristic terms in which it has crystallised its central ideas. By untiringly putting forward the notions of Value and Worth, by opposing to the world of Things the world of Values, he has introduced into recent philosophy a leading thought which has become more and more the central theme of speculation.

But Lotze is not content merely to give an answer to the question, What is the truly Real? This, the metaphysical problem, is indeed to him the central problem of philosophy, the point from which his speculation starts and to which it returns again in the end. The earliest and the latest of his works dealt with Metaphysics—*i.e.*, with the problem of Reality. But having quite early in life risen to a conception of what the truly Real in the world is—to a conception indeed which he saw no reason in after life to forsake—he for a time abandons the highest problem of philosophy in order to study and understand Reality in the world of phenomena which surrounds us. For he had fully imbibed the modern scientific or exact spirit which seeks for knowledge only in the world of many things which we can observe, measure, and calculate. In other words, after having settled in his own mind what the truly Real is—the core and essence of reality—he now descends into the actual manifestations of this highest reality in the world of many things, many forms, and many processes. To some of his contemporaries he then appeared, not as an idealist, as we know him to be, but as a realist, a

42. Detailed interest in phenomena.

Herbartian, nay, even as a materialist.[1] After having answered the question, What is the nature of the *truly* Real or Absolute? he proceeds to answer the further question, What is the nature of the *apparently* Real? His answer to this question is not a monistic one. For Reals are things which exist, events which happen, relations which endure, conceptions and truths which are valid. But relations which endure and events that happen, imply things in and between which they subsist. And if we further try to understand what we mean by the essence of these things, we find that no answer is forthcoming, that the question concerning the Thing in itself has no meaning: the reality of things reduces itself in fact in our minds to a system of relations of things. That is Real which stands in relation to other things, to all things; to exist means to stand in relations. Thus it is this network of relations in space and time—*i.e.*, their geometrical and causal connections, which constitutes the reality of the empirical world. If we further consider that these relations cannot exist as the invisible threads of a network of indefinable entities, we are driven to the conclusion that we must resort to the conception of a universal Order, of one underlying all-comprising Substance, of which the apparently separate things are the states, parts, or modi; and that the apparent action of one thing on another is really only what happens in the interior of this universal substance—*i.e.*, within the sphere of this universal order. Further than this conception of a universal substance, in which Lotze unites the Monadology of Leibniz with the Pantheism of

[1] See above, chap. iii. p. 264.

Spinoza, the purely logical and psychological analysis of what we mean by Reality cannot advance, were it not that we ourselves, in our own consciousness, possess an example how the many is combined into one. Accordingly this phenomenon of our conscious personality solves for us, by analogy, the problem of Reality, and the highest ideal which we can form of a conscious, mental, or personal existence must be, for us, the definition of the essence of the underlying ground of everything—*i.e.*, of the truly Real. Formally, the one supreme Reality appears to us in the form of a universal order or mechanism, the nature of which we have to learn by experience and observation; actually, however, the sense or meaning of this universal order or mechanism is the highest Good or Worth, which we can conceive to exist only as a personality or living Spirit. Of this living spirit, human personalities, the human spirits which are in and around us, are merely a dim reflection; they only partake of Reality, and are not real by and for themselves.

43. At the summit a religious conception.

The speculations of Lotze thus rise to a conception which the higher religions have embraced through the belief in a personal Deity, and to which the Christian religion has given final expression and sanction. For the reality that philosophy tries to grasp through an analysis of our highest intuitions, by trying to understand their meaning as well as the deeper sense of the world which surrounds us (the Macrocosmus) and the world within us (the Microcosmus); for that highest and deepest reality, Religion, the "Metaphysic of the general or popular mind," has already found certain terms and expressions and embodied them in definite articles of faith. To

show that speculation arrives finally at conceptions which harmonise with the essence of these beliefs, although it could not have produced them, is the task of the philosophy of religion. Philosophy thus establishes an understanding between these two regions of mental activity, the region of the intellect on the one side and the region of the emotions and moral impulses on the other. Ever since the time of Leibniz this has been the aim of the idealistic philosophy abroad. Even Kant, in whose writings the critical spirit supervened, acknowledges this to be the aim of his criticism; in Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel the dogmatic spirit asserts itself again with a greater confidence in the constructive powers of the human intellect. In Lotze, as already to some extent in Herbart, philosophy returns again to the more modest task of understanding, interpreting, and harmonising the two large and independent regions of thought—the intellectual and emotional, the mechanical and spiritual view of things, both of which spring from independent but equally real sources in the human mind.

Having arrived at this position, philosophical thought encounters several new problems which had been temporarily overlooked or forgotten during the creative epoch. The differences which again and again manifest themselves in human thought, point to different sources from which human thought takes its beginnings. This is a psychological problem which demands a special investigation as to the grounds of certainty in matters of knowledge and in matters of belief—*i.e.*, regarding things sensuous and intellectual on the one side, and things

spiritual and emotional on the other. This investigation would accordingly divide itself into a theory of knowledge (*Erkenntnisstheorie*) and, as its complement, a theory of belief. Lotze prepared this psychological turn which speculative thought has taken since his time, but he did not follow it up. In distinguishing between the world of forms on the one side and the world of worths on the other, he, as it were, invited the manifold discussions and investigations which sprang up during the last quarter of the century in all the three countries alike. A beginning had been made in Germany long before that time, in both directions, by Kant and by Schleiermacher. To Schleiermacher the essence of religious thought and life was as much a fundamental problem as the essence of scientific thought in the widest sense of the word had been to Kant. For Kant the problem was: How is exact knowledge possible? For Schleiermacher there stood out the parallel problem: How is Religion possible? In the last chapter I dealt with the former problem; in one of the subsequent chapters I shall take up the latter problem, which is now engaging, in many ways and from many sides, the attention of philosophers.

44. Theory of knowledge and belief.

Lotze is the latest thinker abroad who placed the problem of Reality in the centre of his speculations, who arrived for himself at a definite solution of this problem before he took up special philosophical problems. He is also characterised by developing the twofold conception of Reality—that of the truly Real and that of Reality as it appears in and around us. He answers the question: What is the highest Reality as such? and

after having arrived at a satisfactory answer to this question, he puts the further question: How does Reality manifest itself or appear to us in the actual world? By his answer to the first question, he becomes the true follower of Fichte, who developed in a pronounced manner the idea thrown out by Kant in his doctrine of the primacy of the moral Will or the practical Reason. In his answer to the second question, he is, among the metaphysicians of the nineteenth century, the first, and probably the greatest, representative of the scientific spirit, and in his method of solving this question he adopts the formula of Herbart, according to which philosophy consists in a remoulding of our empirically gained conceptions of Reality so as to make them consistent. In addition to this Lotze exercises a growing influence upon recent philosophical thought through many suggestive single ideas which he has thrown out in almost every department of speculation, and not less through enriching philosophical language by many happily chosen terms and expressions. By the latter he has succeeded in fulfilling, to a large extent, that task which he announces in his earliest writings—viz., to give definite expression to ideas and conceptions which exist for us mostly only as fleeting opinions, or in the form of a hidden, but none the less real and important, meaning.

45. The problem of Reality since Lotze.

The contributions to the solution of the problem of Reality which have appeared since the time of Lotze are neither many nor conspicuous for their originality. Their value is mostly to be found in an analysis of the different leading ideas which have, since the seventeenth century, appeared in the successive philosophical systems

on the Continent of Europe. The Universal substance of Spinoza, the Monads and pre-established Harmony of Leibniz, the Categorical Imperative of Kant, the Active Principle of Fichte, the Absolute of Schelling and Hegel, the Will of Schopenhauer, and the World of Worths as distinguished from the World of Forms of Lotze, all these terms have become the embodiment of conceptions towards which the thinkers of to-day have to take up definite individual positions. Alongside of this array of abstract terms, through which philosophical thought has striven to express its conception of the supreme and truly Real, there stands the notion of a personal Deity. Through the whole of the professedly religious speculation of the ages, it is preserved in unaltered words which have the sanction of antiquity and tradition. Much thought has been bestowed upon the relation which exists, or should exist, between the one unaltered religious and the many fluctuating philosophical conceptions. A school of thinkers has arisen, notably abroad, whose main object has been to vindicate the meaning and deeper sense contained in the belief in a personal Deity and a Divine World-order, in the face of the many difficulties which beset every attempt to make it the foundation of a consistent and reasoned philosophical creed.

Among these difficulties two are conspicuous, and have been the subject of much speculation. The first refers to the idea of Personality. It has been maintained that personality implies limitation, and the problem has been, how to reconcile the idea of an infinite and omnipotent Being with that limitation which seems to adhere to our notions of individuality and personality.

46. The idea of Personality.

Lotze has fully dealt with this problem, which seemed to be pushed into the foreground by the Panlogism and seeming Pantheism of the Hegelian philosophy, a defect which was prominently before the mind of Schelling in the later phases of his speculation. A voluminous literature sprang up in Germany about the middle of the century, which was mainly occupied with an analysis of the idea of a Deity and the idea of Personality. The most prominent thinker of the school was Ch. H. Weisse, who exerted an important early influence upon Lotze's ideas. I intend, in a later chapter, to deal specially with this phase of thought, which starts from, and tries to substantiate, the conviction that the Christian version of the doctrine of the Deity and the Divine Order affords the highest solution of the problem of Reality so far as this is accessible to, and demanded by, human reason.

47. The problem of Evil.

The second great difficulty refers to the moral side of Reality. It has been maintained that the existence of Evil and Sin is irreconcilable with the conception of a Divine and moral World - Order. This problem also seemed to many to have been insufficiently treated in the Hegelian philosophy, and it was this which occupied Schelling throughout the last fifty years of his life. Also the systems which stand outside of that continuity which characterises the idealistic movement, notably those of Schleiermacher and Schopenhauer, as well as the whole class of thinkers who came under the influence of the latter, make the problem of Good and Evil the most important part of their speculations. Lotze has fully analysed the different trains of thought which are suggested by this problem. It is, if not the highest,

certainly the most important problem from the point of view of practical human interests. In pronouncing it to be logically and metaphysically insoluble, he has admitted the necessity of seeking for a solution in a different direction, and in doing so he has, more than is generally acknowledged, helped to support views which have sprung up independently from many sides and in many regions of modern thought. But these speculations will be more fittingly dealt with in separate chapters, which will treat of the important labours that have been bestowed during the nineteenth century on the ethical and religious problems.

48. Ethical problems.

It is significant that, in the same degree as the metaphysical problem—the problem of Reality—has been pushed into the background through many influences, ethical problems, which for a long time had been neglected, are increasingly attracting attention abroad. For it has been clearly recognised that if it is possible and expedient, for a time at least, to ignore the question, What is the truly Real? and to content oneself with that Reality which is merely apparent but which lies around us, through space and time, in overwhelming fulness and complexity; it is on the other side not possible, nor expedient, to neglect the solution of the problem of Conduct. We may, and can, for a moment refuse to consider the question: What *is?* but we cannot refuse to answer the question: What *ought* to be? and not infrequently we find that resignation with regard to the first question is accompanied by the greater emphasis which urges the second. The more difficult it is to arrive at a definite religious or metaphysical

creed, the more necessary it seems to be to establish firmly and definitely the principles and postulates of morality—*i.e.*, a moral creed. A great part of modern speculation abroad is, at the end of the century, occupied with this latter, the practical, problem, and has thus arrived at a better understanding of what philosophical thought has been occupied with in this country during the whole of the nineteenth century. For it has always been characteristic of British philosophy that it has given independent and special attention to the ethical problem. This problem was of equal interest to those who took the metaphysical problem, the problem of Reality, to be satisfactorily solved in the ruling religious creed—as was the case throughout the Scottish school of common-sense—and to those who, following Hume, despaired of satisfactorily solving either the problem of Knowledge or the problem of Reality. Generally speaking German philosophy has arrived, towards the end of the nineteenth century, at a doubt regarding the capacity of the human intellect to solve these problems, similar to that expressed, more than a hundred years earlier, by David Hume.

49. Ethical spirit of British philosophy.

English philosophers, in approaching the ethical problems, have after all not been so very far away from the metaphysical problem as is sometimes supposed and represented; for in attempting to define the highest ends and aims of human conduct, they have implicitly approached the question: What is or should be the highest reality for us human beings? In the end also, notably in the later writings of J. S. Mill, when the metaphysical support which current religious beliefs afforded was

50. Return of British thinkers to Metaphysics.

withdrawn, the problem presented itself: what conception have we to form of the Universal World-order so that the moral ends and aims of human life may appear realisable? Mill not only, as we saw in the last chapter, led the way to an entirely altered comprehension of the problem of knowledge, but also through this as well as through his moral and economic studies, he was forced to tackle the problem of Reality. After Bishop Berkeley, he and Herbert Spencer were the first British philosophers to take up this problem independently of the solutions contained in the doctrines of the Christian Church on the one side, and in the metaphysics of the Continent on the other. For the whole of the Scottish school of common-sense came under the influence of the first, whilst Hamilton and his followers came in addition also under the influence of the second body of doctrine.

But the most prominent and dominating contribution to a solution—if we may call it so—of the problem of Reality, which has emanated from British thought, is to be found in Herbert Spencer's doctrine of the "Unknowable." It was prepared through Mill's and notably through Hamilton's speculations, and has gained much acceptance through the support that was given to it in the lay writings of Huxley. In fact, through the watchwords of the "Unknowable" and "Agnosticism," this view of the problem of Reality has become fixed and crystallised into a definite popular creed. Herbert Spencer is, moreover, the only English philosopher in modern times who places an answer to the problem of Reality at the entrance of his philosophical system. He had the ability and the courage to elaborate a definite philosophical

51. Spencer's "Unknowable."

creed such as should satisfy those who had discarded the ruling religious creed as well as the idealism of Continental thinkers. The simple answer which Herbert Spencer gives to the problem: What is Reality? is this, that what we have so far termed the truly Real or the ultimate Ground of everything, is unknowable to us, though it exists as an underlying Power; and, secondly, that all we can know about Reality is confined to the phenomenal world or to appearance. Though not exactly in the same words, Herbert Spencer's philosophy thus admits that twofold meaning of the word Reality on which I have dwelt in this chapter, and which has come down to us from antiquity, notably through the writings of Plato.

Through this doctrine of the Unknowable, English philosophy has arrived at a similar position to that occupied by several thinkers abroad, for it takes as its fundamental principle that we do not know Reality, directly and immediately, by intuition or instinct, but that we know it only in its appearance through the many things and events which lie in and around us or are known to us historically. As these different regions which make up the phenomenal world offer plenty of occasions for observation and study; as, moreover, this study has to be pursued on definite lines and by precise methods, there is room for a science of First Principles, in addition to the various sciences which carry out their investigations by adopting and using those principles without a previous critical examination of their scope, origin, and validity. Such an examination can be termed metaphysical, although it either disregards, or

puts aside as unanswerable, the highest metaphysical question — viz., What is the truly Real? The first is the position taken up by the foremost representative of phenomenalism abroad, Professor Wilhelm Wundt; the latter is the position taken up by the foremost representative of phenomenalism in this country, Herbert Spencer. This difference is fundamental. Herbert Spencer has defined the philosophical task to be the unification of knowledge. Science, according to him, is partially unified knowledge, philosophy is completely unified knowledge. Many thinkers abroad, beginning with Herbart and going on to Lotze, Fechner, Wundt, Paulsen, and others, would probably to a large extent agree with this view. But there is a marked difference in the exact position which different thinkers take up to this generally accepted definition of philosophy. Herbert Spencer thinks it necessary to explain, at the entrance of his system, that the unity which holds together everything is an actual something, though a knowledge of its essence is not possible for us; Lotze maintains that we have an intuitive, immediate, but not a discursive knowledge of the truly Real. For him accordingly the unification of knowledge in the sense of Spencer is only a formal enterprise: through the examination of first principles we arrive at best only at a formal unity. This empty form is in Spencer's philosophy all that we can expect to attain to. His highest principles, such as the principle of the "Instability of the Homogeneous," the alternation of the processes of "differentiation" and "integration," &c., are merely the most abstract descriptions of the ever-repeating

52. Wundt.

phases in which the World-Process is developed, the stages of the evolution of the Unknowable Absolute. Lotze, following the later Schelling, would no more see in this mechanically conceived movement of the Absolute a solution of the ultimate philosophical problem than he saw it in the logically conceived Triads of Hegel. He believes that the human mind possesses an immediate knowledge of the ultimate Reality which passes through these mechanical or logical forms of development.[1]

[1] The position which Spencer takes up is so well known and has become so popular that it is unnecessary to give here special references to passages in his writings in which the doctrine of the Unknowable is explained. Nevertheless I believe that an attentive perusal of the concluding pages of the first part of 'First Principles' forms one of the best introductions to the study of philosophy; further, that a comparison of it with the first thirty-eight pages of Lotze's early 'Metaphysik' will be one of the best means of introducing the philosophical student to the fundamental difference which exists between the two leading tendencies of philosophical thought at the present day. Some of the important arguments for dealing with the metaphysical problem of the truly Real (Lotze) or the Absolute (Spencer) are common to both. But nevertheless the main drift of these arguments is entirely different. According to Lotze, and more or less according to all thinkers who represent the same tendency of thought, the idea of the truly Real is formed by a process of gradual adaptation of definite notions and terms of language for the purpose of expressing a deep-lying thought which the human mind desires to fix; for this the soul is considered to possess an immediate sense, it has a definite meaning and is the subject of supremest interest, being as such the pivot upon which all moral distinctions turn. "There must exist a principle of certitude according to which we are able to decide as to the correctness of any result of our reasoning. . . . We must assume that philosophy does not create the rules for this decision, but that the whole soul is present with a sense of that verity which it possesses and practises before it scientifically explains it. Wherever we wish to determine something unknown through definite terms, we make the tacit assumption that we must in some way be able to know what notions are expressive of it and what not; in case this judgment were impossible, the possibility of an investigation would vanish. The internal nature of the content we are in search of, whilst yet unknown to us, is not present in separate definitions of thought, but existing, as it does, in the form of a meaning, it nevertheless possesses implicitly a defensive power to reject that which is not adequate to it. . . . By rejecting what is inadequate and negating false determinations it gains in content itself, . . . acquiring for our consciousness in this way a positive expression of its own essence. This is the simple nature of every process of thought which, through defining and improving the definition, produces a knowledge of what we mean" (Lotze, 'Metaphysik,' p. 33). The process, on the other side, which is employed by Spencer to reach his conception of the Absolute, is that of abstraction. By generalising and refining more and more the conceptions suggested by common-sense and scientific research we arrive at a highest principle of unity, but this is only definable by removing all definitions and distinctions with which common-sense and science operate. As being and remaining purely negative the Absolute is therefore for us unthinkable except as a limitation or as the opposite to every determination which we are accustomed or obliged to make. Although therefore Spencer speaks of this Absolute or ultimate ground as something eminently Real, even as "the background of our consciousness," it is a thought which, not only for scientific but also for philosophical purposes, we have entirely to put aside. That this is not actually carried out in his elaborate system of philosophy, which deals only with the Knowable, we shall have ample opportunity to show in subsequent chapters, notably when dealing with the conception of Nature as a whole (the cosmological problem) and with the foundation of Ethics. For the moment I desire only to point out how the two ways of dealing with the problem of the truly Real or the Absolute may be described as exemplifying the two opposite ways of contemplating things based respectively upon what Comte termed the *esprit d'ensemble* and the *esprit de détail*. The former I have repeatedly referred to as the synoptical view which generates—but is essentially opposed to—the combined processes of analysis and subsequent synthesis. It is true that, all scientific and philosophical reasoning being carried out only by adult minds, and among these only by such as have attained to a high proficiency in defining, distinguishing, and neatly putting together again, the natural beginning or starting-point is always an enormous mass of separate observations, thoughts, or conceptions present, within larger or narrower regions, to the mind of the thinker. But that this mass of detail, cleanly separated and neatly to be put together again, is itself the result of a long process of mental development which must have started from a confused and bewildering, yet eminently vivid and real, presentation of the whole — what in recent psychology is termed the presentation-continuum or the stream of consciousness — is just as much a matter of fact as the opposite assertion that fruitful and useful thought only begins when this fundamental psychical reality has been consciously or unconsciously dissected and disintegrated. And thus the difference between the two ways of philosophising consists in this, that the philosophy of the Knowable considered it unnecessary to bring into its manifold investigations that supreme reality which it acknowledges but keeps out of sight; whereas thinkers belonging to the other side maintain that this underlying reality must be continually before the mind of the thinker, as without it even a correct description, not to say an interpretation of the world which surrounds us and is within us, is impossible.

The position which, on the other side, Wundt takes up is, it seems to me, again different both from that of Spencer and from that of Lotze. He did not start his

philosophical career by publishing at the age of twenty-three, as Lotze did, a treatise on Metaphysics; nor did he, with Herbert Spencer, introduce his completed synthetic system at a mature age by a treatise on First Principles. Having an essentially philosophical interest which would have led him from any field of restricted and special inquiry into that which lies beneath and beyond it, and having taken up the physiological problems which in the middle of the century drove many naturalists on to the border-land of psycho-physical phenomena, he was led to an inquiry into the first principles of his science, from this to the first principles of all exact science, and further of the mental, moral, and historical sciences. Still later he saw the necessity of giving a satisfactory systematic co-ordination of all his researches and of arriving at a metaphysical result. The answer to the problem of Reality stands thus at the end of his inquiry: it is a result, not a preliminary as with Spencer, nor an immediate intuitive conviction as with Lotze. To many it would seem as if he arrived at a merely formal answer to this problem, and that the unification which his system affords does not—and can never—reply to the question: What is the truly Real?

53. Lotze's, Spencer's, and Wundt's phenomenalism contrasted.

It thus appears that, alike through Lotze, Spencer, and Wundt, philosophy has been reduced to phenomenalism, with this difference; that phenomenalism with Lotze requires for its completion the assistance of some central idea in the light of which the phenomenal world can not only be described and analysed, but also interpreted and understood; that with Spencer this underlying conception is reduced to the empty form of a mere

affirmation, and that it is of no use and contributes nothing towards a comprehension of the phenomenal world; and that with Wundt no outlying or underlying conception exists at all, but that any conception which we may form as to the essence of Reality is merely a highest abstraction resulting from the analysis of the phenomenal world. But both Spencer and Wundt mark in a certain way an advance upon Lotze, inasmuch as they have a greater appreciation for the processes of development, both having assimilated the leading ideas of Darwinism, towards which in fact Spencer himself furnished large and important contributions. With both these philosophers we are inclined to think that the historical process of development, an insight into the *becoming* of things, very largely takes the place of an insight into their *being*. With Wundt, indeed, the idea of an underlying substance is entirely discarded; the nature or essence of things is a process. The Absolute, which played such a great part in the systems of Schelling and Hegel, which, with Lotze, is conceived as something of intrinsic value or worth, and which, with Spencer, has retired into the background as an unknowable something, has entirely disappeared out of the sphere of ideas in which Wundt's speculation moves. There is also no doubt that for many thinking persons a historical account which connects existing phenomena with the past appears to be an explanation of the nature and essence of those phenomena and satisfies their spirit of curiosity and inquiry. Lotze always regarded this manner of looking at Reality as insufficient.

III.

54. Fechner and E von Hartmann.

In the foregoing account of the progress of Metaphysics—*i.e.*, of the various solutions of the problem of Reality—I have not taken any notice of the writings of Fechner nor of those of Eduard von Hartmann. The former indeed is already well known to us, mainly from the chapter which dealt with the psycho-physical view of nature. Of this he was, if not the founder, yet perhaps the most prominent representative during the nineteenth century. Hartmann has had to be mentioned on several occasions, notably in the chapter which dealt with the problem of the Soul, where his doctrine of the "Unconscious" was referred to.

So far as Fechner is concerned, he elaborated, under the early influences of the philosophy of nature, a distinct metaphysical conception which centred in the idea of a personal Deity. His earlier writings, in which he expounded these speculations, made extensive use of poetical, imaginary, and fanciful—*i.e.*, of purely subjective views. As such they were akin to some of Schelling's best productions, and stood in opposition to Hegel, who always dwelt upon the necessity of logical analysis, though it is true that frequently this only thinly covers a great depth and wealth of imagination. The age, however, in which Fechner's earlier writings appeared, had adopted, from Hegel as well as from the historical and exact studies, the critical temper, and was more intent upon drawing logical consequences and arriving at clear definitions than inclined to be satisfied with poetical constructions; and thus it came about that the really important and original ideas of Fechner made little impression, that he did not count as a systematic philosopher at all, and that he was known outside of his purely scientific works mainly as a humorous writer.[1] His name appeared in

[1] Before the year 1860, when the 'Elements of Psycho-Physics' were published, Fechner was known partly through purely scientific works (notably his translations of Biot's 'Physics' and Thénard's 'Chemistry'), partly through humorous writings (under the pseudonym of Dr Mises), and some semi-religious Tracts ('Das Büchlein vom Leben nach dem Tode,' 1836; 'Ueber das Höchste Gut,' 1846; 'Nanna oder über das Seelenleben der Pflanzen,' 1848); lastly through his larger work ('Zendavesta oder über die Dinge des Himmels und des Jenseits,' 3 parts, 1851). In the latter he expounds in full earnest what earlier writings had only hinted at or fancifully put forward—viz., that the earth, as a higher spiritual Being, is the bearer of human consciousness, the intermediate link between the human and the Divine Being. The stars also are conscious beings. This appears absurd, but Fechner is certain of it: "Either my thesis or the prevailing ideas are incorrect, and must in consequence be altered. I maintain and demand the latter" ('Zendavesta,' Introduction). This doctrine is itself not new, only forgotten; the ancient religion of nature in the 'Zendavesta' is to be revived on the foundation of modern natural knowledge. Zendavesta means the "living word." The new Zendavesta is to be the word which gives life to Nature. See Kurd Lasswitz ('Gustav Theodor Fechner,' 1896), who has had the merit of giving, for the first time, a coherent statement of Fechner's doctrine, removing it from the sphere of mere interesting, suggestive, and fanciful writing to the rank of a carefully thought-out philosophical speculation well worthy of separate study and replete with many valuable suggestions. Accordingly we find that in quite recent philosophy Fechner's ideas have become fruitful. Thus Fr. Paulsen, in his well-known 'Introduction to Philosophy,' acknowledges his indebtedness to Fechner; and Höffding, in his 'History of Philosophy' (Eng. transl., vol. ii. p. 524), treats of him, together with Lotze, as "The 'Dioscuri' of German philosophy in the latter half of our century. They are alike in idealistic tendency, in wide scientific knowledge, in poetic sense, and in the desire for a unified conception of the world. They pursued kindred ends, although to a certain extent along different paths. . . . Fechner—like Kepler, whom he strikingly resembles—is an interesting example of how bold and imaginative speculations may lead to positive and exact results, provided that the thinker never loses sight of his fundamental thought, and is able to divest it of its mystical swaddling-bands. Just as Kepler was gradually led from mystical speculations to the discovery of the famous laws, which satisfied his longing to find definite mathematical relations obtaining in the real world, so Fechner's bold

the history of philosophy for the first time when he published his 'Elements of Psycho-Physics.' Although therefore more modern philosophers — such as Wundt and Paulsen—have acknowledged their indebtedness to Fechner's metaphysical views, it can hardly be maintained that before the year 1860 he had any leading influence on the course of philosophical thought; and it is the history of the latter and not of philosophy as such that we are concerned with.

Eduard von Hartmann's position is quite different. He is frequently named together with Lotze and Fechner as being one of the three philosophers who, after Hegel and Schopenhauer, attempted to build philosophical systems on the broad basis of the inductive sciences. Again, we find him classed with Schopenhauer as a prominent representative of Pessimism. And lastly, his system may be characterised as an attempted reconciliation of the intellectualism of Hegel with the voluntarism of Schopenhauer, somewhat on the lines shadowed forth in the later speculations of Schelling. Personally his philosophical career differs from that of Schopenhauer, who remained neglected for a long time. The success of Hartmann's first and typical work[1] was quite phenomenal. It ran through many editions in a comparatively short

analogies led him to the conviction that there is a definite quantitative relation between the mental and the material. By working out this thought more exactly, he became the founder of psycho-physics or experimental psychology." One of the best characteristics of Fechner's personality and speculation will be found in Prof. Wundt's 'Centenary Address' (1901). It is published in separate form, and contains valuable additions and personal reminiscences.

[1] 'Die Philosophie des Unbewussten' (1st ed., 1869; 11th ed., in 3 vols., 1904).

period; it may be said that it attracted and satisfied for a time all the popular taste that existed for metaphysics in Germany; but it is only fair to add that it also kept this vanishing interest alive. Hartmann also belongs to that small number of independent and original thinkers who have devoted the whole of their life and strength to the elaboration and defence of their philosophic creed, who have led solitary lives and did not gain reputation either as academic teachers or through the application of their abstract ideas to practical questions.[1] In this respect he resembles Schopenhauer in Germany and Herbert Spencer in England, but differs from Comte in France and from Mill, who were prompted by a lively interest in social, economic, and political questions.

Nevertheless we cannot say that Hartmann made a

[1] The importance of Eduard von Hartmann (1842-1906) in the history of Thought is twofold. His early celebrity, referred to in the text, was based on the philosophy of the "Unconscious," as Spencer's is, to a large extent, based on the philosophy of the "Unknowable." But in Hartmann's case his earliest work has gradually receded into the background, and a more permanent place in the history of Thought is being gradually won for him through the influence of his later writings. Among these the 'Phänomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins' (1st ed., 1879) and his 'Kategorienlehre' (1896) are of special interest, inasmuch as they contribute, critically and constructively, much that is valuable for the discussion and solution of two problems which occupy a prominent place in philosophical speculation at the present moment. The first of these is the logical or epistemological problem referred to above (chap. i. p. 72), to arrange in scientific order the original forms of thought through which the human mind ascends from the position of common-sense to the higher regions of speculative thought and spiritual insight — a task begun by Aristotle, taken up again by Kant in modern times, triumphantly solved by Hegel, and since his time more carefully and circumspectly handled in Germany by Lotze, Trendelenburg, Hartmann, and others; in France by Renouvier; in this country by Bradley, Bosanquet, Haldane, and others. The second is the ethical problem, notably the question to what extent a system of morality and rules of conduct can be elaborated independently, or whether a religious or metaphysical foundation is required. In connection with this problem we shall have to deal with Hartmann's position in a later chapter.

novel contribution to the solution of the problem of Reality. He did indeed coin a new term in the "Unconscious," which was to be a negative definition of the Absolute; but though it served to make his philosophy popular and has become a watchword in philosophical literature, it is little more than a name for the "Unknowable," and is seductive largely through the fact that it reminds us of the subconscious region of mental life which has become a favourite topic in recent Psychology. The conception involved differs, however, from the "Unknowable" of Spencer, inasmuch as it does not remain in the background, but is continually introduced in all of Hartmann's very voluminous writings, where it is appealed to for the solution of every formidable difficulty, and where it is employed to fill up the gaps and chasms in our knowledge of the phenomenal world. And from the subconscious it differs, at least professedly, inasmuch as it distinctly refuses to be considered as a conception gained by analogy with our subjective and personal human experience. The historical and critical writings of Hartmann contain many valuable contributions of thought, but their usefulness is somewhat curtailed by a monotonous and one-sided reference of everything to the one central idea of the "Unconscious."

Were I to follow the lead of German historians of philosophy, I should at this point close the history of the problem of Reality in the nineteenth century. With very few exceptions, comprehensive and general histories of philosophy have appeared only in Germany. English and French writers on modern philosophy have

rarely even professed to take any other than a national point of view. Moreover, this national point of view did not, as it usually has done in Germany, secure a complete or exhaustive survey even of its own restricted subject. The 'History of Modern Philosophy' of Professor Höffding is distinguished not least by the fact that it is, so far, the only work on the subject written from an international point of view; and the author has in subsequent writings[1] done still more to counteract the impression, not unusual in Germany, that higher speculation in modern times is an exclusively German occupation. That this has been the case until within the last generation is, however, quite as true as that it has now ceased to be so. And one of the indications that this change has taken place is to be found in the fact that the central problem of philosophy — the Ontological problem, or the problem of Reality—has in the same degree ceased to interest German thinkers as it has been taken up in this country and also in France.

55. Return to Ontology in England and France.

The causes which have led to this change have to some extent been already pointed out in past chapters of this section of 'The History of Thought,' but it will be useful to dwell somewhat more fully upon them.

British thinkers have not, till quite recently, experienced the necessity of formulating a Philosophical Creed. I have stated before that this was, since the seventeenth century, the main task set before the mind of Continental philosophers — ever since

[1] See for these, *supra*, p. 57.

Protestantism heralded the era of independent thought and free inquiry. And the task became still more urgent when, in addition to the breaking down of authorities in the region of Belief, the French Revolution shook the very foundations of national, social, and individual existence—*i.e.*, when not only the problem of Knowledge but also the problem of Existence or Reality was pushed into the foreground.

If this country for a long time partook of the movement of the Reformation only so far as Church government was concerned, the reforms of Ritual and of Doctrine following deliberately and tardily,[1] still less did it witness any subversion of the general order of things equal to that which took place at the end of the eighteenth century in France, and which was felt all over the Western Continent of Europe. The waves of this great storm did indeed beat against the shores of this island, but they did little more than create alarm and help to formulate those problems which the industrial and commercial progress of a country blessed with a settled government and a national representation brought necessarily to the surface.

These problems were the problems of wealth in the first instance, of political rights and social organisation later on. The fundamental problem of existence, the problem of Reality, had indeed been touched by David Hume, but not with a full sense of its enormous and ultimate practical importance; as he himself affects to admit that a game of backgammon or a good dinner

[1] See above, p. 116.

was sufficient to dispel all his doubts. In fact, the general feeling of security and the belief in progress were not shaken. A spiritual solution in harmony with Christian beliefs had been offered by Bishop Berkeley; and Hume was refuted, through Reid and the Scottish school, by an appeal to common-sense—*i.e.*, by a return to the Order of the day and the Powers that be. Such an Order and such Powers existed in this country, but they did not exist abroad. Hence the problem of Existence, the question as to the Divine order of things, was emphasised by that section of thinkers on the Continent who regarded the Revolution as the beginning of a new era, who inherited its faith and hope in a better future and considered themselves the bearers of a new message and a new Revelation. Another section preached the doctrine of Reaction and heralded the era of the Restoration. The former section was mostly represented by the Idealistic and the earlier Romantic schools in Germany, the latter by the philosophy of the Restoration in France and by the later phases of Romanticism in Germany. We know how, with the representatives of both sections, the practical problems of social organisation, of law and morality, stood in the foreground; in Germany also the great problem of popular and higher Education. We also know how the critical spirit on the one side, and the scientific on the other, slowly but surely prepared the downfall of the Idealistic movement in Germany, and, with it, of the peculiar solution of the problem of Existence and Reality which it had attempted.

In fact, up to recent times, and with few exceptions,

which have not become generally known and appreciated, this country has not produced any foremost thinkers who were burdened with the problem of Existence and Reality as we find them burdened on the Continent; the self-assurance of Fichte, the triumphant confidence of Hegel, the mystical depth of Schelling, Schleiermacher, and Novalis have no parallel in this country. But neither does it exhibit such typical examples of spiritual unhappiness, doubt, and despair, as we meet with abroad in Hölderlin, in de Lamennais, in Mainländer, or of intellectual self-assertion as in Nietzsche. Nevertheless the influences which worked abroad in a sudden and catastrophic manner, amounting to a Revolution in thought as well as in practical life, have made themselves slowly, and perhaps more insidiously, felt also in this country. The suddenness of the Revolution abroad, the extremes of its doctrines and passions, had at least the advantage that they produced an equally sudden and powerful reaction in an age and in surroundings which had not yet been saturated with criticism or corrupted through the commercial and industrial spirit. In this country all these influences, which in Germany succeeded each other, have towards the end of the nineteenth century simultaneously combined to produce, slowly but surely, in many thinking minds, the conviction that the solution of the problem of Reality offered by the Beliefs of former days requires to be either abandoned or brought into some kind of harmony with the principles of science and the results of criticism. This has led to two distinct and original attempts to face the great problem of

Existence fairly and impartially. And this means that the problem of Reality has risen from being of purely speculative interest to the position of a fundamental practical problem. The problem which Hume formulated and abandoned, and which Carlyle fantastically adumbrated in the "Everlasting No" and the "Everlasting Yea" of Sartor Resartus, has gradually dawned upon living thinkers as the great question on which all our culture, civilisation, and progress ultimately depend. Through 'Philosophic Doubt' we are seeking the 'Pathway to Reality.'[1]

56. The two movements of search in England: Realistic and Idealistic.

The beginnings of these two independent movements reach indeed as far back as the middle of the century, and find, *inter alia*, an expression in John Stuart Mill's famous dictum, that every thinking Englishman was either a Coleridgian or a Benthamite. The two movements identified by Mill with these celebrated names grew in importance, definiteness, and volume through different alliances which each of them contracted. The movement which, in the opinion of Mill, centred in Bentham, but really quite as much in the teachings of his father, James Mill, sought a deeper foundation in the study of logic and psychology, and was, through these studies, brought into connection with the natural sciences, the methods of which it very largely took as its models. The other movement had already in the mind of Coleridge two distinct sides—the philosophical and romantic side, and the poetical and naturalistic side.

[1] This way of putting the matter was suggested to me by a passage —which I cannot trace — stating that students in some foreign English missionary college asked for such books as Balfour's 'Defence of Philosophic Doubt' and Haldane's 'Pathway to Reality.'

Both movements allied themselves accordingly with a fresh study of nature; the former by embracing the experimental, mathematical, and latterly also the statistical methods of the natural sciences; the latter by finding in nature a source of poetry and inspiration. In this direction the second movement acquired depth and substance through the poetical genius of Wordsworth, who, together with the great masters of landscape painting, inspired what is usually called the Victorian school of Poetry and Art. Both movements — the Realistic as well as the Idealistic—elaborated their own logic and metaphysic: the former stood in this respect on more independent ground, although it was, in the popular opinion, erroneously identified with the French positivism of Auguste Comte; the latter had already in Coleridge, and still more in Carlyle, pointed to German Idealism, and had, in Sir William Hamilton, assimilated a considerable portion of its doctrines. Mill, through his logical and political writings, exercised for a time a considerable influence on the studies of Oxford, where his clear and dispassionate analysis was hailed by many as a refreshing breeze after the perplexities into which Newman and the Tractarian movement had plunged many youthful and ardent souls. But the profounder working out of the philosophical problem, true to the traditions of Oxford learning, was found in an historical study of those speculations which stood in immediate connection with the classical systems of Plato and Aristotle. The influence of these systems was prominent in German Idealism, notably in Hegel. Mansel brought to Oxford the spirit of Hamilton's philosophy,

conspicuous for its historical erudition. Jowett revived the study of Plato, and T. H. Green pointed to the great ideas contained in Hegel's philosophy, in which he rightly admired the underlying scheme more than its actual elaboration. About the same time a solitary thinker, Hutchison Stirling of Edinburgh, created a deep curiosity, as much through the title as through the oracular wording of his 'Secret of Hegel.' The immediate result upon English philosophy was a series of works which, in an independent spirit and with much originality, attempted to fathom and expound the deeper meaning and drift of the writings of Kant and Hegel. To these was added a renewed study of Spinoza, whose influence on German philosophy was so conspicuous, but whose works had almost fallen into oblivion in this country. The study of Hegel was followed in Oxford by that of Lotze. It must, however, here be remarked that the knowledge in this country of the constructive systems abroad has up to quite recent times remained incomplete; it did not, for instance, include any intimate acquaintance with the systems of Fichte, Schelling, and Schleiermacher, nor with those of Herbart and Leibniz, nor did it take any notice of the underlying influences of the Romantic movement.

Before what we may call the Oxford school arrived at an independent expression of its aspirations, the Realistic movement in Philosophy had already advanced to an original conception, not only of the problem of Knowledge, but also of that of Reality. That the abandonment of the conventional and common-sense solutions of these problems entailed upon philosophers

the necessity of giving a correcter answer was felt already by Mill, and notably by Lewes; but a definite answer was not given before Herbert Spencer treated comprehensively the fundamental problems of philosophical Thought in his 'First Principles.' It is interesting to see how he made use of the argument of Sir William Hamilton, the same which had led Mansel to a re-assertion of that body of positive doctrine with which the school of Mill had broken long before. Huxley gave the popular name of Agnosticism to Spencer's philosophy of the Unknowable, though it is doubtful whether he himself remained satisfied with the position it assumed. Another great popular influence which did much to urge the necessity of a deeper study of the fundamental problems, showing at the same time the uncertainty which had taken hold of the foremost thinkers of the Age, was the appearance in 1875 of a new Periodical which professed to offer an arena for the discussion of important questions to writers of all shades of opinion.[1] The 'Fortnightly Review' had started ten years before as the organ of independent thought;[2] it

57. Popular influences: the new monthly Reviews.

[1] This is finely expressed in Tennyson's Prefatory Poem ('Nineteenth Century,' No. I., March 1877):

"Those that of late had fleeted far and fast
To touch all shores, now leaving to the skill
Of others their old craft seaworthy still,
Have charter'd this; where, mindful of the past,
Our true co-mates regather round the mast;
Of diverse tongue, but with a common will
Here, in this roaring moon of daffodil
And crocus, to put forth and brave the blast;
For some, descending from the sacred peak
Of hoar high-templed Faith, have leagued again
Their lot with ours to rove the world about;
And some are wilder comrades, sworn to seek
If any golden harbour be for men
In seas of Death and sunless gulfs of Doubt."

[2] The 'Fortnightly' may be considered to have been the organ of what on the Continent is sometimes termed English Positivism. Since the time when Lord Morley, as second editor of the Review, repudiated the designation of it as "positivist," a term objectionable also to Huxley and Spencer, the term has ceased to be identical with Comtism, not less in France itself than in other countries. When M. Brunetière said, France would not give up Positivism, he clearly did not mean Comtism.

was opposed by the 'Contemporary,' which treated of fundamental questions of Knowledge and Belief in a conservative spirit; the 'Nineteenth Century,'[1] branching off from this, contained in its first volume, under the title of a "Symposium," a discussion by prominent thinkers of the great underlying questions of Knowledge and Belief, of Life and Existence. The very inconclusiveness of this remarkable discussion, and, later on, the appearance of Mr Mallock's articles entitled, "Is life worth living?" must have created in wider circles the conviction that it was the task of philosophers to approach afresh those great problems which had since the time of Descartes occupied thinkers on the Continent, but which had in this country only recently attracted the attention they deserve.

None of these various lines of thought, however, gave a sufficiently distinct formulation of the underlying problem; none of them said, in plain words, that our age had to a large extent lost what former ages possessed or thought they possessed, viz.: a definite conception of the truly Real—as distinguished from the many surrounding realities, which proved, on examination, to be merely apparent, devoid of intrinsic value, mere semblances

[1] The 'Nineteenth Century's' appearance falls in time almost exactly between the appearance of two works which made a great impression. The first was John Henry (Cardinal) Newman's 'Grammar of Assent' (1870); the other, Mr A. J. Balfour's 'Defence of Philosophic Doubt' (1879). The latter was followed by a more comprehensive Treatise on 'The Foundations of Belief' (1895). These works form landmarks in the history of religious philosophy in England, and will be discussed in a later chapter, which, under the title "Of the Spirit," will deal with this subject.

of the Real. What English thinkers had so far done in the region of original philosophic Thought was limited mainly to Psychology, Logic, and Ethics. The latter subject was treated mostly in its connection with social and economic questions. In the writings of T. H. Green, however, ethical problems formed the entrance to a more independent discussion of the problems of Knowing and Being, and it was largely owing to his influence that his pupils and followers were led to attack these latter questions in a purely metaphysical as distinguished from a practical interest. In this interest Professor Caird published his important works upon Kant, Wallace his translations of, and commentaries on, Hegel; in this interest also the two volumes of Lotze's 'System of Philosophy' were translated at the suggestion of Green. The works of other thinkers of bygone times were commented on and re-edited; among these, the editions of David Hume's 'Treatise,' by Green and Grose, and Professor Campbell Fraser's excellent edition of Bishop Berkeley's works, were of great importance and assistance to students.

58. Caird, Wallace, and Green.

One is sometimes tempted to say in one's haste that these thinkers who heralded a new spirit of thought spent perhaps too much time and labour over purely historical, critical, and expository work, and that the danger existed that through the study of Kant, Hegel, and Lotze, English speculation might follow the example of Germany, where history and criticism had long usurped the position belonging to original thought, erudition having taken the place of creation. It was therefore of immense value for the development of English thought that an independent work should appear, in which the fundamental problems of Knowing and Being were systematically treated, without that learned ballast which so frequently obscures the way instead of marking it clearly. This explains the great impression which Mr F. H. Bradley's writings created, and among them notably his metaphysical treatise 'On Appearance and Reality.' It may be regarded as the centre of an independent movement of Philosophical Thought in this country. Nearly all that has since appeared in the English language in the realm of Logic and Metaphysics has started from, or been influenced by, Mr Bradley's analysis. It may be said that he has forced every thinker in this country to face the problem of Reality, or, as he calls it, of the "Absolute"—a term which Herbert Spencer and he have introduced into English philosophical literature. It is the problem of the truly Real, of the ὄντως ὄν as distinguished from the ὄν and the μὴ ὄν of Plato. Mr Bradley's work has been very variously criticised; a conclusive verdict has not yet been pronounced upon it. Nor is it in the spirit of this history to enter on a detailed exposition of its many-sided argument. It will be enough if we briefly note the special direction it has given to philosophical thought in this country, and the position it takes up with reference to the two great doctrines which dominated philosophical thought in the middle of the century—the psychological Atomism of the English school and the critical Transcendentalism imported from abroad, and which there emanated from Kant.

59. Bradley's 'Appearance and Reality.'

Students of philosophy who are intimately acquainted

60. Bradley and Lotze.

with the development of German thought, and with the latest phase which it reached in the critical eclecticism of Lotze, will not fail to compare Mr Bradley's enterprise with Lotze's 'Metaphysik,' which appeared in 1841. Both works may be looked upon as attempts to give a consistent meaning to the current philosophical terminology, most of which has come down to us from antiquity. Both works start, explicitly or implicitly, from the assumption that the several abstract terms employed in dealing with the problems of Knowledge, Truth, and Reality, are meant to convey a consistent and deeper sense which it is necessary to unfold and lay bare before we can start upon the discussion of any special problem. Formally, this undertaking amounts therefore merely to a distinct logical definition of the words employed in philosophical language; substantially, it means that we abstract out of the casual, fluctuating, and many-sided use of the standard philosophical terms a consistent system of ideas affording the nearest approach to an expression of Truth and Reality which the human mind is capable of.

But though the object pursued by Mr Bradley in his matured analysis presents much similarity with the youthful undertaking of Lotze, the central position which he arrives at differs markedly from that of Lotze. I have above given extracts from Lotze's work which indicate very clearly the character of his philosophy. I will now select a passage from Mr Bradley's work which similarly places us at the centre of his speculation. In the earlier part of his work he arrives at the result that the "Absolute"[1]—what I have throughout

[1] See 'Appearance and Reality,' p. 144.

called "the truly Real"—"is not many; there are no independent reals. The universe is one in this sense that its differences exist harmoniously within one whole, beyond which there is nothing, Hence the Absolute is, so far, an individual and a system, but, if we stop here, it remains but formal and abstract. Can we then, the question is, say anything about the concrete nature of the system? Certainly, I think, this is possible. When we ask as to the matter which fills up the empty outline, we can reply in one word, that this matter is Experience. And experience means something much the same as given and present fact. We perceive, on reflection, that to be real, or even barely to exist, must be to fall within sentience. Sentient experience, in short, is reality, and what is not this is not real. We may say, in other words, that there is no being or fact outside of that which is commonly called psychical existence. . . . Find any piece of existence, take up anything that any one could possibly call a fact, or could in any sense assert to have been, and then judge if it does not consist in sentient experience. . . . I am driven to the conclusion that for me experience is the same as reality."[1] And further on he continues: "This is the point on which I insist, and it is the very ground on which I stand, when I urge that reality is sentient experience. I mean that to be real is to be indissolubly one thing with sentience. It is to be something which comes as a feature and aspect within one whole of feeling, something which, except as an integral element of such sentience, has no meaning at all. And what

[1] 'Appearance and Reality,' p. 146.

I repudiate is the separation of feeling from the felt, or of the desired from desire, or of what is thought from thinking, or the division—I might add—of anything from anything else."

In this characteristic passage from Mr Bradley my readers may possibly divine much of that which unites him with—or separates him from—Lotze. But this is hardly the object which I have in view in transcribing it. What I desire to convey is the impression how completely English philosophical thought has, in this thinker, overcome the atomistic view of reality on the one side and the transcendental on the other. For it is here clearly indicated that no analysis which starts, with Hume, from separate ideas or, with Herbart and natural philosophers, with independent Reals or separate atoms, can satisfy our conception of underlying reality. And, on the other side, no noumenal "Thing in itself"—still less, "Things in themselves" as opposed to their appearance or phenomenal existence—can be considered to be a fitting title for the Absolute. Mr Bradley objects to all separation into independent detail, to all division of the world into that which is Unreal and that which is truly Real. He always looks to the whole, which is harmonious, comprehensive, and individual, and which in this its nature absorbs also that which is merely apparent.

61. Bradley's opposition to both atomistic and transcendental view of Reality.

There is indeed one great truth regarding reality which Mr Bradley urges and defends in an original manner. It is a truth which took greater hold of thinkers as the century progressed. It indeed underlies or consciously governs nineteenth century thought

in many directions; not only Metaphysics but also Psychology, Sociology, and—we may go further and say—not only all philosophical but also much of the best scientific thought. This truth can be broadly stated in these words: Nowhere in the world of facts and phenomena do we meet with things in their isolation; the phenomenal world is a connected whole, a continuum, in time and space, and to deal with single isolated or independent facts or phenomena leads away from an understanding of their true nature and a comprehension of their reality. It is indeed a remarkable fact that the very process which, in the regions of science, has produced so much knowledge, led to so many discoveries and predictions, and been followed by so many useful applications—the process of mathematical abstraction and definition—should, at the same time, have led us away from a real comprehension of the nature of things into an artificial world of our own creation. Thus it has come about that the greatest step taken in modern times within the natural sciences themselves has consisted in studying the objects of nature, not in isolation, but in their surroundings, and the processes of nature not independently but in their sequence in time. The whole vocabulary of modern natural science, such as "habitat," "environment," "evolution," and "solidarity," mark this change in thought; in fact, hand in hand with the increase of precision characteristic of the mathematical treatment, there has marched the opposite process of annulling conventional definitions and of breaking down traditional landmarks.

I have had occasion to point out how the science of

empirical psychology underwent a great change, notably through the labours of James Ward and his followers. They replaced the atomistic view imported from the modern science of chemistry and represented, notably in this country, through Mill and Bain, by the conception of the inner life as a presentation-continuum, which is divided up merely by the process of attention into supposed definite sensations and perceptions. This conviction that the nature or reality of things, facts, and phenomena, reveals itself in their "Together" and not in their artificial isolation, finds its abstract expression in Mr Bradley's conception of the comprehensiveness and individuality of one Absolute[1] which alone represents all and everything that is truly Real. There is no doubt that this bias of his mind led Mr Bradley to appreciate much that was done and said by the idealistic school of German thinkers, though it is hardly true that what prompted them in their speculations was an equally clear insight into the different processes by which the human mind acquires knowledge. This insight has really been gained only by the slow processes of minute analysis such as Kant attempted, which the most celebrated of his followers did more to abandon than to perfect, but which owe the cultivation and refinement they have reached in modern times, first to the English school and secondly to those followers of Kant who were temporarily forgotten and cast into the shade by the glare which for a time emanated from the bolder

[1] It is, in fact, one of the most brilliant examples of the growing emphasis whith is being laid upon the *esprit d'ensemble*, the synoptic view, as distinguished from the *esprit de détail*, the analytic view, as already frequently referred to; see above, pp. 192, 193 *n.*

constructive thinkers. The belief which lived in the latter was that the human mind was somehow capable of an elevation into that higher region of thought where it would gain an immediate intuitive knowledge of the underlying ground and essence of things—*i.e.*, of the truly Real. The classical expression of this way of thinking is Hegel's 'Phenomenology of the Mind.' Philosophers in Germany have now mostly settled down to a conviction that this endeavour of the idealistic school was illusory. What remnant of truth it contains survives only in the deeper-lying premises of Lotze's philosophy such as I have indicated above, and the resemblance of which with some of Mr Bradley's teachings I shall have another opportunity of more fully pointing out.

But the more we leave the purely formal side of Mr Bradley's speculations, the less does it seem as if his conception stood in any agreement with the positive ideas of Lotze's philosophy. As stated before, one of Lotze's most characteristic conceptions is the distinction which he emphasises between the world of forms, the world of things, and the world of values. This distinction has frequently been understood as implying in Lotze's philosophy an intrinsic dualism or pluralism. However this may be, it is quite clear that Mr Bradley does not countenance any such distinction. "I do not," he says,[1] "mean that, beside our inadequate idea of truth, we should set up, also and alongside, an independent standard of worth. For . . . our two standards would tend everywhere to clash. They would collide

[1] 'Appearance and Reality,' p. 333.

hopelessly without appeal to any unity above them.... Such a separation of worth from reality and truth would mutilate our nature, and could end only in irrational compromise or oscillation."

62. His Monism or Absolutism.

It may here be remarked that Lotze has been reproved by some critics for countenancing this indecision or oscillation. Mr Bradley, on the other side, is clearly a monist; he believes in one comprehensive Absolute, and he reconciles the existence of this supreme unity with the apparent plurality and the many-sidedness of the phenomenal world by his doctrine of "Degrees of Reality." This is indeed a most important idea, which Mr Bradley has revived in an original manner, and, as it were, introduced into British philosophy. Though very sparing in his quotations and references to earlier thinkers, he distinctly acknowledges his indebtedness to Hegel when he enters on an exposition of this his central conception. Thus he emphasises quite as much that nothing phenomenal, neither external things nor the phenomena and experiences in the regions of art, morals, and religion, are true and comprehensive expressions of the Absolute, as, on the other side, he maintains that they all partake of the truly Real, in some degree; that their reality is not lost but preserved in the truly Real. "Throughout our world, whatever is individual is more real and true, for it contains within its own limits a wider region of the Absolute, and it possesses more intensely the type of self-sufficiency. Or, to put it otherwise, the interval between such an element and the Absolute is smaller. We should require less alteration, less destruction of its own special nature, in order to make this higher element

completely real.[1] And again:[2] "The positive relation of every appearance as an adjective to Reality and the presence of Reality among its appearances in different degrees and with diverse values—this double truth we have found to be the centre of philosophy. . . . This conclusion—the necessity on one side for a standard, and the impossibility of reaching it without a positive knowledge of the Absolute,—I would venture to press upon any intelligent worshipper of the Unknown."

I have selected the last passage not only as containing a summary of Mr Bradley's teaching, but also as forming a fitting conclusion to this chapter which deals with the problem of Reality, and as an indication of the latest phase into which this problem has entered at the end of our period. We have certainly left far behind us any confidence in the capacities of the human mind permanently to solve this problem, a confidence which characterised the preface to Hegel's 'Phenomenology,' and we have lost quite as much the security which characterised the appeal to common-sense and traditional beliefs prevalent in the school of contemporary Scottish philosophy at the beginning of the century. In fact the problem of Reality is at the moment more of a problem than it ever has been: it has come to be a world-problem.

At the end of the century we can divide the foremost thinkers into two classes according to the position they take up to this problem. This position can be put quite clearly by asking: Does an answer to the question,

[1] 'Appearance and Reality,' p. 382. [2] Ibid., p. 551.

"What is the truly Real," form the beginning or the end of philosophical thought? Is it the requisite or the result of all philosophical reasoning? Those who affirm the latter, who start professedly without bias and prejudice, looking at the world around and within them in an impartial spirit, and hope to arrive, by patient analysis and by lengthened trains of reasoning, at a final result or highest abstraction, would fain offer the latter as their solution of the problem of Reality. These philosophers may be called Phenomenists. Opposed to them stands another class of thinkers who are convinced of the necessity of first attaining a definite standpoint, a fixed centre of reference, a fundamental conviction in the light of which to gain an understanding and an interpretation of the many-sided appearances in the worlds of nature and mind, of society and history. For them philosophy only begins when at least a preliminary answer is given to the question, What is the truly Real? This class of thinkers may be termed Ontologists. Both classes of thinkers are represented in this country and abroad. Professor Wundt of Leipzig is probably the foremost living representative of the former, Mr Bradley of the latter class of thinkers. The former class is, apparently, at the end of the century, in the ascendant in Germany, the latter in this country.[1]

63. Phenomenists and Ontologists.

[1] The opinion expressed in the text, which was written six years ago, is, so far as British Thought is concerned, confirmed by the appearance, since the end of the century, of several important works dealing with the ontological problem, and notably by the publication in the current year (1912) of James Ward's Second Series of Gifford Lectures (1907-10): 'The Realm of Ends, or Pluralism and Theism,' and Mr Bernard Bosanquet's Gifford Lectures (1911-12): 'The Principle of Individuality and Value.' So far as German Thought is concerned, a revival of the metaphysical interest is unmistakable.

Between the two, Herbert Spencer interposes with the philosophy of the "Unknowable," which admits the Absolute as a necessary preliminary conception of all philosophical thought, but abandons it as an idea not fruitful in the course of further detailed philosophical speculation. The latter is, with Spencer, confined entirely to principles gained by induction and abstraction in the course of an analysis of the things, facts, and events of the phenomenal world.

CHAPTER VI.

OF NATURE.

I.

OLDER Metaphysics comprised four distinct branches. Of these the first dealt with the problem of Reality in the abstract, attempting, in the main, to answer such questions as "What is Real?" "What is the truly Real?" The conclusions arrived at were then applied to three separate special questions. First, there presented itself the question as to the reality of the external world: this was the problem of Nature; secondly, there was the question as to the reality of the internal world: this constituted the problem of the Soul; and lastly, there was the question as to the reality which stood above and beyond the realities of the external and the internal worlds: this referred to the Divine Order of things, we may say that it constituted the problem of the Spirit. Thus Ontology was followed by Cosmology, rational Psychology, and rational Theology. Now, although most of these terms have become obsolete, the problems which they designated still remain. The principal reason why we do not generally adopt the older terminology is because it has been recognised that in all the three regions, in

1. Nature: a metaphysical problem.

the region of things natural, of things mental, and of things spiritual, a preliminary study of facts is required before the great problems themselves can be attacked. Thus Cosmology, or the Theory of Nature and the Universe as a whole, has been superseded by the study of nature in detail; Rational Psychology has been superseded by Empirical Psychology; and Rational Theology has either been altogether abandoned or it has been placed at the very end of a detailed study of spiritual phenomena in individual and social life.

2. Superseded by empirical studies.

There seems to be no doubt that the modern age has been more largely occupied with empirical studies in all the three departments, and that the discussion of the ultimate problems has been either postponed or pushed into the background. Nevertheless, at the end of the period with which I am dealing, the necessity of arriving at a philosophical or reasoned Creed has, as I have stated before, made itself more and more felt, and with it a renewed interest has arisen in the everlasting metaphysical[1] problems of Nature, Mind, and Spirit,

[1] During the third quarter of the century lectures on Metaphysics had almost disappeared at the German universities, and, still more so, lectures on philosophy of Nature. This was owing to two distinct causes, both equally important. The first was purely negative: a widespread aversion to premature speculations, such as were contained in the systems of Schelling and Hegel, and which, notably in the regions of the empirical sciences and for the purpose of the acquisition of natural knowledge, were considered to have exerted a baneful influence. The second was a positive cause: the growth of the historical interest which idealistic and romantic philosophy had helped to stimulate quite as much as the diffusion of the critical spirit. During that period, however, philosophical thought cultivated other departments which had previously been somewhat neglected. These were notably psychology, logic (in a wider sense of the term), and philosophy of religion. In the period there was only one prominent teacher of philosophy who did as much to preserve the continuity of philosophical thought and the valuable traditions of the past as he did to infuse a new spirit into the treatment of the three

taken as a whole and not merely in their scattered phenomenal existence. Of these three problems, that concerning the reality and the phenomena of the inner life has been dealt with in the third chapter of this section: that concerning spiritual phenomena will form the subject of a later chapter: the present chapter will deal with the problem of Nature as a whole or with the cosmological problem. It will attempt to pass in review the different positions which nineteenth century thought has taken up to this problem in the three countries, and the several answers which have been suggested.

3. Changes in the thoughts of the age.

Probably in no other department have the views put forward been so numerous and varied, and the changes which have come over the thought of the age so rapid and fundamental. The century itself opens with three distinct and original departures, marking three distinct interests in nature and things natural. With one of

last-named subjects. This was Lotze, whose Courses of Lectures included, at regular intervals, and with the aid of little encouragement, Courses on Metaphysics and on Philosophy of Nature. The latter subject disappeared subsequently altogether till it was revived, towards the end of the century, by Prof. Ostwald, who published in 1901 his lectures on 'Naturphilosophie,' and commenced a periodical with the title, 'Annalen der Naturphilosophie,' of which the present year (1912) sees the publication of the XIth volume. Here, however, more than in any other direction, Lotze represents, consciously and almost alone, the transition from the earlier to the later philosophical thought of the nineteenth century. As a sign of the unsettlement of philosophical thought in Germany at the end of the century it is interesting to refer to two works, already frequently mentioned, the 'Memorial Volume' (1904), dedicated to Kuno Fischer, purporting to give a review of the state of philosophy at the beginning of the present century, and the volume entitled 'Systematische Philosophie' (1907). Whereas the latter deals in eight chapters with the different philosophical sciences, devoting separate treatment to Metaphysics (Wundt) and Philosophy of Nature (Ostwald), but contains no chapter on Philosophy of Religion, the former work deals likewise in eight chapters with separate philosophical sciences but omits Metaphysics and Philosophy of Nature, whilst it contains a most valuable chapter on Philosophy of Religion by Tröltsch.

these departures we have already become intimately acquainted in the earlier part of this work. I have there called it the scientific or exact study of Nature. As a tolerably compact and consistent doctrine, it first presented itself to the French mind: in its extreme form to the mathematical genius of Laplace. The second original departure is to be found in the naturalistic school of English poetry and art. The love of nature and the return to it which arose in this country towards the end of the eighteenth century spread into Germany, and formed there one of the most important agencies in stimulating the national mind to individual and original productions in poetry and literature. It found there its greatest exponent in Goethe, whose personality and whose works have, to succeeding generations, become as great and as inexhaustible a subject of study and reflection as nature itself had been to him throughout his long career. Somewhat influenced by the last-named movement, there sprang up as the third original contribution to the solution of the problem of nature, that philosophy which called itself, *par excellence*, the philosophy of Nature. As I have already shown in the last chapter, this movement centred in Schelling, in whose mind it formed as much an opposition to the one-sided moralism and intellectualism of Kant and some of his followers as it also marked the desire to reconcile the mechanical with the ideal or artistic study of nature in the midst of which Schelling found himself placed. In this latter desire Schelling had indeed a forerunner to whom he frequently refers in the introduction to his 'Philosophy of Nature.' This was Leibniz, with whom, probably for

4. The exact study of Nature.

5. Naturalism of English poetry and art.

6. Philosophy of Nature.

the first time, the modern way of putting the matter made its appearance—viz., that Nature demands from the human mind to be mechanically described on the one side, and on the other, to be ideally interpreted, or, in other words, that every fact and phenomenon is as much the consequence of a mechanical cause as it is the means towards an ideal end.

With the movement which originated in England and culminated in Goethe, we have not at present to deal. It was not a movement of philosophical thought, although it very largely influenced the latter. This I have had, and shall have in the sequel, abundant occasion to show. One of the principal aims of the present section of this history, indeed, will be to make evident to my readers how all philosophical thought leads us back, for its ultimate sources, to a deeper experience of the human mind which finds its immediate expression in the subjective regions of art, poetry, and religion.

For the moment we must confine ourselves to those contributions to a solution of the problem of nature which were either distinctly and directly put forward by Schelling and his followers or which, later on, indirectly resulted from the purely scientific or exact study of natural phenomena just referred to.

Now, although it has become the fashion violently to denounce the "Philosophy of Nature"[1] and to place it

[1] It is again Lotze who, first among more recent thinkers, put forward a just estimate of the aims of Schelling's 'Philosophy of Nature,' and whose own entire speculation turns upon the distinction between the mechanical and the teleological view, between the description and the interpretation of nature. This clear demarcation of two entirely different but complementary tasks, which will always occupy the thinking mind, is set forth in the earliest of Lotze's writings, and untiringly repeated on many occasions, most clearly when he opposes or criticises the labours of others, such as Fechner's 'Atomenlehre' (1855; 'Kleine Schriften,' vol. iii. p. 215 *sqq.*), or the younger Fichte's 'Anthropology' ('Streitschriften,' 1857; 'Kleine Schriften,' vol. iii. p. 324 *sqq.*). The review of the former work contains the following passage, most clearly indicating what Schelling intended: "Criticism, which now so often does not go to the original sources but contents itself with a frequently blurred picture of a philosophical view as it has entered into popular consciousness, seems to me in combating Schelling's views only too customarily to overlook an important point. Schelling did not place before himself the tasks which physical science considers, and must consider, to be its own, and we are unavoidably unjust towards him if we accuse him of the failure of an attempt upon which he never ventured. What he in principle aimed at was to view things in the Absolute or *sub specie æternitatis*, a task which we may express in this way: that he tried to discover the ideal content which single phenomena, themselves parts of one incarnate idea, were destined to represent; but he did not consider it to be the task of philosophy, but left this to physical science, to show through what means and through what mechanical connections and interaction they did succeed in fulfilling their vocation. All these means of realisation in the connection of a finite world seemed to him inferior objects of research, for they neither increase, nor are they the ground of, the ideal value of the result. As little as we deem that we understand better the æsthetic value of a play if we follow up the movements of the vocal muscles of the speaking performers, just as little did he think it possible to increase our insight into the spiritual connection of nature, which alone interested him, through an investigation of the genesis of single phenomena. I do not share this opinion, but I should like to point out that the supposition of any other intention imports faults and confusion into Schelling's views which at least in principle do not encumber him, though they may through inadvertence" ('Kleine Schriften,' vol. iii. p. 228). And he proceeds to give the following quotation from Schelling: "Generally speaking, if only that is truth which is cognised through the highest form of knowledge, then only those sciences can boast of truth in which this characteristic of absolute knowledge is to be found, and as the main criterion of this we have noted the absolute contrast to the law of causality and to the world in which this obtains." And Lotze concludes: "One cannot make such an astounding statement without meaning in earnest what is expressed in it: and this is nothing else but this, that the machinery which produces the image of a phenomenon is not identical with the meaning of this image" (p. 229).

in opposition to the more fruitful "Natural Philosophy," which has its home in this country, it cannot be denied that it formed an important, though premature, step, and that many of the ideas put forward by its votaries have, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, been revived with little alteration, though with more precise

7. Importance of this last.

definitions.[1] And, on the other side, even those who at the time most loudly declaimed against the doctrines of Schelling were rarely free from philosophical generalisations or traditional prejudices which proved to be equally misleading.

8. Laplace.

About the time when Schelling published his 'Philosophy of Nature,' which professed to be an ideal interpretation of nature, Laplace in France published two works in which he made two important contributions to a mechanical philosophy of Nature. At the end of his 'Exposition du Système du Monde' he propounded what is now termed the nebular hypothesis, and in the introduction to his 'Essai Philosophique sur les Probabilités' he put forward in a similarly comprehensive spirit the idea that the whole course of nature would appear to a mind vastly more knowing than the human mind, but not essentially different from it, in the form of an intricate mathematical formula, in which only the necessary values of the co-ordinates of time and space would have to be introduced in order to afford a positive knowledge of the largest as well as the minutest phenomena.

[1] The most prominent thinker in the middle of the nineteenth century who adopted suggestions contained in the writings of the earlier school, and who forms, as it were, a connecting link between the ideal and the mechanical view of nature, was Fechner. Prof. Wundt, in an appendix to his Centenary Address in memory of Fechner (1901, p. 63), has collected valuable references showing how various suggestions, put forward by writers belonging to the school of Schelling, have survived and been elaborated by Fechner. Such anticipations of Fechner's views are notably to be found in the 'Naturphilosophie' (1809-11) of Oken, who, as Fechner himself says, "Through his titanic audacity raised me for the first time above the ordinary view of nature and forced me for some time into his own channels of thought." And Prof. Wundt goes on to show how: "In Oken a real familiarity with the facts of the natural sciences gave to his fanciful speculations a direction through which he occasionally anticipates, though indeed in a crude form, more recent conceptions. This is notably the case in his evolutionary digressions. . . . If in recent times Schelling has been occasionally extolled as a forerunner of the theory of evolution, this is a complete mistake. Schelling never understood the idea of development otherwise than in that ideal sense in which Goethe, whose 'Metamorphose der Pflanzen' mainly influenced Schelling, considered the flower to be a higher stage of the leaf. . . . Oken is, so far as I can find, the only one among these philosophers who clearly looked upon organic development as a real process and applied this conception also to the human race. He was, therefore, in this sense a true forerunner of the theory of descent, while his 'infusorial bubbles' and his 'primeval ooze' anticipate certain conceptions of the cellular and protoplasmic theories" (p. 65).

Neither the nebular hypothesis nor that which has subsequently been termed the Laplacian world-formula seem to have attracted much attention at the time. Both the astronomical theory of the Universe and the doctrine of Probabilities offered to students of science such an enormous number of definite mathematical problems leading to so many fruitful theories that the scientific mind hardly grasped the ultimate philosophical conclusions which were indicated rather than fully explained.

But in the further course of the century, when the desire arose to supplant in the popular mind the fanciful systems of the "Philosophy of Nature" by a sober and practical mechanical theory, the suggestions of Laplace were variously taken up, elaborated, and criticised.[1]

[1] The nebular hypothesis owes its introduction into philosophical literature in this country to Herbert Spencer, who, in one of his earliest Essays ('Westminster Review,' July 1858), made it do service in the interest of the development hypothesis, or what he had already, in the year 1852 ('Leader,' Jan. 1852 and May 1854), termed the "theory of Evolution." In Germany the larger cosmical view, which the nebular hypothesis afforded, received additional support when Helmholtz brought forward his theory of the generation and maintenance of the heat of the sun through the continued action of gravitational forces (see his Lecture, 'Ueber die Wechselwirkung der Naturkraefte,' 1854). Before that time it is remarkable how little attention it received on the part of scientific authorities of the first order. Thus neither Whewell in his 'History of the Inductive Sciences' nor Humboldt

What prevented these suggestions receiving at the time that recognition which was later on given to them in a degree greatly exceeding the importance which Laplace himself presumably attached to them, was the circumstance that they contained no reference to the phenomena of organic or to those of conscious life. Laplace, like so many other philosophers, places himself, as it were, outside of the Universe which he wishes to explain; and like the spectator in a play, forgets himself entirely in the contemplation of the scenery before him.

9. Absence of organic and subjective factors.

But what Laplace had thus forgotten, the subjective factor, the position, reflections, and emotions of the beholder, constituted exactly that problem which, since the time of Kant, was attracting thinkers of the opposite school, notably in Germany. Not a comprehensive exposition of the system of the Universe allured them, but the problem how the human mind came to contemplate and comprehend such a system and what part it played itself in this process of contemplation and comprehension. And so great became this subjective interest, notably in the philosophy of Fichte, that the details of the scenery were, so to speak, entirely forgotten in the interest of studying the attitude and the emotions of the beholder. Nature, or the external world, came to be regarded merely as an opportunity for developing and exercising the intellectual and active

in his 'Cosmos' does more than just mention it, attaching to it little scientific importance; and even at the present day it figures much more largely in popular than in scientific works on Astronomy. The so-called Laplacian world-formula gained popular reputation as an extreme expression, but also as indicating the limits of a purely mechanical view of nature, through an Address of Emil Du Bois Reymond, delivered in the year 1872 at the meeting of the German Association of Naturalists in Leipzig.

powers of the human mind, which was conceived as itself producing, on the provocation of an unknown external (Kant) or internal (Fichte) impulse, all the manifold and interesting features of the scenery which surrounded it.

Now it was the conviction that this view of nature was slighting, unpoetical, and degrading, which prompted Schelling to elaborate his "Philosophy of Nature." In his mind the contrast which we are now accustomed to emphasise between "Philosophy of Nature" and "Natural Philosophy" was not clearly marked. Among the members of his school were many of the foremost naturalists, and indeed some of his ideas were adopted from an eminent biologist, K. F. Kielmeyer,[1] who published in 1793 his well-known address on the 'Relation of Organic Forces.' He was an elder contemporary and friend of the celebrated Cuvier, the foremost naturalist of the age, who subsequently became one of the most strenuous opponents of Schelling's teachings. Nor can it be denied that Cuvier himself, in spite of his virulent attacks on the "Philosophy of Nature," inherited likewise many of the philosophical prejudices of earlier times, and that he moreover failed to recognise the great truth which that philosophy contained, and which was to play such a great part in the second half of the nineteenth century: the idea of

10. Biological appeal of Schelling.

[1] Through his influence on Cuvier (see preface to the 'Leçons d'Anatomie comparée'), on Humboldt (who dedicated to him a zoological tract on 'Comparative Anatomy,' 1806), and on Schelling, we may look upon Kielmeyer (1765-1844) as a central figure in the early history of a truly philosophical conception of animated nature. He published little, but his Lectures as a Professor at Tübingen, which were copied and circulated in manuscript, had an important and widespread influence.

Development.[1] And he was further probably quite as deficient as Schelling and his followers in recognising the *rôle* which the exact or mathematical methods were destined one day to play also in the historical sciences of nature.

If, in the light of our present knowledge, we read afresh the writings of such thinkers as Kielmeyer, Schelling, Steffens, Oken, and others, to which we may add the names of Lamarck and Geoffroy, of Treviranus and Von Baer, we meet with almost all the leading ideas which governed natural science at the end of the century except one, and that is, if I may say so, a mathematical or arithmetical conception.[2] This idea, nevertheless, was put forward about the same time in this country by Malthus in his 'Essay on Population.' It refers to the disproportionate increase of all organisms if compared with their means of subsistence: it is the phenomenon of overcrowding which, combined with that of "variation," necessitates an automatic "selection" leading to the "struggle for existence" and the "survival of the fittest." But it was not till forty years after this period that the reflections contained in Malthus's 'Essay' met in the mind of Darwin with the necessary conditions by

11. An omitted idea: Malthus.

12. Afterwards taken up by Darwin.

[1] This, however, with the qualifications contained in Lotze's and Wundt's criticisms of this school: see *supra*, pp. 549, 550.

[2] Since I wrote this passage, in the first years of the present century, a second important conception has been added, of which we find no trace among the naturalists and philosophers I am here dealing with, but which has likewise tended in the direction of introducing mathematical or arithmetical methods into the study of the living creation. This is the conception anticipated already by Francis Galton and rendered more precise by the acceptance of Mendel's theories, which had been neglected and forgotten. Though published far back in the nineteenth century (1865), they do not belong to the history of Thought during that period.

which they became fruitful in a direction not anticipated by their author himself. Had Schelling and his followers confined their view to the purely natural, as distinguished from the abstract physical, sciences, their writings would have done less harm and led to less opposition. Unfortunately, however, they applied it in two directions where it proved to be either useless or actually harmful. The first of these was marked by the attempt to find a formula which would not only explain the organic living creation, but also, by analogy, the phenomena of the inorganic world. The second became manifest in the sway which the ideas of Schelling exercised over the medical sciences.

13. Statical view of French science.

Now, the whole tendency of the new or French school of natural, as distinguished from mental, science in that age was in the direction not of a genetic or dynamic, but of a statical or morphological conception of phenomena. This showed itself in the confidence with which certain arithmetical or geometrical relations—such as the laws of attraction and of fixed proportions, the types of crystalline and organic forms—were applied to the mechanical explanation or classification of cosmic, molar, and molecular phenomena, of lifeless and living things. And this view was confirmed by the many discoveries and explorations through which the aspect of nature and of things natural became vastly widened and deepened.

14. Insufficiency of this.

This was the age which inspired one of the most prominent students of nature, A. von Humboldt, with the idea of writing a physical description of the Cosmos, a scheme which was not carried out till much later, when

the insufficiency of the statical view of nature as a great panorama was already beginning to make itself felt.[1] Schelling's view of Nature as a development of the counterpart of Mind, as a series of stepping-stones to Life and Consciousness, proved to be both premature and incomplete: it was a prospect rather than an achievement. The realisation of it demanded volumes

[1] This statical view of nature—a belief in the regular recurrence not only of the fundamental processes or laws of nature, but also of the types and forms of existing things—showed itself likewise in the birth and development of statistics, as I have shown in the twelfth chapter of the first section of this History. This one-sided faith in recurrent types and forms has been severely shaken during the second half of the century by a belief in continuous and slow variation, and threatens, at the end of the century, under the sway of pragmatism, to move into the opposite extreme, denying even the highest standards of truth and morality. As a matter of fact, the recognition of statical sameness and similarity in natural things and processes has always preceded and led to the search for similar underlying causes. Thus, before the nebular hypothesis was propounded, such regularities as the revolution of the planets in the same direction, the small eccentricity of their orbits and the small inclination of the latter to a common plane, the plane of the ecliptic, suggested to Herschel and others the existence of some common plan or scheme in the constitution, and consequently in the genesis of the planetary system. Again, the sameness in the types of organic beings, especially in their embryonic stage, suggested first the existence of a common plan or scheme, and later on, of a common cause in their origin and development. It was the peculiarity of the philosophy of nature to rely too much upon the ideal sameness and succession of the types of existence, and to put forward only tentatively and in a limited sense the genetic view which relies upon a continuously acting force, an immanent causality. It is interesting to see how Lotze, in 1855, before the modern theory of evolution, pointed out how the philosophy of Schelling and Hegel stopped half-way in its explanation of nature: "Only the One out of which the whole of nature arises has for these opinions a full and independent reality; all single and finite phenomena, standing in their importance beneath the Absolute, are apt to lose that solidity of genuine existence through which they themselves become again new and consistent, though secondary, starting-points of a living activity. Thus in their view of nature the wealth of phenomena which surrounds us is preferably traced immediately to the Highest and the Infinite as its only true source and support; disinclination to explain the finite through the finite leads to a neglect of the succession of mediating causes. This direction of investigation is doubtless not a necessary consequence to which the starting-point of these views was bound to lead; it is only an error to which the temptation lay on the way. Whatever we may consider to be the highest creative principle, it will always be, on the other side, a natural assumption that in its creative activity an actual connection exists; not only that all its products, as co-ordinated examples, bear the same stamp in various forms, but also further that every single reality which emanated from it becomes the necessary condition of something that is to follow and is a partial result of something that came before. The dialectic development in which modern systems recognise how the creative principle manifests itself in an ascending and orderly succession of stages does not fully afford what we mean by this expected connection, for every single stage serves here only as a new and increased exertion of the creative virtuosity of the Absolute, &c., &c." ('Kleine Schriften,' vol. iii. p. 216).

of research, in the course of which only gradually some definite features of the underlying scheme could reveal themselves,—some traces of the enwoven cipher could become visible. For development, in the sense of Schelling, implied two further conceptions, the conception of a process according to which the development takes place, and the conception of an end or purpose towards which it was directed. Neither the one nor the other of these two conceptions could at the time be clearly defined so far as things natural were concerned. But in the course of the century which followed, the first of these conceptions, that of an automatic and continuous process of evolution, was discovered; whereas the question as to the end or purpose still haunts the mind of the naturalist: perhaps with even less hope of receiving a definite answer than seemed to exist in the beginning of the century. For as I have had occasion to state before, the age and surroundings of Schelling were actuated by a definite idea: the modern form of the classical Ideal of Humanity. This humanistic ideal inspired, created, and governed all historical research: it did more, for, since the time of Herder, it led to various attempts to show how the beginnings of mental

life, the early stages of culture and society, of language and poetry, were connected with the elemental forces of nature. Nature was studied in a human interest as the *alma mater* of Mind.

15. Vague ideas of development kept back by mathematical spirit.

These aims and tendencies of the Philosophy of Nature were entirely opposed to the tendencies of exact science. The tendency of the latter was, as I have shown in the first section of this work, to discover everywhere fixed mathematical relations, to reduce everything to definite quantities which could be measured and calculated. The ideal of this view was the mathematical formula, the geometrical figure, or the mechanical model. Wherever these could be found or invented, the scientific mind could apply the powerful engine constructed with so much skill from the time of Newton and Leibniz onward: the infinitesimal calculus. Through the workings of this, every fixed relation, form, or movement discovered in natural phenomena became the starting-point for the development of new ideas. A whole train of abstract reasoning was set in motion; this in its course led to new relations and forms requiring only to be reinterpreted in order to reveal phenomena and events which, except for it, would have remained hidden and unknown. Through this powerful engine of research, through this independent movement of thought, the mind acquired an undreamt of mastery over nature, and could for a moment imagine that it had arrived at some of the fundamental data of reality, that it had laid bare the very foundations of existence.

It is not difficult to realise how the many triumphs achieved within a very short period in the regions of

mathematical physics and chemistry would create in the minds of those who wielded these powerful weapons of attack a feeling of triumph and exultation, and the consequent conviction that the means were at last discovered by which all the intricacies of natural phenomena would be ultimately unravelled. The human mind felt for a moment as if it had become or would eventually become the master of nature. This mastery was indeed something quite different from that understanding of nature's ways, from that fathoming of her secrets,[1] which Goethe in the very age and in the home of some of the greatest mathematical intellects prophetically declared to be unattainable by scientific methods. To his poetical soul the mathematical aspect was not only repugnant, but unintelligible: it remained one of the few human achievements which Goethe never appreciated.

A knowledge of higher mathematics and skill in its application will, however, always remain the property of a very limited number, even among the highest intellects; nor is it likely that from this quarter a great revolution in popular thought would have emanated had it not been for the indirect influence which it exerted upon the problems of practical life. And it did this as much by enabling older and well-known modes of practice to be reformed and improved—such was, for instance, the case with the practice of medicine and agriculture,—as also by the creation of a large number

[1] "Geheimnissvoll am lichten Tag
Lässt sich Natur des Schleiers nicht berauben.
Und was sie deinem Geist nicht offenbaren mag
Das zwingst du ihr nicht ab mit Hebeln und mit Schrauben."
—'Faust,' First Part.

of novel occupations which followed in the wake of the inventions of steam, chemistry, and electricity.

The modern age has had to deal not only with the unsolved problems of former ages and of the old world —which it regards in a new light,—but also with new problems which have arisen in the new and artificial world of commerce, manufacture, and industry. This new and artificial world is the creation of science, mainly of mathematical or exact science, and through this its origin in the human mind itself it also contains and increasingly produces such problems as can be most easily and successfully handled by those very methods of exact research of which it is the outcome.

16. A premature rationale in materialism.

Now it is to be regretted that the rationale of this revolution of ideas and pursuits was not given by those gifted minds with whom it originated, but that it was rather left to intellects of a lower order, who were not creators but onlookers merely, to frame a popular philosophy,—a reasoned creed which should stand in agreement with the new conceptions and be intelligible to thoughtful persons among the general public. With very few exceptions, creative intellects have not the leisure nor the taste to reflect upon the ulterior consequences of their theories. Bent upon creation, and frequently unable to control the stream of ideas which rush in upon them from some mysterious depth, they are as it were only instruments in the hands of some unknown power, intent upon incessantly moving forward and impatient of delay. Not infrequently, indeed, we find them in later years, when the rush of youthful

ideas is past, pausing to take a speculative review of the general movement which they have let loose and not always been able to control. But such a review rarely does justice either to friends or opponents, as the philosophical and impartial temper must be nursed from youth upward if it is ever to be acquired at all.

All this explains how it came about that a new Philosophy of Nature sprang up in Germany, which in the middle of the century was, more than it is at present, a creative and receptive centre of all movements of thought. This new philosophy turned out to be a premature generalisation, prompted as much by admiration for the new science as by dismay at the apparent fruitlessness of the older philosophy of Nature. Having, besides, lost the understanding for poetical, artistic, and classical ideals which prompted such speculations as those of Schelling and Hegel, it appealed to the material interests which, in the middle of the century, were making rapid progress. This philosophy of nature is known under the name of Materialism.

Few philosophical sects can boast of having given to the world, in a short and lucid form, such a concise manual of its doctrine as the popular philosophy of Materialism has done. Ludwig Büchner's well-known book entitled 'Kraft und Stoff,' which appeared in 1855, may be looked upon as the gospel of Materialism.[1] It ran through many editions; it has been translated into many languages. The title was well chosen, not only,

17. Büchner.

[1] As stated above (chap. iii. p. 197), the materialistic controversy arose in Germany over the psychological discussion as to the nature of the Soul. I have there also given the titles of the other principal writings of the materialistic school.

as was probably intended, because it appeals to familiar ideas and employs current phrases; but also, as it turned out in the sequel, because it is easily translated into other civilised tongues. It was published at a time when the materialistic controversy was at its height, with Carl Vogt and Jacob Moleschott on the one side, and Rud. Wagner and Liebig on the other. It is important to note that this controversy arose within the regions of the newly developed science of physiology, which at that time, through the labours of chemists and anatomists, was just adopting the experimental methods and mechanical conceptions which had been elaborated and firmly established in the sciences of dynamics and mathematical physics. It was especially the vague idea of a vital force which had to be combated and expelled from physiological inquiries. This was done in a masterly manner by Lotze[1] in his articles on "Vital Force"

[1] Although Lotze is by far the most thorough critic of the principles which lie at the foundation of the materialistic view, his writings (see a list of them *supra*, p. 6, note) did not create at the time the impression they deserved. He was frequently misunderstood, and only that part of his criticism was assimilated by contemporary thought in which he successfully combated the conception of a vital force. Accordingly we find that in the 'History of Materialism' of F. A. Lange (first edition, 1866)—already frequently referred to—little notice is taken of the important part which Lotze's writings played in that controversy. "It is Lotze—one of the acutest, and in scientific criticism one of the surest, philosophers of our day—who did this involuntary service to Materialism. The article 'Vital Force' in Wagner's 'Handwörterbuch,' and his 'General Pathology and Therapeutic as Mechanical Sciences,' annihilated the phantom of a vital force, and introduced some degree of order into the lumber-room of superstition and confusion of ideas that medical men called Pathology. Lotze had trodden the right path; for, in fact, it is amongst the tasks of philosophy, while making a critical use of the facts supplied by the positive sciences, to react upon them, and to exchange for the gold of special research the results of a wider survey and a more rigid logic. He would no doubt have met with more recognition in this course if Virchow had not simultaneously appeared as practical reformer of Pathology, and if Lotze himself had not adopted a peculiar metaphysic of his own, of which it is difficult to understand how it could maintain itself by the side of his own critical acumen" (English Translation by Thomas, 1880, vol. ii. p. 285). Lange then proceeds to show how Czolbe was stimulated through Lotze's critical destruction of the supersensible notion of vital force to make the destruction of the Supersensible as such the principle of a comprehensive philosophic creed. In this endeavour Lange shows, as had already been shown by Lotze himself in his review of Czolbe's principal work (1855, reprinted in 'Kleine Schriften,' vol. iii. p. 238), how materialism and sensationalism are apt to be insufficiently distinguished. "If we wish to distinguish strictly between Sensationalism and Materialism, we must give the former name only to those systems which hold to the origin of our knowledge from the senses, and attach no importance to the power of constructing the universe from atoms, molecules, or other modifications of matter. The Sensationalist may assume that matter is mere representation, because what we have immediately in perception is only sensation and not 'matter.' But he may also, like Locke, be inclined to refer spirit to matter. So soon, however, as this becomes the essential basis of the whole system, we have before us genuine Materialism" (p. 286).

(1843) and "The Soul" (1846), as well as in his three works on Pathology and Physiology (1842, 1851, 1852). Ignorant or oblivious of the fact that these writings of Lotze contained only one side of his philosophical creed, Carl Vogt utilised some of the arguments contained therein to attack the somewhat dubious position which the celebrated physiologist Rudolph Wagner had taken up to the questions of the Soul, spiritual existence, and religious faith,—a view which Lotze himself did not share or support. It was easy to show how, by an application of the purely mechanical conceptions of Matter and Force, great progress had been made in the description and explanation of phenomena and processes within the living organism, and how the psychological or metaphysical conceptions of Mind, Soul, Life, and Consciousness contributed nothing towards an exact definition and understanding of these phenomena. It was not clearly recognised at the time, except

perhaps by mathematicians and mathematical physicists, that the manner in which they defined and used the terms matter and force was quite different from the conception of these things in common life and practice. In fact, it took a very long time before, even in the better text-books of physical science, not to speak of those of chemistry and biology, clear definitions were introduced.

In the many editions of Büchner's work which appeared during the second half of the nineteenth century, nothing is more evident than the change which has come over the meaning of such words as matter and force in the minds of naturalists themselves. The first edition appeared at a time when the conservation of energy was clearly understood only by very few of the foremost representatives of the physical sciences, and in later editions of the book, though the word energy is occasionally introduced, there is no explanation of the reasons which brought about the change of terminology. Also the book appeared at a time when the notion of action at a distance still appeared as an axiom in most of the scientific works published on the Continent. Helmholtz had, in the year 1847, published his celebrated tract on the 'Conservation of Force,' which, through its very title, perpetuated the vagueness which still adhered to the term. He also, characteristically of the school in which he was brought up, advanced the proposition that natural phenomena might be considered to be fully explained if they were reduced to attracting and repelling forces acting between particles at a distance. It was the age that was content with

what I termed, in the first section of this history, the astronomical and the atomic views of nature. The kinetic view was still only very imperfectly developed. The conception and term energy did not exist. The peculiar properties which attach respectively to vibratory, rotational, and translatory motion, and the definite part which each played in the description of physical phenomena, were not clearly understood. Further, the second law of thermodynamics, the dissipation of energy, was unknown to all but a very small number of the foremost thinkers. And lastly, the theory of descent and of the transmutation of species had not yet been formulated in a manner which made it useful for an exact comprehension of biological phenomena. We can not therefore be surprised that Büchner's work was acceptable neither to the representatives of exact science nor to those of philosophy. It was the first bold attempt to develop a detailed creed by means of conceptions familiar to all naturalists as well as to commonsense, but clearly defined only in the minds of very few amongst the foremost thinkers. What characterised its attitude was a dogmatic assertion of theories which could never be proved, and the use of conceptions which were not clearly defined, and which were in fact assumed to be undefinable. Nevertheless, with terms such as matter and force, the popular mind is accustomed to connect a definite meaning which is founded upon special sensations such as extension, pressure, or weight. Now there is no doubt that the popular mind connects a definite meaning also with such terms as idea and spirit. This is evident from the fact that these

18. Inadequacy, yet popularity, of "Matter" and "Force."

words can be as little dispensed with in language and literature as the terms matter and force. In using them we appeal in the one case as well as in the other to the meaning which every thinking person involuntarily connects with them, and which is based upon definite subjective experience. Now the two classes of experience, of which the terms matter and force on the one side, idea and spirit on the other, are typical, differ widely; they represent the inner and the outer worlds of experience. It is the desire of philosophy to bring them together in some conception, theory, or creed in which their mutual relation and respective importance are recognised. In this endeavour it is, *prima facie*, just as legitimate to start with the one class as with the other. It depends upon the reality and importance which the thinker attaches respectively to the two sides of experience which way he will choose. Practice, however, has shown that the terms referring to the outer world, such as matter and force, referring as they do to things located in space, are capable of a mathematical definition, and in consequence of a systematic elaboration, to which the other class of terms do not lend themselves. From this it of course does not follow that the latter do not refer quite as much as the former to real experiences, as we have slowly learned that ever so clear a definition is not identical with, and does not necessarily imply, certainty.

19. Inexactness of the popular term Force.

One of the principal causes of the widespread misunderstanding which existed, and still exists, about the creed of materialism is to be found in the use of the word Force. Not till the term was mathematically

defined through the labours of Galileo and Newton did the mechanical sciences start upon that assured way of progress which they are now following. The very fact that, in spite of much mathematical and mechanical knowledge in former ages, it took such a long time before the now current definitions were reached, is an indication how little the popular notions connected with the word force are immediately applicable and useful in scientific inquiry. The sensations which have led to the popular definition of the word force are connected with subjective experiences, such as effort, pressure, resistance, and many others which are not externally visible, which every person, in fact, only experiences for himself. This subjective origin and signification of the term force has led to two difficulties. First, in order to make the term useful for describing external phenomena, the conception must be cleared of those purely psychical or subjective attributes, and only such data must be retained as can be shown to exist for the external senses—that is to say, the conception must be defined by the measurable quantities of time, space, and mass. This was accomplished by measuring a force by the velocity which it imparts to a definite quantity of matter. In this way no knowledge of force as the cause of motion was required; it was simply measured and defined by its effect; in mathematical language it was equated, or made proportional, to its effect. In the second place, however, the word force in spite of the clearance through mathematical definition, retained in the popular understanding, as well as in the purely descriptive natural sciences, that subjective meaning

and colouring which is due to its origin in our sensations; and it was not clearly seen that the very same attributes which made the word so expressive in common conversation and the descriptive sciences were just those misleading features which had to be got rid of or eliminated before the term could become useful in the exact and logically progressive sciences. It was not seen that the mathematical definition of force makes the term inapplicable and useless except in cases where visible and tangible matter and motion in space are clearly distinguishable. In fact, the mathematically calculable forces of nature meant nothing else than the motions of something in space, and where neither motion nor location in space exist at all, as in mental phenomena, or where they are only incompletely defined, as in many biological processes, the whole mathematical theory of forces is inapplicable. In the early stages of the materialistic controversy the word force governed popular philosophy through a misunderstanding: it appeared, as it were, under false colours.

This false position which the notion of force retained in popular estimation was strengthened by a further conception which had been introduced into the mechanical sciences about the time when Lagrange put the Newtonian laws of motion into a final mathematical expression: this was the atomic hypothesis upon which modern chemistry was founded, and which was taken for granted by the whole school of naturalists on the Continent. This hypothesis permitted or even forced the natural philosopher to look upon all those hidden processes, which neither the naked nor the fortified

human eye could resolve into the movement of particles of matter, as nevertheless constituted in the same fashion as its cosmic and molar arrangements: they were conceived to be motions of particles in space. As these all came under the mechanical theory of forces, so also it seemed a matter of course that what were called molecular phenomena must be regarded in the same manner.

Had the new philosophy of nature contented itself with clearing the way for a fruitful scientific study of natural phenomena, and with combating the vague notions which had been spread through the earlier philosophy of nature, it would have performed a useful task. Unfortunately, however, it did not content itself with this important and well-defined task, but perpetuated the error committed by the earlier school: it attempted to find a universal principle or principles by which external and internal, physical and mental phenomena could be treated alike. This error brought it into discredit with those who were well aware how universal, but at the same time how limited in their application, were the principles of the mechanical sciences, and equally with those who appreciated the stimulating and fructifying influence of the idealistic philosophy. In consequence of this, materialism was early stigmatised as a dilettante thing, and this character it has not been able to shake off up to the present day. It neither understood correctly the nature and scope of the mathematical principles of exact science, nor appreciated the fundamentally different nature of all mental life. In the attempt to bring about a com-

promise, to establish a monistic view, it sacrificed, as it seemed to the one side, mathematical rigor, and, as it seemed to the other, spiritual depth. In the middle of the century nobody saw this more clearly or expressed it more emphatically than Lotze; and the formula by which he explained the position has not lost its validity even at this day, though materialism has considerably modified its fundamental assumptions. What Lotze endeavoured to show was "how universal but, at the same time, how subordinate is the part which mechanism plays in nature."

20. Lotze's formula regarding mechanism.

But even with regard to the wider problems which legitimately belong to natural science and natural philosophy, materialism itself did not greatly assist in their solution; though, in the course of the controversy, a gradual but slow clearance of ideas took place. Among these problems two stood out as of paramount interest and importance. The first refers to nature as a whole: this we may term the cosmological problem. The second refers to the system of ideas by which we try to comprehend nature. So far as the first of these problems is concerned, there is no doubt that the writings of the materialistic school, and foremost those of Büchner, tended to spread among the reading public a large amount of useful knowledge referring to the discoveries which science had made in the course of the first half of the nineteenth century, by which great regions of knowledge had been opened out or remodelled, and which were especially interesting and useful in the departments of biology and medicine.

21. Success and failure of Materialism.

This knowledge, however, though extensive, remained more or less fragmentary and purely illustrative. The unification which was attempted, but never carried out, consisted largely in a monotonous iteration of the terms Matter and Force which were never defined, and in an equally vague reference to Nature and the Laws of Nature, which the reader could hardly help regarding as active principles. The desire which is always felt in such discussions to collect the many statements, illustrations, and analogies into a comprehensive view, led involuntarily to the use of such words as Nature, Causality, Natural Laws, &c., in a way similar to that in which the older philosophy of Nature had used the terms Mind, the Absolute, &c., without clearly defining them.

In a former chapter which treated of the problem of the Inner World, I endeavoured to show how psychology, in its recent developments, has gradually eliminated the word Soul as a conception which was not useful in a methodical treatment of mental phenomena. Nevertheless the word Soul and its various synonyms have remained indispensable in general language and literature. In a similar manner natural philosophy continually uses such words as Nature, though, for scientific purposes, the idea of nature as a whole vanishes as a superfluous conception. The essence, reality, and unity of natural phenomena are as little explained or defined in natural science as the essence and reality of mental phenomena are discussed in many modern treatises on psychology. In both cases, conceptions such as Soul or Nature lurk in the background as personified agencies

which comprehend and command the multiplicity of phenomena, recalling but not explaining to us their essential and underlying unity.

As is the case with the notion of force, so also the conception of "Laws of Nature" creates considerable difficulty, and this difficulty arises from similar causes. The word Law is taken from conditions of human society, and denotes written and acknowledged statutes by which the conduct of a number of human beings living together is regulated. In this instance the rule of conduct is superimposed upon the condition of things which would have existed if no definite order had been formed. Such laws are subject to change, can be enforced or disregarded; the law is, as it were, something outside of the society which is supposed to acknowledge and follow it. In a similar manner the popular mind is apt to look upon the laws of nature as something outside of natural things; the latter being considered to be in a state of chaos before the system of laws which constitute the order of nature is introduced. Just in the same way as the forces of nature figured in the popular understanding as something outside or behind the different motions which they bring about, so the laws or order of nature figure in the popular mind as a kind of formal arrangement to which the otherwise disorderly elements have to submit. Now, in the same way as the exact science of nature defines the forces merely by their physical effects in the motions of particles and masses of matter, so it sees and knows the laws of nature only through the actual behaviour of things external. This behaviour exhibits uniformity

and regularity, and the law of nature is merely an abstract expression of this regularity of external occurrences. As forces can be seen and measured only in the motions they produce, so the laws of nature can be seen only in the multitude of examples or single instances and occurrences which exhibit sameness and regularity. In fact, laws do not govern the things of nature; they are simply the abstract expression of the properties of these things themselves. The attributes of the word law which recommend it to the popular understanding as a something which turns chaos into order and maintains it, are derived from the artificial statutes of a human society, and do not belong to the laws of nature.

It is easily seen that those views of nature which I termed above the astronomical and atomic views — through the conception of forces acting at a distance and of external things as consisting of larger or smaller but discrete particles of matter—lent themselves readily to those popular conceptions of natural forces and natural laws which it was the first duty of a true philosophy of nature to get rid of. And, indeed, these prejudices and hidden attributes which recommended the mechanical conception to the popular understanding were got rid of quite as much by a change in the scientific ideas themselves as through a critical analysis such as was contained in the polemical writings of Lotze and other prominent thinkers. The change I refer to has been fully described in former chapters, which dealt with the kinetic and physical views of nature. The former destroyed the idea of imponderable matter and of action

22. Change in scientific conceptions.

at a distance, the latter put into the place of the forces of nature the conception of Energy. In the same degree as these modern ideas have been introduced into the scientific view of nature, the older astronomical and atomic views have been somewhat discredited or thrust into the background.[1]

It then dawned upon some of the leaders of scientific thought that science when it deals with natural phenomena is not tied to one rigid system of conceptions, that its aim is not to explain but simply to describe the things and processes around us in the simplest and most convenient manner; that different methods exist by which this can be done, but that none of these methods or systems give an insight into the nature of things, but only afford to the thinking mind the means of connecting the processes and phenomena of nature with each other. This logical connection leads from the

[1] As already shown in the first section of this History, however (chapter vii., p. 198), the atomic or corpuscular view has latterly been strengthened by recent research in electrical science, which favours a corpuscular theory of electricity, and to this we may add the importance which Mendelian theories attach to definite units of character in living organisms: these are assumed to persist and to be transmitted through heredity, frequently after having been apparently lost or become useless "survivals." It seems, indeed, impossible for an ultimate explanation to conceive of a plenum or continuum in space without assuming at the same time that such a plenum contains discontinuities which admit of portions of this plenum being defined, and preserving their identity: this introduces again the atomic view, the conception of discrete particles. The vortex-atom theory of Lord Kelvin, "the discovery of the types of permanent motion, which could combine and interact with each other without losing their individuality," seems so far the only image which we possess of discontinuities in a plenum depending entirely on different modes of motion of the same all-pervading substance termed the universal fluid or Ether. It is, however, also interesting to note how the celebrated author of the vortex-atom theory latterly abandoned his own hypothesis — "the idea that a mere configuration of motion suffices" — as not likely to be "helpful in respect to crystalline configurations, or electrical, chemical, or gravitational forces." See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 182, note 2.

known to the unknown, from that which is visible to that which is invisible, and constructs an artificial picture or model in and through which the external world can be mentally grasped and studied.

But it took a long time before this was clearly recognised by either naturalists or philosophers. The thinker who in the middle of the century probably represented the clearest views on the subject was, as I mentioned above, Lotze himself. His interest, however, did not lie in the direction of assisting the exact sciences,[1] but rather in defining the correct position of the biological sciences and in preparing the way for an idealistic conception of things by showing the insufficiency of all purely mechanical or materialistic reasoning. In the meantime a great variety of interests combined to effect that change in our fundamental notions which has taken place in the course of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Germany and England each made independent and original contributions; France, as we shall see, took up the subject much later, but then likewise in an original spirit.[2]

23. New criticism of fundamental notions.

To begin with this country: Mill had already in his 'Logic' analysed some of the fundamental notions em-

24. J. S. Mill.

[1] Lotze's earliest published tract, his "inaugural dissertation," had the title 'De futuræ Biologiæ principiis philosophicis.' 1838.

[2] It should, however, not be overlooked that Charles Renouvier already in the first edition of his 'Essais de critique générale' (1854-1864), and still more in the second edition (1875), gave a very clear analysis and criticism of the fundamental notions employed in the sciences of nature and mind, and it is significant of the age when he wrote that his criticisms were as little estimated at their true value as were those of Lotze ten years earlier in Germany. Both Lotze and Renouvier seem to have been entirely unknown to Mill as well as to Spencer, whose writings, through their influence on followers as well as on opponents, effected a gradual clearance of first principles in this country. There is, however, no doubt that for a whole generation,

25. Thomson and Tait; Maxwell.

ployed in scientific inquiry. A great revolution in scientific thought followed the publication of Thomson and Tait's 'Natural Philosophy' and of Clerk Maxwell's writings. We know that with these names is mainly connected the introduction of the conception of energy into all the better text-books of physical science. To Thomson (Lord Kelvin) we owe two important steps in the philosophy of nature as distinguished from natural philosophy: first, the early recognition (1852) of that universal property in natural phenomena in consequence of which they exhibit, not only the conservation, but also the dissipation or degradation[1] of energy, a

which roughly covers the third quarter of the century, Lotze was the only thinker who in a consistent and complete manner dealt with the principles and conceptions which underlie the natural sciences, examining also critically to what extent they could be utilised in the formation of a comprehensive creed. He did not, however, publish any concise exposition of his views; they are scattered about his systematic as well as his polemical and more popular writings. At regular intervals he delivered courses of lectures on the subject, beginning with the year 1846, and ending in the year 1877; the dictated lecture syllabus of the last course was published in 1882. The following extract shows how Lotze, long before this view was generally entertained, had a perfectly up-to-date conception of the task of natural science and of the purposes for which scientific principles are defined and employed by scientific thinkers: "The natural sciences are, indeed, not exclusively led by the demands of practical life: thus they do not aim wholly at the practical command of the external world. They are, indeed, contented with a certain theoretical command over the same—*i.e.*, they strive to determine from present facts their necessary antecedents and to foretell the necessarily following ones, also to determine those to us unobservable circumstances which coexist with these which are accessible to our observation. They have gained this object by analysing experience and extracting general rules regarding the connection of phenomena; further, by framing hypotheses regarding the actual facts which underlie the changing phenomena, and which make it possible through the application of those general laws to calculate from the given parts of the course of things the continuation of the same in conformity with actual existence." Introduction to Syllabus on 'Naturphilosophie,' sect. 2.

[1] The term degradation imports an attribute which is not purely mechanical: it suggests that natural processes may belong to a higher or lower grade. But for the purely mechanical view the difference is only that of more or less, of larger or smaller; there is no difference of degree in any other sense. Another sense or meaning is introduced only with reference to the observing or thinking mind which derives more pleasure, more use, from some sensations than from others, and accordingly puts a greater value on the former than on the latter. The well-known "Demon" of Clerk Maxwell shows by a fiction how, for beings otherwise constituted than we are, the most degraded forms of energy or motion might be of the same value for practical purposes as molar motions are for us.

feature which distinguishes all physical (actual) processes from merely mechanical (artificial) contrivances; secondly, in a very different direction he had already (1845) taken a great step in advance by showing how two seemingly quite different ways of approaching electrical and magnetic phenomena—the "action-at-a-distance theory" of Continental mathematicians, such as Poisson, and Faraday's "Lines of force," filling space continuously,—led, through mathematical language, to the same results.[1] Tait carried on a lifelong battle with the older conceptions of attractive and repulsive forces, assisted in replacing in physics the conception of particles moving about in empty space by the conception of a plenum, and ended by suggesting that the word "force" should be discarded as an unnecessary and misleading term. Maxwell worked in the same direction, though with more caution and impartiality, through his small tract on 'Matter and Motion,' and still more by building up a large portion of the sciences of electricity and magnetism on the basis of the conception of Energy and its distribution in space, discarding latterly the mechanical models which he had previously invented as illustrations of Faraday's "lines and tubes of force." Incidentally a controversy arose between Tait and Herbert Spencer as to the illegitimate use which the latter

[1] See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 72.

made of such vague conceptions as the "persistence of force."

26. Kirchhoff.

In Germany the introductory lines of Kirchhoff's Lectures on "Mechanics" mark an era in scientific thought: "Mechanics is the science of motion: we define her task: to describe completely and in the simplest manner the motions which take place in nature." This definition implies a great deal more than it actually states. In confining itself to description it discards explanation — *i.e.*, the search after the causes, and, still more, after the ends of motion. And as to the simplest manner of the description Kirchhoff adds significantly: "It is quite imaginable that doubts can exist whether one or the other description of certain phenomena is the simpler; it is also thinkable that a description which to-day is the simplest that can be given may in the further development of science be replaced by one still more simple." Since Kirchhoff wrote these words, they have been endlessly repeated by men of science and philosophers alike, to all of whom they have given much occasion for reflection.

Kirchhoff's work appeared in 1876. Before that time two thinkers of eminence had been led, through purely scientific interests, to an analysis and discussion of the axioms of physics and dynamics. They were:

27. Wundt and Mach.

Wilhelm Wundt, who published in 1866 a tract "On the physical axioms and their relation to the principle of causality," and Ernst Mach, who published in 1872 a tract "On the history and origin of the principle of the conservation of energy." To these two writers we owe, in their further publications, the most successful

attempts towards a systematic exposition of the fundamental conceptions on which the exact sciences are built up. Especially are we indebted to Prof. Mach for applying his epistemological principles in three important regions of scientific inquiry: in the science of dynamics, which he has to a large extent remodelled; in the analysis of sensations; and lastly, in the theory of heat. Views similar to his have been elaborated in this country, as it appears independently, and in an original manner, by W. K. Clifford, and, more systematically, by Prof. Karl Pearson in his 'Grammar of Science' (1st edition, 1892). In fact, they do not widely differ from opinions already expressed by Herbert Spencer in several of his earlier works, notably in his 'Principles of Psychology' (1st edition, 1855), and his 'First Principles' (1862); they had been popularly explained in his replies to criticisms that appeared in the 'Quarterly Review' (1874) and the 'British Quarterly Review' (1873). These replies are reprinted in the third volume of his 'Collected Essays.'

28. Clifford and K. Pearson.

The rationale and result of all these discussions can be summed up in the thesis: that the whole system of conceptions by which the exact sciences try to describe the observable and known phenomena of nature, and to predict those that are unknown and frequently escape observation, is symbolic, a kind of shorthand, unconsciously invented and perfected for the sake of convenience and for practical use; that the leading principle is that of Economy of Thought.

29. Economy of Thought: Mach and Avenarius.

Through this latter conception Prof. Mach's opinions come into contact with those of Richard

Avenarius, who published in 1876 a tract with the significant title "Philosophy as thinking of the world according to the principle of least action." On the other side Prof. Pearson comes in contact with Herbert Spencer in his attempt to conceive our fundamental notions as unconsciously elaborated and perfected through inheritance. This is supposed to work through adaptation; strengthening and firmly establishing in the human mind and in the course of many generations fundamental notions and axioms which are best fitted to symbolise and describe the experience gained through the senses. These are further elaborated by science into a convenient and practical system of abstract reasoning on things natural.

This idea of adaptation and inheritance explains how certain fundamental notions and axioms appear to be *a priori* (in the sense of Kant) for the individual human mind, although they are *a posteriori*—*i.e.*, empirically acquired, so far as the civilised human race is concerned; and it further explains how it comes about that the human mind is nowadays in possession of a framework of ideas with which it can construct a correct and useful, though merely symbolical, image or model of the facts and processes of nature. Another school, who do not necessarily accept the Spencerian or Darwinian theory of evolution and adaptation, are forced to consider this adaptation of human ideas to real phenomena as a matter of happy chance or good luck which might equally well not have existed at all.[1]

[1] Dr Kleinpeter has summarised the theories of Mach, Stallo, Clifford, Kirchhoff, Hertz, Pearson, and Ostwald in an interesting treatise, 'Die Erkenntnistheorie der Naturforschung der Gegenwart' (1905). He closes his exposition with the following curious words: "A world could be conceived in which no science was possible. That it has come to be otherwise can only appear as an accident. Such an accident is, for us, the regularity of the course of nature in consequence of which our conclusions as to the succession of phenomena, which would have as such only provisional value, acquired practically unlimited value; it does not occur to us so much as even to think of an alteration of the laws of nature, although we cannot say that such alteration were impossible. A second favourable circumstance which places our science practically much higher than it is theoretically, is the similarity of human beings with regard to the intellectual process: were this not so, then what one individual finds would have no meaning for another. Then not only the real, but also the formal sciences would be impossible. We see, therefore—what is frequently overlooked—that also their possibility depends on a supposition which, fortunately, is practically always fulfilled, although we have no right whatever to expect it. Thus we see that the actual existence of science in the ordinary sense of the word depends on the fortunate, but accidental, reality of two suppositions, to expect which we have no theoretical right whatever. In the foregoing, the ways have been described in which man has tried to gain knowledge: that he has succeeded in this is a mere accident; from our point of view we cannot assert anything more" (p. 141).

We thus see that in the second half of the nineteenth century great changes were effected, not only in the views which the scientific mind takes of nature, but still more regarding the importance and value which philosophers attach to any and every scientific view of nature and to the fundamental conceptions on which it is based.

In the first instance, we find that nearly all the leading ideas employed in scientific theory and explained in scientific text-books have been either replaced or remodelled. Thus the word force has been either more clearly defined and circumscribed in its meaning, all subjective attributes being stripped off which originally attached to it, or it has been discarded and replaced by the term energy. Something similar has happened with regard to the term matter, which has

been replaced by that of mass or inertia. And lastly, the term cause has not escaped a similar process of remodelling, both so far as efficient and final causes are concerned. The school represented by Prof. Mach inclines in the direction of abandoning, for scientific purposes, the special term cause, putting in its place merely antecedence and sequence in time; Prof. Wundt inclines in the direction of doing away with the conception of substance; and Prof. Ostwald opposes the conception of matter and substance in favour of the conception of energy, agreeing to some extent with—but further elaborating—the position already taken up by Tait in this country. Yet most of these thinkers have not refrained from constructing a philosophy of nature upon one or several of the older or more recent terms which are employed in purely scientific reasoning. Thus we have, *inter alia*, the modern cosmological theory of the gradual and ultimate equalisation of temperature in the universe, and the extinction of the phenomena of life;[1] a theory built up by Helmholtz, upon Lord Kelvin's conception of the degradation of energy and the irreversibility of all natural, as distinguished from purely mechanical, processes. We have Prof. Ostwald's recent "Philosophy of Nature," built up exclusively on the conception of energy, discarding the conception of matter and substance as leading to materialism, but introducing the conception of development in the form of the second law of thermo-

[1] It may be well to remark here that the discovery of radium by M. and Mme. Curie in 1898, and the remarkable phenomena of radio-activity, may very considerably change our ideas as to the sources of heat and the gradual cooling of the sun.

dynamics. And lastly, we have the theory of evolution *par excellence*, as set out in Herbert Spencer's synthetic philosophy, with its alternating processes of differentiation and integration, and its recurrent cycles similar to those elaborated by the Stoics in ancient times.

30. Want of philosophical interest attaching to mechanical theories.

But whilst it is interesting to learn what are the ultimate consequences to which any special and useful line of exact reasoning leads, it cannot be denied that little philosophical interest attaches to most of these mechanical theories. In order to be scientifically consistent they have to strip the fundamental notions they employ of those psychological attributes, of that subjective colouring which attaches to them, and which alone makes them suitable for describing the phenomena of life and consciousness, so as to draw them into the circle of exact scientific discussion. They alone are of supreme interest to philosophical thought. So far as nature herself is concerned, these her most interesting traits seem to be preserved and revealed only in a synoptic (poetical and artistic) as opposed to a purely analytic and synthetic (scientific or exact) contemplation of her phenomena and events.

In order to solve the problem of nature in the philosophical sense—*i.e.*, in the sense in which Schelling and the earlier philosophy of Nature understood it—it would be necessary to introduce into the system of purely mechanical ideas some term which specifically denotes, symbolises, or describes the essential character of the processes peculiar to the living and conscious world. And this term cannot itself again be reduced to purely mechanical conditions and attributes. Nor will it be

sufficient to leave this essential factor in a shadowy background, as Schelling did with his "Absolute," Hartmann with his "Unconscious," and Herbert Spencer with his "Unknowable."[1] The term must have a deeper meaning, and this meaning must be founded on some subjective or psychical experience accessible to every thinking person, and possessing as much immediate evidence and intuitive certainty as those fundamental data—such as space, time, motion, and mass—upon which exact science builds up her theories.

[1] To this we might add Haeckel's "Law of Substance"—which as a cosmological first principle includes the conservation of matter and energy—were it not for the fact that this contains really no new idea, but reminds us only of Spinoza and other precursors (such as Büchner) whose opinions Haeckel partially adopts. It may here be remarked that it is not pre-eminently among such natural philosophers as define and handle the fundamental principles of the mechanical view with the greatest accuracy and efficiency that we find the materialistic view of the world prominently put forward. It is rather by those thinkers—notably biologists—who are forced by training and habit to use such terms as mass, force, energy, cause, and purpose in a wider and more pregnant sense than a purely mechanical definition would permit, that we find these conceptions employed to explain both mechanical and mental phenomena and the claim put forward to establish a monistic creed. Mathematicians such as Gauss, Cauchy, Kelvin, Hertz, and others have always laid down their mechanical principles with the greatest caution, indicating or distinctly expressing the conviction that the phenomena of life and mind belong to an entirely different sphere of thought and research. A remarkable expression in this direction will be found in H. Hertz's posthumously published 'Principles of Mechanics' (1894): "It is certainly a justified caution with which we confine the realm of mechanics expressly to inanimate nature and leave the question open how far its laws can be extended beyond. In truth, the matter stands thus, that we can neither maintain that the internal phenomena of animated beings obey the same laws nor that they follow other laws. Appearance and common-sense favour a fundamental difference. And the same feeling which induces us to relegate as foreign to the mechanism of the lifeless world every purpose, every sensation of pleasure and pain, the same feeling makes us hesitate to deprive our view of the animated world of these richer and more varied attributes. Our principle, sufficient perhaps to describe the motion of lifeless matter, appears at least *prima facie* to be too simple and limited to describe the manifoldness of even the lowest phenomena of life" (p. 45).

The earlier philosophies of the century recognised this, and attempted in various ways to supply the want. Considering the prominent part which abstract theories had played at the time, both in the departments of the exact and the historical sciences, and the great change which had thus come over men's opinions, especially on the Continent, it was natural that thought itself, or as it was termed "the Idea," should be considered as a definite factor and propelling force in the world, and that the system in which this conception was carried out, the Hegelian system, should attract much attention and appreciation. It was owing to three distinct causes, to which I have already had occasion to refer, that this attempt was discredited, and that it lost favour in the eyes of thinkers of various degrees and opinions. The first of these causes was the difficulty of defining more clearly the different stages through and in which Thought or "the Idea" operated in nature and in history, and the arbitrariness which was thus introduced into philosophical reasoning. The second cause was the return to the purely critical position of Kant, according to which thought plays only a formal and regulative and not a creative part in mental progress. The third, and probably the most important, cause, however, was the fact that the ideals and aspirations which filled the minds of people during and after the epoch of the Revolution, and which were then living forces, faded gradually away before a great multitude of practical and detailed tasks which had to be performed and of obstacles which had to be overcome, and which brought in the wake of them much doubt and discouragement.

Thus the panlogism which found its extreme expression in the Hegelian philosophy lost its hold of the philosophical mind, or continued to live only in branches of inquiry which were either purely mechanical, like the exact sciences, or purely critical and expository, like the historical sciences.

II.

31. Schopenhauer's philosophical view of Nature.

The possibility of approaching the philosophical problem of Nature from a different side had already been shown much earlier in the century. This was done in a short treatise which Schopenhauer published just at the time when the philosophy of nature as suggested by Schelling was losing its attractiveness, and when the new science of Biology was laying the foundations of its subsequent brilliant development.[1] It consisted in an application of the fundamental idea of Schopenhauer's system to a subject which had been only imperfectly handled in his first great work.[2] Although it is true

[1] As to the chemical and physiological discoveries which produced the reform of Biology during the second quarter of the century, see the first section of this History (vol. i. p. 194 *sqq.*; vol. ii. p. 208 *sqq.*)

[2] The treatise appeared in the year 1835 with the title 'On the Will in Nature,' seventeen years after the completion of the principal work, and purported to be a "discussion of the verifications which the philosophy of the author since its appearance had received through the empirical sciences." In the Introduction Schopenhauer lays great stress upon the fact that his metaphysic was the only one which harmonised with the physical sciences, inasmuch as both had independently arrived at the same point. In this way he considers that his metaphysic differs even from that of Kant, which "leaves a wide gap between its own results and experience, and still more from that of Schelling, which is secretly abstracted from the empirical sciences, and only discovers *a priori* what it had really learnt *a posteriori*."

that to the influence of Kant's practical philosophy, and of the extreme version which Fichte subsequently gave of it, the fundamental conception of Schopenhauer must be traced back, it is nevertheless his undoubted merit to have first attempted to elaborate a comprehensive philosophical creed in which the ultimate Reality, the foundation and root of all existence, is conceived to be that power which in human consciousness figures and operates as the Will or active principle.[1]

32. Opposed to Paulogism and Mechanicism.

As the interest in the logical system of Hegel subsided, and the shallowness of the materialistic doctrines revealed itself, the position which Schopenhauer took up, and which he had defended with a great wealth of illustration and with much literary talent, attracted at last popular attention and exerted that influence upon scientific,[2] academic, and popular thought which it has

[1] Schopenhauer gives very lucidly the rationale of his whole conception in a passage which is worth transcribing. "The empirical confirmations which I am going to mention refer one and all to the kernel and main point of my doctrine, the real metaphysic of the same—*i.e.*, to that paradoxical, fundamental truth that what Kant opposed as the 'Thing in itself' to its mere appearance (termed by me presentation) and what he considered to be absolutely unknowable, that, I say, this thing in itself, this substratum of all phenomena, and as such of the whole of nature, is nothing else than what is immediately known and familiar to us, what we find in our own inner self as the Will; that in consequence this Will, instead of being, as all philosophers have hitherto assumed, inseparable from the Intellect, or even a mere result of the same, is fundamentally different and quite independent of it, capable of existing and manifesting itself without it: such being the case in the whole of nature, from the animal creation downwards: further, that this Will, as the only Thing in itself, the only truly Real, the only original and metaphysical principle in a world in which everything else is mere appearance, gives to everything, whatever it may be, the power through which it can exist and act, &c." (Schopenhauer, Werke, ed. Griesebach, 2nd edit., vol. iii. p. 202.)

[2] In the second edition of his tract, which appeared in the year 1854, Schopenhauer shows that his fundamental principle as well as

not lost down to the present moment. There is no doubt that what has been termed the voluntaristic tendency in recent philosophy is largely to be traced back to the impression which Schopenhauer's writings have made on many of the foremost representatives of modern thought, although few of the latter now follow the special lines into which he developed his central and fundamental idea.

For we must not overlook the fact that Schopenhauer was not primarily led to his speculations by a special interest in nature and natural phenomena, such as actuated Schelling. He branched off from the main trunk line of idealistic thought at a point anterior to Schelling's philosophy of nature, which at the time does not seem to have much impressed him. His philosophical tradition was Kantian, his inspiration came from Plato, and, though he barely admitted it, he was influenced by Fichte.[1] And he remained completely entangled in the

other contributions of his had not escaped the notice of eminent scientists, notably medical authorities, such as the physician, J. D. Brandis of Copenhagen, and the ophthalmologist, Anton Rosas of Vienna, but that they in an unpardonable manner did not acknowledge their indebtedness to him, and this leads him into a lengthy diatribe against the dishonesty of German literary practice, taking the opportunity to contrast with it the gentlemanly tone of 'The Edinburgh Review,'—an admission which he, however, retracts in the third edition.

[1] This apparent resemblance to Fichte, from whose writings many sentences may be collected which are almost identical with some of Schopenhauer's, is, however, accompanied by a fundamental difference which separates him from Fichte and Fichte's immediate followers, and may probably be one of the reasons why he never acknowledged his indebtedness to Fichte. The difference is well brought out in an excellent sketch of Schopenhauer's doctrine by Dr Lehmann in a recent publication already referred to ('Grosse Denker,' vol. ii. pp. 269-297). "Schopenhauer's Will is a blind and aimless impulse, and here lies the difference which separates decisively his conception of Will from that of Kant and Fichte. Kant's Will is altogether a rational power opposed in its nature to desire, not an impulse or something impulsive but a power through motives of reason to resist impulse: it has in reality nothing but the name in common with Schopenhauer's Will. Not less is Fichte in the fundamental traits of his philosophy rationalistically inclined, and in addition much more than Kant teleologically minded. Indeed, without exaggeration, we may say that his system is the most consistent attempt to explain without remainder what *is* by what *ought* to be. . . . The Self (or ego) is for Fichte essentially a rationally determined function, its real essence being rational and moral determination. . . . With Schopenhauer, on the other side, it seems at first problematical how moral categories can be applied at all to the blind and aimless Will which appears most directly in the forces of inorganic nature" (p. 285). Dr Lehmann then shows how, so far as the ethical problem is concerned, the way was indicated to Schopenhauer by Schelling's tract (1809) on the "Essence of human freedom," which Schopenhauer praised as an excellent paraphrase of Kantian doctrine in which, however, Schelling did not give Kant his due. We shall revert to this when dealing in a subsequent chapter with the Ethical problem. It should be noted that Schopenhauer's introduction to the idealistic philosophy came through Schulze in Göttingen and Fichte in Berlin, at a time (1809-1813) long after Fichte's separation from Schelling, whose philosophy of nature lay outside Schopenhauer's course of studies. His interest in physical and physiological questions was probably awakened by Goethe, who, in 1814, secured Schopenhauer's interest in his own colour theory.

formula which contrasted the phenomenal and the noumenal worlds, the "Thing in itself" and its appearance. The main object and root of his philosophy was to define the "Thing in itself," and this he did by identifying it with the Will. And he still further emphasised and perpetuated this contrast by placing in opposition the Will and the Intellect, as the two fundamental principles or factors in all reality. In the sequel he certainly did utilise the discoveries and theories of the rapidly progressing natural sciences as illustrations of his main thesis, and in the tract referred to, "The Will in Nature," he arrived at a philosophy of nature and a conception of her innermost essence.

33. Schopenhauer an idealist and romantic.

Still Schopenhauer belonged to the idealistic and romantic school of modern philosophy and retained many of the prejudices and preconceptions with which that school started, as also that supreme belief in the

power of abstract human reasoning which characterised it. To the same school belonged likewise Eduard von Hartmann, and, although it cannot be claimed for his philosophy that it has had any direct influence on European thought outside of Germany, it would be unjust, in this connection, not to take note of this last brilliant attempt to bring the fruitful and original ideas which are contained in the idealistic systems of Schelling, Hegel, and Schopenhauer into some connection and harmony. In the middle of the century there had been created, and there continues to exist, among many thinking persons outside of the schools, the desire for a comprehensive and reasoned creed in which some fundamental principle is shown to pervade, and to afford an interpretation of, all nature, mind, and history. It seems natural that the great world-problem which both Hegel and Schopenhauer attempted to solve by speculation, and which Schelling never lost sight of, should not have been entirely abandoned without a last and supreme effort to solve it; and this with due recognition of the enormous change which had come over modern thought through the rapid development of the natural sciences.

34. As also Von Hartmann.

35. The philosophy of the "Unconscious."

At the time when Hartmann published his first great work (1869), the leading ideas just referred to still formed, if not active convictions yet certainly very living reminiscences in the minds of many thinking persons in Germany, nor was the expectation absent that some new system would arise affording a rational and comprehensive answer to the foremost problems of life, mind, and society, which had become more pressing

as time went on.[1] These circumstances explain, to a large extent, the quite unexpected welcome with which Hartmann's work was greeted. The name he gave his philosophy and the title of his book indicated that he combined the transcendental with the realistic movement of thought, and arrived at speculative results through inductive methods. Instead of opposing Will and Intellect, as Schopenhauer did, he co-ordinated them as equally real attributes of the Absolute, which he terms the Unconscious, and the existence of which, under different forms, he traces in nature, in mind, in art and language, as the deep-lying background or hidden agency. Whereas Hegel extols the Intellect and Schopenhauer depreciates it, Hartmann shows that

[1] A variety of more or less systematic attempts were made towards the middle of the century, some of which created, at the time, considerable interest, though most of them have not had any lasting influence on European thought as a whole. Leaving aside the writings of earlier philosophical naturalists, such as Oken ('Naturphilosophie,' 3rd ed., 1843), Steffens ('Anthropologie,' 1823), Schubert ('Geschichte der Seele,' 1830, and several subsequent editions), and Oerstedt ('Der Geist in der Natur,' 1850), these attempts dealt mostly with questions of mental and religious philosophy, less with the philosophy of nature. One of Schelling's contemporaries was the theosophist Franz von Baader (1765-1841), who in his 'Fermenta Cognitionis' (1822-1825) directed special attention to the writings of Jakob Böhme, after having already influenced Schelling in that direction. Chr. Fr. Krause (1781-1832), an original thinker, attempted to unite the "subjectivism" of Kant and Fichte with the "absolutism" of Schelling and Hegel in a system termed Panentheism. His originality, especially in ethics and philosophical jurisprudence, has been acknowledged by eminent writers on this subject. Anton Günther (1785-1863), a Roman Catholic priest, opposed the pantheism of Schelling and Hegel by a "dualism" and "theism" modelled upon Cartesian ideas. He had, in a certain circle, a considerable influence, and numerous followers and admirers, but his philosophy, like that of de Lammenais in France, was rejected at Rome (1857). The only thinker who, in addition to the leaders of thought mentioned in this chapter, has received increasing attention not only as a theologian but latterly also as an original philosopher, is Schleiermacher. I shall deal more fully with his speculations in later chapters of this section.

the Will and the Intellect are equally real attributes of the Absolute, similar to Extension and Thought in the systems of Descartes and Spinoza. And he arrived, more than any of his predecessors, at his result through inductive reasoning, based upon a wealth of material gathered from the most recent discoveries in natural science, psychology, and mental history.

For our present purpose it may be noted that Hartmann's principle of the Unconscious is the last suggestive conception utilised for the solution of the problem of nature in the sense in which this problem existed for the older philosophies, and that it has, in one form or another, found its way into the reasoning of many modern schools. Hartmann was not slow to detect this, and many of his subsequent writings had the object of showing how the leading idea of his system is more or less distinctly stated or implied in the writings of earlier and contemporary German thinkers.[1]

[1] But also of showing how they have failed in giving a definite expression to this principle. One of Hartmann's latest deliverances dates from the year 1900, when he published in the 'Archiv für Systematische Philosophie' (vol. vi. pp. 273-290) an instructive summary of the different ways in which the conception of the Unconscious has clearly or confusedly crept into modern philosophical literature; whereupon it may be remarked that, with the exception of Mill and Spencer, hardly any but German philosophers are referred to. He there finds no less than nineteen different uses of the term Unconscious, which he groups under four main headings:—

(*a*) The epistemological Unconscious;

(*b*) The physical Unconscious;

(*c*) The mental Unconscious; and

(*d*) The metaphysical Unconscious;

thus indicating how the conception makes its appearance in dealing respectively with the problem of Knowledge, the problem of Nature, the problem of the Soul, and the problem of Reality. In spite of the infinite pains that Hartmann has taken to drive home the fundamental idea of his philosophy, I doubt whether he has succeeded in making that idea generally intelligible and useful. Some of the fine distinctions which he makes, *e.g.*, between the *Unbewusste* and the *Bewusstlose* are hardly translatable into other languages. His disciple Prof. A. Drews published, shortly after Hartmann's death in 1906, two articles which he has reprinted under the title 'Das Lebenswerk Eduard von Hartmann's,' and which together with Hartmann's own summary just mentioned may be recommended as an introduction to Hartmann's philosophy. Prof. Windelband in his 'History of Philosophy' gives the following summary of Hartmann's view: "That higher consciousness which is termed the Unconscious, and which is supposed to form the common living background of all conscious individuals, Hartmann tries to trace as the active essence of all processes in physical and mental life: it takes the place alike of Schopenhauer's and Schelling's 'Will in nature,' of the vital force of earlier physiology, and of the entelechies of the system of evolution. It unfolds itself above all in the teleological connections of organic life. In this respect Hartmann has also very effectually combated materialism, inasmuch as his doctrine points everywhere to the uniting spiritual and living ground of things: he for this purpose employs in the happiest way a great wealth of natural knowledge, although he deceived himself when he thought that his speculative results were gained by inductive methods" (4th German ed., 1907, p. 542).

36. The ideal view displaced by the naturalistic.

But on the whole the ideal view of the problem of nature was gradually losing its hold of the thinking mind, and has had to give way to the purely naturalistic view, which limits itself to describing and calculating natural phenomena and to the elaboration of a system of conceptions by which this can be most conveniently and completely effected. The philosophical task is then reduced to a criticism of these conceptions, fixing their logical definitions and the range of their applicability and usefulness; and this with the further distinct object of showing whether the more complicated phenomena of life, mind, and society can be described and interpreted in terms of those fundamental conceptions which have done such eminent service in the exact sciences; or whether, on the other hand, a new principle will have to be introduced in order to make these phenomena intelligible. As stated above, this task had, in the middle of the century, been already approached more or less methodically and in a narrower or wider sense by such writers

as the Mills in England, Comte in France, Lotze in Germany, somewhat later by Du Bois Reymond, Charles Renouvier, Claude Bernard, Stanley Jevons, and others. But the merit of having devoted himself without prejudice and bias to the solution of this critical problem in a comprehensive and exhaustive manner is undoubtedly due to Prof. Wundt of Leipsic. It is interesting to see how in the course of his researches he has been led to adopt a position which, though arrived at on quite different lines, has tended to confirm and strengthen what we may term the voluntaristic movement of thought. This emphasises the active principle of the will, and gives clearer expression to a tendency of thought which we find already in Maine de Biran in France, in Alexander Bain in England, and, in an extreme form, in Schopenhauer and Hartmann in Germany: to it Prof. Wundt has given an independent expression. How he gradually arrived at his position he has himself described in an article entitled "On Psychical Causality and the Principle of Psycho-physical Parallelism," published in the year 1894.[1] "I learned first," he says, "in the

[1] The writings of Prof. Wundt are extremely numerous and voluminous, covering an enormous field of research unparalleled by any contemporary thinker, with the exception perhaps of Hartmann. But whereas Hartmann put forward the main idea of his philosophy in one of his earliest works, giving currency to certain watchwords and a certain form of pessimism, the one-sided accentuation of which he has been at great pains to mitigate in his later writings, the really valuable and original conceptions of Wundt's philosophy — the notion of creative synthesis and that of the growth of spiritual energy — lie buried in such an enormous mass of detailed exposition, of criticism, and of scattered articles, that it is only with difficulty that the student arrives at any tolerably concise view of Wundt's philosophical system. We must therefore be especially grateful to Dr E. König for his excellent Monograph on Wundt ('Frommann's Klassiker der Philosophie,' xiii.), to which may be added Prof. Höffding's account of Wundt's philosophy in his 'Moderne Philosophen,' pp. 6-38.

processes of visual sensation, to appreciate that act of creative synthesis which became to me gradually a leader by whose hand to gain also a psychological insight into the development of the higher functions of the imagination and the intellect, towards which the older psychology had given me no assistance. As I then approached the temporal relations in the flow of our ideas, a new insight was given me into the development of the functions of the Will,—of the external out of the internal, of the complex out of the simple, an insight also into the intimate connection of all psychical functions, which we artificially separate by such abstract names as intelligence, feeling, and willing: in short, I recognised the indivisibility and homogeneity of mental life in all its phases."[1]

37. Wundt on Actuality.

The idea mentioned in this passage has gradually gained the supremacy in Prof. Wundt's speculation. Actuality appears more and more as the central idea of his philosophical creed, and he traces this factor back not only into the elementary and primary functions of

[1] This explanation was published in the year 1894 in the 'Philosophische Studien' (vol. x.), and has since been reprinted in the 2nd volume of 'Kleine Schriften,' 1911, see p. 111. This collection of his scattered contributions in two volumes will much facilitate the study of Wundt's philosophy, though, in consequence of the alterations introduced in the reprint, a reference to the original articles would, in the interest of a history of the development of Wundt's ideas, be necessary. In a note on pp. 103 and 104 of the reprint, Wundt traces his valuable conception of creative synthesis far back into the period of his researches into the physiology of visual sensations. This happened in the year 1858 or 1859, when he combined the nativistic and empirical theories of visual perception in his theory of "complex local signs." He then recognised that he had "to do with a process which was fully intelligible through its elements, but which was nevertheless, compared with them, something new, — a creative synthesis of these elements. And so this simple process of perception seemed to me to throw a clear light on the essence of psychical processes in general, &c."

the conscious human mind, but also into nature, which appears to him as an earlier stage in the self-development of mind, not unlike that conception which inspired the earlier writings of Schelling. With Wundt, however, as with many modern philosophers, this idea of development of the conscious out of the unconscious, of the organic out of the inorganic, has gained greater definiteness through the assimilation of Darwinian ideas. As this conception gained the ascendancy in Wundt's speculations, he has devoted himself more and more to those regions of philosophical thought which, in this country, are comprised under the name of mental and moral, as opposed to natural, philosophy. He has therefore, less than Schopenhauer, Lotze, and Hartmann, developed a philosophy of nature. His thought is, moreover, governed by what may be termed a monistic tendency: it aims at finding a universal principle, which pervades and unites the different regions of existence.

This tendency he has in common with many other recent thinkers, some of whom occupy fundamentally different positions, according to the central principle or conception which they adopt. But however varying the latter may be in different systems, it leads essentially to one characteristic, viz., to the attempt to bridge over the great gulf which, to the common-sense view—a view termed appropriately by Wundt "Naïve Realism,"—exists between the outer and the inner world, between matter and mind. Alongside of those various attempts to arrive at a monistic conception of things there will always run another and equally powerful current of thought, which emphasises not only this fundamental

dualism but also many more special discontinuities, which show themselves in all our varied experience, and which may possibly be reducible to that main difference or contrast ordinarily described by the terms nature and mind. This tendency has shown itself, in the second half of the nineteenth century, also in the philosophy of nature, and this quite as much with thinkers who have approached the problem of nature in the purely scientific interest as with those who have done so in a philosophical spirit. It is the phenomenon of Discontinuity which has, more and more, attracted the attention of a large section among recent philosophers.

38. Rise of the problem of Discontinuity.

In fact, the most emphatic expression of this difficulty was given by a natural philosopher who marched in the van of those modern reformers of science who discarded not only as useless, but as harmful for scientific purposes, that entire complex of ideas which invaded German philosophy during the first third of the century: the idealistic and romantic movement. Emil du Bois Reymond had acquired considerable reputation among philosophers through his 'Researches in Animal Electricity' (1848), which contained in their preface a strong recommendation of the exact methods and an equally strong denunciation of the conception of vital forces.[1] He was accordingly classed for a long time among the

39. Du Bois Reymond.

[1] This Preface, as also the Addresses hereafter referred to, are reprinted in the Leipsic edition of E. Du Bois Reymond's 'Collected Addresses' (2 vols., 1886-87). This collection, with its valuable literary notes and references replying to numerous criticisms, has now been republished with additional matter. The collection forms together an important record of the beginnings, the progress, and the gradual reform of philosophical thought on the subject of the study of nature, the principles of natural knowledge, and the comprehension of nature as a whole.

materialists, perhaps with more correctness than was the case with Lotze and Virchow, the principal protagonists in that celebrated battle with antiquated notions. It was therefore with all the more authority that he undertook, in the year 1872, to address the meeting of German naturalists at Leipsic "On the Limits of Natural Knowledge." The address created an enormous sensation, led to a great controversy and to many further explanations by adherents as well as opponents, was republished many times, and was latterly followed by an equally celebrated oration before the Berlin Academy (1880) entitled "The Seven World Riddles."[1] These two deliverances contain a characteristic definition of the ultimate bearing of recent scientific ideas upon the great philosophical problems. And, inasmuch as they emanated from a foremost representative of modern scientific reasoning, and out of the centre of that eminent scientific circle which counted among its members Helmholtz, Kirchhoff, and Virchow, and perpetuated the traditions of Johannes Müller, it deservedly commands, up to

[1] This is the first and most concise specimen in modern literature of those attempts to revive, solve, or declare insoluble the ancient riddle of the Sphinx. On this Kuno Fischer has a fine ironical remark in the concluding paragraph of his monumental 'History of Modern Philosophy': "The meaning of the world is not a riddle as our modern *Welträthsler* are fond of saying, in order either to play or to vanquish the Sphinx, but a problem which man puts to himself, for he will and must know the essence of his own being. The progressive solution of this problem, which can only take place in the course of the ages of the world, is the history of philosophy, for the ages of humanity belong to the theme of the problem, as in olden times the four-footed, two-footed, and three-footed ages of man belonged to the theme of the Sphinx. In this connection with the ages of mankind, in this light of a progressive solution of the world-problem, Hegel was the first to regard the history of philosophy" (vol. viii., p. 1190).

the present day, the serious consideration of thinkers of all shades of opinion.

In the first of these addresses Du Bois Reymond adopts—probably without being aware of it—a view somewhat akin to that of Herbert Spencer, who had published, already in 1860, the first part of his System, in which he puts forward the conception of the Unknowable as the underlying ground or power in and of everything.[1] Similarly Du Bois Reymond maintains that the natural philosopher must admit that the ultimate conceptions of all exact or mathematical science, the conceptions of matter and force, cannot be explained or further analysed,—that they constitute for him an insoluble enigma. In addition to this he maintains that a further equally difficult problem arises when we attempt to explain how the underlying substance of which matter and force are the attributes can, under certain conditions, feel, desire, and think; in fact, the psychical attributes of the underlying substance constitute a second enigma. The second enigma has occasion-

[1] It is indeed remarkable that E. Du Bois Reymond's first address ends with the celebrated '*Ignorabimus*' with which Herbert Spencer, more than ten years earlier, had started his systematic speculations, expressive of an idea which has received popular currency through Huxley's 'Agnosticism.' It is also significant that Du Bois Reymond rouses himself out of this humiliating and deadening conviction of our fundamental ignorance by the following reflection: The natural philosopher "now finds solace and elevation in work which augments the treasure of human knowledge, increases by wholesome exertion the powers and capabilities of our race, extends our dominion over nature, refines our existence through the enrichment of our mind and beautifies it through the multiplication of our enjoyments. From that depressing '*Ignorabimus*' the natural philosopher rouses himself again by the dying Septimius Severus's watchword to his legions: '*Laboremus*'" (*loc. cit.*, vol. i. p. 235). Truly an anticipation of modern pragmatism!

ally been identified with the problem of the nature and origin of life or animation, and it is significant that Herbert Spencer himself, in one of his latest deliverances, admits the insolubility of this problem.[1]

In the second address mentioned above, Du Bois Reymond further analysed the two enigmas which respectively have to do with the most elementary, or molar, and the most complicated, or mental, phenomena into a larger number of definite problems. Of these he details seven. Four of them, the essence of matter and force, the origin of motion, the elementary sensations, the freedom of the Will, are declared to be insoluble. The further three problems: the origin of life, the apparent purpose in nature, and the origin of language, he does not hold to be eventually equally insoluble, though they are so at present. His view can be defined by saying that the mechanism which suffices to explain the processes in inorganic nature and plant-life does not suffice for the processes of sensation and consciousness: the latter bring into biological development something new, which, as an epiphenomenon, rises out of the inner essence or nature of matter. Du Bois Reymond, however, significantly allows the assumption that these different problems or enigmas may be essentially one, thus approaching still nearer to Herbert Spencer's view.

40. Haeckel's Monism.

A speculation somewhat on the same lines had already been started by Ernst Haeckel in his first and greatest work, the 'Generelle Morphologie.' As this work had only a moderate circulation, he further expounded and popularised his philosophical creed in a series of writings,

[1] See *supra*, vol. ii. p. 438.

of which 'The Riddle of the Universe' is one of the latest and best known. It cannot be said that philosophically anything essential has been added by him to the arguments advanced by Büchner on the one side and by Du Bois Reymond on the other.

It is true that Haeckel brings in a great wealth of illustrations largely derived from his own original work; also that he started with a full appreciation of the Darwinian ideas of development, whereas his forerunner, Büchner, introduced these ideas mostly only in the later editions of his work. Otherwise it makes little difference whether we call the underlying essence matter (with Büchner) or substance (with Haeckel); and, if we compare Haeckel's view with that of Du Bois Reymond, we find that both thinkers admit the necessity of introducing into their conception of the ground of everything a spiritual or psychical attribute without which they think it impossible to approach the World-problem. This is a distinct advance upon Büchner's apparently mechanical view,—an advance through which both thinkers rise, in a similar way to Herbert Spencer, above simple materialism. As stated above, neither Büchner's nor Haeckel's views have been taken seriously by philosophical thinkers, although both have had a marked influence on popular thought and literature, especially in Germany. The fact that their works are only incidentally mentioned by historians of philosophy abroad may be traced to the following causes.

It is not an unusual thing to find that scientific specialists who have attained to eminence through original discoveries in definite lines of research or through theo-

retical views which have opened out new vistas of scientific thought, are tempted to apply their principles and habits of reasoning to a larger region than that in which they were originally at home, and this without a previous critical examination as to the applicability or validity of the notions they have employed. The proof of the correctness of these notions lies for them in the practical success which they have achieved in a more or less restricted field. The temptation to extend the use of any serviceable tool or instrument applies as much to logical as to mechanical devices, and we find this to be the case as much in science and philosophy as in practical life, in the arts, industries, and business. And this temptation, so far as abstract thought is concerned, is greater where we employ ideas and terms which have a double meaning, pointing, as it were, in two directions. This is the case pre-eminently in the natural sciences as distinguished from the mathematical sciences on the one side and from the mental sciences on the other. All naturalists, including also eminent representatives of the medical profession, deal with fundamental notions which are applicable to phenomena lying on the border-land of the purely physical and the purely mental, of the outer and inner world, of inanimate and animated nature. The words or terms also by which these notions are expressed in language were originally derived from that border-land, and are, in their full and direct meaning, only applicable there. Those who successfully operate with these notions are frequently led to believe that they possess in them a master-key which unlocks both worlds, affording a view into the external and the internal alike.

Further, workers on this border-land can apply the rigid methods of the exact sciences only to a limited extent; they are everywhere led, by observation as well as reflection, into departments where rigid definition is impossible; especially the medical teacher is many times obliged—as Du Bois Reymond himself has honestly confessed—to teach things which he does not know. Like all practical professions, the medical profession embraces a totality of things, many of which are matters of conjecture rather than knowledge. Thus it comes about that philosophical speculations issuing from naturalists are in the same degree more intelligible to the popular mind as they are unsatisfactory to those who start with mechanical or mathematical notions and habits of thought on the one side, or with exclusively psychological and subjective notions on the other. For the former complain that the naturalist uses many words and terms not in a rigidly scientific sense, and the latter complain that he deals with purely psychical phenomena by analogy with external processes which are not really analogous, and give only a semblance of insight.

41. Loose use by naturalists of physical concepts.

As stated above, it has taken thousands of years before such terms as matter, force, energy, potential and actual, have been sufficiently cleared of their purely subjective attributes to enable them to be mathematically defined. In the literature of the naturalist, the physiologist, and psychologist, these terms, however, still occur in a wider sense and are indispensable, denoting something additional and different from the restricted sense in which they occur in the purely exact sciences. In addition to these terms we have others like sub-

stance, cause, life, &c., which lend themselves only with difficulty to any rigid definition at all. The same is also the case with the terms of the more recent vocabulary introduced by the theory of descent, such as: selection, the survival of the fittest, the struggle for existence, and lastly, evolution. No thinker has done more to show how all these notions, with their various expressions in scientific and popular language, are ultimately derived from subjective states, than Professor Ernst Mach of Vienna. His views are independently represented in this country by Prof. Karl Pearson. The matter cannot be more clearly put than was done by the former thinker in the following passage taken from his 'Science of Mechanics.'[1]

42. Mach on the limitation of mechanical physics.

"The division of labour, the restriction of individual inquirers to limited provinces, the investigation of those provinces as a life-work, are the fundamental conditions of a fruitful development of science. Only by such specialisation and restriction of work can the economical instruments of thought, requisite for the mastery of a special field, be perfected. But just here lies a danger —the danger of our overestimating the instruments with which we are so constantly employed, or even of regarding them as the objective aim of science. Now, such a state of affairs has, in our opinion, actually been produced by the disproportionate formal development of physics. The majority of natural inquirers ascribe to the intellectual implements of physics, to the concepts, mass, force, atom, and so forth, whose sole office is to revive economically arranged experiences, a reality beyond and independent of thought. Not only so, but it

[1] 'Die Principien der Mechanik,' 1st. ed., 1883, p. 476 *sqq.*

has even been held that these forces and masses are the real objects of inquiry, and that, if once they were fully explored, all the rest would follow from the equilibrium and motion of these masses. A person who knew the world only through the theatre, if brought behind the scenes and permitted to view the mechanism of the stage's action, might possibly believe that the real world also necessarily had a machine-room, and that, if this were once thoroughly explored, we should know all. Similarly, we too should beware lest the *intellectual* machinery, employed in the representation of the world on *the stage of thought*, be regarded as the basis of the real world. . . . Such an overestimate of physics, in contrast to physiology, such a mistaken conception of the true relations of the two sciences, is displayed in the inquiry whether it is possible *to explain* feelings by the motions of atoms? Let us seek the conditions that could have impelled the mind to formulate so curious a question. We find in the first place that greater *confidence* is placed in our experiences concerning relations of time and space; that we attribute to them a more objective, a more *real* character than to our experiences of colours, sounds, temperatures, and so forth. Yet, if we investigate the matter accurately, we must surely admit that our sensations of time and space are just as much *sensations* as are our sensations of colours, sounds, and odours, only that in our knowledge of the former we are surer and clearer than in that of the latter. Space and time are well ordered systems of sets of sensations."

Let us see what effect this modern analysis of the work of science and the processes of scientific reasoning

43. Effects of modern analysis on view of nature as a whole.

has had on our view of nature as a whole. For we must not forget that the problem of nature, taken philosophically, cannot be solved by detailed researches in restricted areas or by conceptions which refer merely to special phenomena; further, that even if we multiply these researches indefinitely, they will not lead to a comprehensive view of nature as a whole. Just as in psychology, the enormous growth of detailed knowledge in the domain of the sensations has not approached, but rather led away from, an answer to the problem of the Soul or the essence of the inner world, and has ended by throwing overboard the former term altogether; so likewise the enormous bulk of natural knowledge of the phenomena and relations in nature has led us away from a comprehension of nature as a whole, and this for two reasons:—

In the first place, the so-called unification of knowledge, of which we hear so much in recent times, and which has become a watchword among philosophical naturalists, such as Spencer, consists in reducing the great variety of forms and processes which we observe to a small number of general relations expressed in logical or mathematical formulæ. These tend to become more and more purely geometrical when we have to do with the study of natural forms (Morphology), and more and more genealogical when we have to do with living things (Biology). It is true—as I have had ample opportunity to show in earlier chapters—that one of the great influences of Darwinism upon natural science has been to lead the way out of the laboratory, the museum, and the dissecting-room, into the great world and expanse

of nature herself, to the study of the things and forms of nature, not in their abstract and artificial positions, but in the concrete and in their actual environment; also to replace the statical by the dynamical view of things. Nevertheless, the introduction of the general formulæ of selection, adaptation, and evolution, especially when generalised after the fashion of Spencer, is only another instance of the tendency to bring the study of individual things under general principles and rigid formulæ, to look upon the actual things and phenomena of nature merely as examples of general processes, in the same way as earlier naturalists looked upon natural specimens as modelled according to definite and rigid types.

Besides being the only way in which the human mind seems to be able to grasp a great mass of detail and make its knowledge applicable in individual cases and for practical purposes, it seems to afford a special delight to recognise in that which is novel and unknown, traits of that which is familiar and known; still more to find oneself in possession of a leading idea and guiding principle, by the instrumentality of which unknown regions can be explored and new phenomena discovered which would otherwise have remained concealed. Such a fascination attaches, for instance, to the "periods" of Mendeleef (in chemistry), and to the search for the "missing link" of Haeckel (in biology). Especially to those who are fortunate enough to find out such a resemblance, their discovery acts with a magical force, with a kind of spell, compelling them and their disciples to regard the new formula or the happy generalisation as a master-key which unlocks

everything.[1] From this spell of mechanical connections, geometrical configurations or genealogical trees, to which we may add statistical regularities, it has always been the object of a deeper philosophy of

[1] Three thinkers of the very first order have given expression, quite independently of each other, to this reflection. The first is Goethe, who frequently dwells on the subject, but most explicitly in a conversation with Eckermann in the year 1824: "As soon as one belongs in science to a narrow confession, the unbiassed truthful view is at once gone. The decided Vulcanist will always see things through the eyeglass of the Vulcanist, in the same way as the Neptunist and the adherent of the recent 'elevation' theory will do so only through his own. The view of all such theorists, who are obsessed by a special exclusive aspect, has lost its innocence, and objects no more appear in their natural purity." Whenever such students give an account of their observations, we do not, in spite of the greatest personal veracity, receive in any way the truth of the object; we receive things ever only with the taste of a strong subjective flavouring. But I am far from maintaining that an unbiassed correct knowledge stands in the way of observation; rather the old truth stands, that we really have only eyes and ears for what we know. The professional musician hears, in the concord of the orchestra, every instrument and every single note; whereas an outsider remains embarrassed through the massive action of the whole. So also the man who merely enjoys himself sees only the graceful surface of a green and flowery meadow, whereas the eye of the observing botanist is struck by the infinite detail of the most various single plants and grasses. . . . In science we meet persons who, by dint of too much erudition and hypothesis, never get back to seeing and hearing. With them everything turns rapidly inside; they are so much occupied with what they are pondering, that it happens to them as to a man in a passion who passes his nearest friends on the road without seeing them. Observation of nature requires a certain quiet purity of the inner self which is disturbed by nothing, nor preoccupied. . . . Would to God that we all were no more than good labourers! Just because we want to be more, and carry about with us a large apparatus of philosophy and hypotheses, we spoil things." The second is Ruskin, who, at the end of the third volume of 'Modern Painters,' makes the same reflection, though he applies it somewhat differently: "This comparative dimness and untraceableness of the thoughts which are the source of our admiration is not a fault in the thoughts at such a time. It is, on the contrary, a necessary condition of their subordination to the pleasure of Sight. If the thoughts were more distinct we should not *see* so well; and beginning definitely to think we must comparatively cease to see. . . . It is evident that a curiously balanced condition of the powers of mind is necessary to induce full admiration of any natural scene. Let those powers be themselves inert, and the mind vacant of knowledge and destitute of sensibility, and the external object becomes little more to us than it is to birds or insects; we fall into the temper of the clown. On the other hand, let the reasoning powers be shrewd in excess, the knowledge vast, or sensibility intense, and it will go hard but that the visible object will suggest so much that it shall be soon itself forgotten, or become at the utmost merely a kind of key-note to the course of purposeful thought." The third important contribution and confirmation of this reflection is to be found in Charles Darwin's own account of the development of his mind in the course of his life and through the influence of his studies: "In one respect my mind has changed during the last twenty or thirty years. Up to the age of thirty or beyond it, poetry of many kinds, such as the works of Milton, Gray, Byron, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Shelley, gave me great pleasure. . . . Formerly pictures gave me considerable, and music very, great delight. But now for many years I cannot endure to read a line of poetry. . . . I have also almost lost my taste for pictures or music. . . . I retain some taste for fine scenery, but it does not cause me the exquisite delight which it formerly did. . . . This curious and lamentable loss of the higher æsthetic tastes is all the odder, as books on History, Biographies and Travels, and Essays on all sorts of subjects, interest me as much as ever they did. My mind seems to have become a kind of machine for grinding general laws out of large collections of facts, &c." ('Life and Letters of Charles Darwin,' 1st ed., vol. i. p. 100). In the face of this self-depreciation, this honest and modest confession, we may safely maintain that only through the early delight in nature, the intimate communion with her and the breadth of observation, did Darwin's mind succeed in fasteniug upon some undiscovered features of her life as a whole: as he indeed has done more to cultivate and encourage the *vue d'ensemble*, the synoptic view of nature, and to counteract the purely analytic and synthetic methods of the earlier natural sciences, than any other naturalist in recent times. And having, from the deep source which the love of nature revealed to him, drawn such a full and overflowing measure, we may feel thankful that he spent his life in dispensing the same for the benefit of science and the delight of his many followers and admirers.

nature to liberate the human intellect; to point to the diversity and individuality of natural things rather than to their sameness and repetition, and to see in this divine confusion the very essence of nature and the source of all that makes her interesting and delightful to the human soul.

To this philosophical view, which touches the real problem of nature, all the labours of the purely scientific mind seem to unveil only the skeleton around which nature herself throws, in endless ways and varieties,

a clothing of flesh and blood which brings with it beauty, sublimity, and elegance, pointing to and revealing something deeper and higher: the individual and the spiritual, for which no mechanical formula can be found.

In the second place, the analysis of the methods of science, as it has been most exhaustively carried through by Prof. Mach, urges the reflection: that the conceptions of science, or what are usually termed the laws of nature, such as we know them, do not refer at all to nature as a whole, but that they are inevitably bound up with finite departments and occurrences. For, as they only refer to regularities—*i.e.*, to numerous repetitions in time and space, or to frequent examples,—they cannot, of course, be applied to the whole of nature, which is unique, and cannot be compared with limited portions of itself as they may exist in time and space. This argument alone suffices to prove how illegitimate it is to extend such considerations, for instance, as are afforded by the second law of thermo-dynamics (the dissipation of energy), to the world as a whole. Accordingly, here also we find a limit placed to our speculations as to Nature in her entirety, regarding which we cannot apply in any way the term finite or infinite; inasmuch as one thing is certain, that all our knowledge of things natural refers only to a portion, and that an extremely small portion, of the universe.

44. Artistic view of nature.

Those thinkers who, in spite of these limits which encompass our scientific study of nature, nevertheless

desire to gain a deeper insight into the very essence and meaning of the world which surrounds us, have attached themselves to the views that have found expression in the poetical and artistic representation of nature; nor is it merely accidental, it is, indeed, highly significant, that the nineteenth century, which has witnessed the ever louder proclamation of the mechanical conception, has, on the other side, witnessed the growth, in various forms, of naturalism in poetry and art: it has developed not only the mechanical, but also the poetical, interpretation of Nature.

This naturalistic tendency in poetry and fiction showed itself already in the latter half of the previous century, and this independently in the three countries which specially interest us. The greatest influence, however, which this movement has had upon philosophical thought emanated from the personality and works of Goethe, to whom we may trace back most of the attempts which have been made abroad to supplement the purely mechanical (abstract) by a spiritual philosophy of nature, which latter claims to approach nearer to her real essence than the former does. It is also notable in Goethe's conception of nature that, in spite of all the realism which is characteristic of it, the one aspect towards which it is absolutely blind is the mathematical aspect.

45. Goethe as representative of the synoptic view.

Following up a suggestion to which the history of philosophical thought has already led us on sundry occasions, we may say that the peculiar view of nature represented by Goethe, as well as by some of the fore-

most naturalists[1] of modern times, is the synoptic view. To this view every object of contemplation, be it large or small, physical or mental, is a whole, a totality, which, in the actual "Together" of its apparent parts, reveals to us something which is lost as soon as we start to dissect or analyse it. In the most emphatic way this view looks also at nature as a whole. Its rationale may

[1] It would be transgressing the limits of the present section of this History to do more than merely hint at this uniting link of the scientific and the poetical aspects of nature. The subject can only be adequately treated in the third section, which should deal with individual poetic and religious Thought, The instances of poetical or artistic minds of a high order being at the same time naturalists, in the stricter sense of the word, are not frequent, though they exist. Not to mention Lionardo da Vinci, who belongs to a much earlier age, we have, in the eighteenth century, Albrecht von Haller in Germany, Goethe in the beginning and Ruskin in the middle of the nineteenth century. On the other side many of the foremost naturalists of the earlier school, like Buffon in France and Humboldt in Germany, and an increasing number in more recent times, have displayed not only a scientific but a very keen artistic appreciation of natural objects and of nature as a whole. As quite recent instances I may mention Sir Archibald Geikie and Prof. John Arthur Thompson of Aberdeen. No doubt my readers will think of many other examples of the close alliance between the poetical and the scientific love of nature. But Goethe stands out as a unique instance of the immediate influence of poetry, both on science and on philosophy. He clearly pointed out that Sight, and not Thought, represents the beginning and first stage both for the poet and the naturalist. The German language has for this a distinctive term in the word *Anschauung*, which is not identical with Intuition, for it does not necessarily include the mystical element implied by the latter term. It is interesting to see how, probably without much knowledge of German or any acquaintance with Goethe's frequent discourses on this subject, Ruskin, in the 3rd vol. of 'Modern Painters' (1st ed., p. 288), uses the word Sight in exactly the same meaning as belongs to the German word *Anschauung*. As in this sense it has not become current in psychological discussions, I have, as stated above (p. 193 n.), adopted the word "synopsis," denoting by this term "the power of fully perceiving any natural object." It "depends on our being able to group and fasten all our fancies about it as a centre, making a garland of thoughts for it in which each separate thought is subdued and shortened of its own strength in order to fit it for harmony with others,—the intensity of our enjoyment of the object depending first on its own beauty, and then on the richness of the garland. And men who have this habit of clustering and harmonising their thoughts are a little too apt to look scornfully upon the harder workers who tear the bouquet to pieces to examine the stems" (Ruskin, *loc. cit.*, p. 290).

be expressed in Goethe's words: "Nature is neither kernel nor shell; She is everything at once." To this view the distinctions of external and internal, and of the different parts of any natural object, or of nature as a whole, disappear. This view lies on the borderland of poetry and science; of the intuitive grasp of the artist on the one side and of the combined analytic and synthetic processes of the naturalist on the other. It produces, in some instances, the inspired creations of the poet and artist, and in others the ingenious contrivances of the artificer and mechanic.

46. This view indispensable in science also.

But let it not be supposed that science, with all its analytical and synthetical devices, can, for any length of time, dispense with this synoptic view. New trains of reasoning, leading to new scientific theories, to fruitful generalisation and extensive applications, begin not with thought but with Sight. And if, by patient watching and observation, some small trace of the enwoven cipher is discovered and the scientific mind is tempted to follow this up by itself and to forget that it forms but an element of the whole, it nevertheless only as such enables us to take one new step in the comprehension of nature and the world in their actual reality.

It was under the immediate influence of Goethe's synoptic view of nature and its intimate connection with his poetical genius that Schelling strove to make it more immediately fruitful for that philosophical comprehension of nature which, during the most striking phase of his progressive speculations, saw also in art its final consummation. This attempt was doomed to failure;

the logical process is, by itself alone, incapable of grasping the whole, or can do so only to a moderate extent by that creative synthesis which has been remarked on by thinkers like Lotze and Wundt as a unique property of mental, as distinguished from mechanical, activity.

Though Schelling abandoned the task which he had set himself in his earlier philosophy of nature, led away by his growing interest in the ethical and religious problems, he, nevertheless, maintained to the end that the purely inductive processes of the natural, as well as the logical deductions of the philosophical, sciences formed only one way of approaching reality. He stigmatised it as "negative," and maintained emphatically that such must find its counterpart and consummation in what he termed a "positive" philosophy. To the end of his days he was in search of this without being able to find for it a satisfactory and adequate expression. Yet in the meantime, while he was labouring at this unfulfilled task, others, partly with and partly without the help which his earlier suggestive writings afforded, founded or developed that positivism which he was in search of.

47. Double use of the word positive.

And it is significant to see how the very term Positive was used simultaneously by Comte in France and by religious thinkers in Germany to denote a return from metaphysical abstractions to experience and observation of things natural and human on the one side, to individual and historical religious experience on the other. And, besides this, we have the naturalistic tendency of poetry and art in this country represented by Wordsworth, Coleridge, and, later on, by Ruskin; whilst in

Germany the logical categories of Hegel's System guided, in many instances, historical research before the overwhelming volume and achievements of which they themselves gradually vanished into the background.

48. Fechner and Lotze.

The two systems of philosophy, however, on which the twofold aspect of reality suggested by Goethe and Schelling had the greatest influence were those of Fechner and Lotze. The speculations of the former, as contained in his earlier writings, had, as already stated, little or no influence on contemporary philosophical thought, and have only recently received the attention they deserve. But in the writings of Lotze we find all through a distinct appreciation of Schelling's endeavour as well as a very definite and original expression of the truth which lay in Schelling's repeated cry for a positive, as opposed to a purely negative, philosophy.

49. Lotze's distinction between things, forms, and values.

In many passages of his earlier writings, most clearly, however, in the last book of his 'Microcosmus,' in which he gathers up the different threads of his many-sided reasoning, Lotze points out that, to the unbiassed human observer, the world presents itself in three distinct aspects. There is first of all the world of many individual things which are, to look at, bewilderingly intricate and overpowering. Into this apparent chaos and unceasing rush of phenomena the human intellect has, by degrees, imported a certain amount of order, by discovering fixed regularities termed "Laws of nature." The totality of these we can oppose as the world of forms, a definite and ever-growing complex, to that which we now term the world of things or realities.

These two worlds, of which the second is constructed by the human intellect through the observation and study of the first, become, as thought progresses, more and more separate: the world of forms, the laws of nature, appear as necessities, as a fixed and unalterable framework in which individual things and occurrences are encased. The other, the world of things, the endless examples in which these forms and laws seem to be realised, appear on the other side as if they might also have been quite different.

It is conceivable to the human mind that the rigid and eternal laws of nature might also be realised in numberless other worlds than the world which surrounds us. The "this," the "here," and the "when" present themselves accordingly as something fortuitous, however much the many instances and examples may be subject to the same fixed rule and order. To escape, however, from this conception of a merely fortuitous concourse of things, from this doctrine of chance, a further system of realities offers itself to the unbiassed human observer. These are not the things and processes outside of us nor yet the phenomena of an inner life, but the standards of value or worth which the human soul involuntarily applies in its judgments, and in the culture of which man finds the real task of civilisation. The existence of this world of poetical and ethical values or ideals furnishes, according to Lotze, the solution of the world problem and also of the problem of nature in the sense anticipated by Schelling, and the formula would thus be: that the things which surround us are the material *in* which, the laws of nature the forms *through*

which, the world of values, or the Ideals, are, or have to be, realised.

This view of Lotze, which has been strengthened and made more definite by subsequent analyses of the scientific and exact methods employed in the physical and natural sciences — among which those of Prof. Mach have been by far the most thorough and exhaustive—involves two special problems for a philosophy of nature. The first of these problems was also clearly defined about the same time in the writings of British psychologists. The most definite expression was given to it by Dr Chalmers when he said that, in addition to the rigid laws and forms or the mechanism of nature, we must assume a definite "collocation" of the material, the specific disposition of which at any moment constitutes the world picture or the empirical aspect of the universe. This collocation might be considered by some as a mere fortuitous concourse of elements, by others as the work of design.

50. New problems.

The attempt to get over the difficulty by moving the initial collocation of things backward into a shadowy past, and, in addition, by substituting a simpler state of things than we now witness, does not solve the problem, although much labour and ingenuity have been spent over it. Also the assistance which was derived from the mechanical theories of development or evolution, firmly established through observation by Darwin and philosophically elaborated by Herbert Spencer in England and later on by Haeckel in Germany, though enthusiastically accepted in some quarters, has nevertheless proved illusory. It has been

many times exposed as such,—nowhere more clearly than in Prof. James Ward's celebrated lectures.[1] Moreover, the pushing back of the definite collocation of things which is taken as the basis of mathematical or evolutional reasoning introduces further difficulties. As it was clearly recognised that, according to scientific discoveries, a period must have existed when our planetary system, at least, was without life, the problem arose to explain, on purely mechanical principles, how life, and later on conscious life, have been evolved out of dead matter. In fact, the manifest discontinuities which the history of creation presents had to be somehow explained away. This forms the second problem implicitly contained in Lotze's formula. To put it concisely: the problem of Nature involves, besides an explanation of the æsthetical or poetic value or meaning of her aspects, the two problems of the "Contingent" and the "Discontinuous." Lotze's own view as to these two cardinal questions may be shortly stated as follows.

The question of the Contingent—*i.e.*, of a certain collocation or arrangement of things in space, exhibiting, as Schelling had already stated, an element of freedom or choice, or, as others would state it, an element of chance—refers to the way in which, at any definite moment in time, things are spread out before us in space. And it may here be noted that it really does not matter very much what moment of time we choose as the basis of our

[1] 'Naturalism and Agnosticism' (2 vols., 1st ed., 1899). This important publication has been followed in 1911 by a further series entitled 'The Realm of Ends or Pluralism and Theism.' I shall have an opportunity of dealing with the systematic view developed in these writings in a future chapter of this section, which will be entitled "Of Systems of Philosophy."

speculations or as the beginning, not of things themselves, but of our logical and scientific reasoning about them. The Discontinuous, on the other side, presents itself when, adopting a certain definite collocation which, it must not be forgotten, contains the feature of contingency, we attempt to explain how from this initial state, which we have observed or assumed, the further historical developments can be mechanically deduced. And here it may again be noted that, if we include already in our initial collocation the elements of life and mind—as some so-called Monists, like Haeckel, do,—we have nevertheless to explain the continual growth of mental values, so clearly pointed out by Wundt, and the unforeseen and erratic creations, inventions, and discoveries of genius.

51. The problems of the Contingent and the Discontinuous outstanding.

These two problems of the Contingent and the Discontinuous remain, at the end of the nineteenth century, the two principal outstanding problems in which the great problem of nature specifies itself. The philosophy of Lotze, in the æsthetical and ethical aspects which it contains, points to a solution of these difficulties. As this, however, leads us away from the present subject, I shall take it up in later chapters.

The ideas of Lotze, which, as I have shown, reach back to the speculations of Schelling, have not been adequately appreciated and followed up in subsequent German philosophy. This has moved mainly on other lines. At the moment, however, it seems, as I have already stated above, as if Lotze's views are creating a renewed and deeper interest.

It is to French thought within the last thirty years

that we have to turn for a fuller appreciation and a clearer definition of the problems I refer to. In France the problems of the Contingent and the Discontinuous have found respectively independent and original treatment in the schools of which Jules Lachelier and Charles Renouvier form the centres. The writings of the former are few—two or three essays,[1] showing great originality and depth of thought; but through his teaching at the École Normale, Lachelier has had a profound and far-reaching influence on recent French philosophy. On the other hand, Charles Renouvier has elaborated his views in many critical, historical, and constructive works.

52. Lachelier and Renouvier.

From an historical point of view it is interesting to see how these two independent lines of speculation, as well as several others of a more exact nature, are leading the most recent current of French philosophical thought towards a renewed study and appreciation of Leibnizian ideas. Perhaps the most important and suggestive among these writings is the short tract by Lachelier entitled, 'Du Fondement de l'Induction.' It was published in 1871, and deserves to be regarded as a corner-stone in the edifice of modern thought. Readers of the earlier writings of Lotze will find in it a clear and elegant exposition of many ideas similar to his, though the subject is approached from a different side.

The main idea which runs through the whole of the discussion is that the inductive process of reasoning, as we actually employ it, depends not only upon the neces-

[1] The writings of Jules Lachelier (1832-1875) have been republished in a small volume (Félix Alcan, 4th ed., 1902).

sary connection of cause and effect—*i.e.*, of antecedent and consequent, but quite as much upon the conception of finality—*i.e.*, of a definite end or ends. For the employment of the category of causality alone reveals to us in nature merely numberless series of connected phenomena; it does not deal with the interconnection of these series themselves in a comprehensive scheme.[1] We require indeed not only regularities but also a harmony among these separate regularities. Now, harmony implies a reference to an *ensemble*, or together, or a whole; in the end, to the totality of things. It is therefore only through some conception referring to the whole or totality of things that we can satisfy the inherent requisite of thought—viz., to bring unity and order into our view of nature. It is quite true that this reference to the whole of nature which is identical with that of finality cannot be subjected to the rigorous methods by which we establish the geometrical arrangements and changes in space and time; it rests upon an anticipation with which we approach the phenomena of nature. "Nature is," as Lachelier says, "at once, a *science*, which never leaves off deducing effects from causes, and an *art*, which without end exercises itself in new inventions; and if it is given to us, in some instances, to follow by calculation a uniform progress of that science which works at the foundation of things, induction properly understood consists rather in divining, by a kind of instinct, the varying processes of the art which plays on the

[1] We may perhaps say that causality alone would reduce our image of nature to a bundle of threads, or at best a texture, which would give us no picture full of life and colour.

surface." [1] Moreover, Lachelier endeavours to show how the mechanical connections are bound up with the essence of human thinking and are as such purely formal, whereas the actual content of this form is given to us not through thought but through sensation or sight. "Thought which would rest exclusively on the mechanical unity in nature lies, as it were, on the surface of things without penetrating into the things themselves: divorced from reality it would be itself deficient in reality, and would be no more than the empty form or abstract possibility of thought. We must therefore find the means at once of making thought real and reality intelligible; and this can only be done through a second unity which stands in the same relation to the matter of phenomena as the first stands to their form." [2]

Whilst Lachelier thus dwells upon the contingent in Nature, a subject which has received further treatment in the writings of Émile Boutroux,[3] Charles Renouvier was led away from the positivist creed which he originally embraced by a different line of argument. He recognised the insufficiency of positivism by realising that contradictions and discontinuities meet us everywhere in our contemplation of the world of nature as well as the facts of history. He thus abandoned his original endeavour to bring unity and order into his philosophical views by reducing qualitative to quantitative differences and by finding imperceptible transitions between phenomena which stand ostensibly apart—*i.e.*, by the study of the continuous. This attempt, he found, could not be consistently and satisfactorily carried through. It seems, as he himself tells us, that this change in his opinions was brought about by a study of the writings of Descartes and the Critiques of Kant. In fact, he professes to continue and correct the work of the latter which he considers to be fundamental. His philosophy was therefore known, for a long time, as Neocriticism, and retained this title till, in his more recent constructive works, he dwelt on the positive idea of personality as the ultimate conception we could reach in philosophy.

[1] 'Du Fondement de l'Induction,' p. 73.
[2] Ibid., p. 77.
[3] 'De la Contingence des Lois de la Nature' (3rd ed., 1898).

Since that time his system is known under the name of "Personnalisme." From this we see that his reasoning dwells more upon the ethical outcome of philosophy than upon the æsthetical, which is characteristic of the school of Lachelier. Renouvier was evidently much impressed by the ultimate contradictions or "Antinomies" to which we are logically led by following out the lines of thought suggested to us by experience and observation. He sees in this part of Kant's criticism the most important contribution which he has made to modern thought. But he does not agree with the manner in which Kant tried to solve his antinomies. He does not believe in the contrast of the phenomenal and noumenal worlds, nor of the empirical and transcendental (intelligible). For Renouvier there is only one world,—the world of phenomena; he is so far a pure empiricist or phenomenist. But the contradictions in

the phenomenal world cannot be slurred over, nor the discontinuities got rid of,—in fact, they constitute the very essence, in opposition to the mere form, of reality. The way in which they are to be met is peculiar to Renouvier's philosophy. They are to be met by a free choice which every thinker has to make for himself. Thus we have, so far as nature is concerned, to choose between the infinite in time and space and the finite; in history, between continuity or necessity of events and their freedom (individuality); and, to sum up, we have to base our system of philosophy ultimately on free will or mechanism—that is to say, we have to choose between being Determinists or Indeterminists. The very fact that the Determinists themselves arrive only through a definite resolution at their final conviction is a proof that their conclusion is self-contradictory. This is an argument which Renouvier has adopted from his friend Jules Lequier. We are here reminded of the dictum of Lotze, that a final belief depends ultimately upon a resolution of the character; and of Fichte, who maintained that the philosophy a man chooses depends ultimately upon the kind of man he is. And further, Renouvier agrees—probably unconsciously—with Lotze in this, that a firm conviction gained by an act of free will—*i.e.*, of self-determination—is the beginning and not the end of every philosophical system.

The later writings of Renouvier do not interest us much in the present connection, though they contain a fanciful cosmology. The interest of his speculations lies in their critical and ethical portions, and in the strong emphasis which he lays everywhere upon freedom

of development, — an idea which he identifies with discontinuity.[1]

53. Transition to æsthetic and ethical aspects.

We thus find that, at the end of the century, the problem of nature has become specified in a manner which points on the one side to the poetical and artistic, on the other side to the ethical and practical aspects as necessary complements to purely mechanical views such as have been elaborated and become fruitful in science. By a general consensus of opinion among the representatives of many schools of thought, the mechanical views of nature reveal to us only the necessary forms of thought by which we can acquire a mastery over natural things and processes; they do not reveal to us either the essence or the meaning—*i.e.*, the soul—of nature. Nevertheless, this latter term has a definite sense, and can as little be got rid of in any true philosophy of nature as the term Soul or Spirit can be permanently eliminated from a study and comprehension of the inner life.

The problem of nature has, in the course of the nineteenth century, met with a fate similar to that which has befallen other philosophical problems. It has been taken over by the exact and the natural sciences; and, so far as the deeper questions of the essence and meaning of things natural are concerned, the earlier philosophy

[1] The problem of the Contingent will occupy us again in later chapters. In the meantime I may mention that it forms the principal subject of discussion in Alfred Fouillée's critical account of the idealistic as opposed to the positivistic movement in modern French thought. He there ('Le Mouvement Idéaliste,' 2me ed., 1896, pp. 151-277) traces "la théorie de la contingence, telle que l'ont soutenue Lotze, M. Renouvier, M. Boutroux, M. Bergson," into what he considers its ethical consequences, according to which it should be judged. The best discussion of this side of the subject in English literature is to be found in the 4th of Prof. Ward's second series of 'Gifford Lectures,' 1911.

of nature has had likewise to give way to the poetical and artistic treatment, in which Goethe and Wordsworth on the one side, the great schools of modern landscape painting on the other, have shown us the way. We have thus two distinct and seemingly different aspects of nature. This has drawn forth the oft-repeated lament to which Schiller in his 'Götter Griechenlands' has given classical expression. But Goethe and Ruskin have told us what they and other great masters on both sides have always felt, that the two ways of approaching and understanding nature are ultimately rooted in Sight, and not in Thought; to which source they must ever and again return for new guidance and inspiration.

As in other instances, when the old problem has been taken out of the hands of the philosopher, there still remains the philosophical task to examine the methods by which mental work is being carried on in these new fields, and the principles upon which it rests. We have seen how an analysis of the methods and principles of the scientific exploration of nature has, under the name of philosophy of nature, largely occupied philosophy in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was to be expected that a similar interest would attach to the philosophical study of the principles of poetical and artistic creation. Accordingly, we find that this has, in the course of the century, more and more engaged the attention of thinkers, so that a new philosophical inquiry, under the name of Æsthetics, now forms a prominent subject of philosophical interest, centring in a definite problem,—the problem of the Beautiful.

This will be the subject of the next chapter.

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EUROPEAN THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Τοιοῦτος οὖν μοι ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἔστω, . . .
ξένος ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις καὶ ἄπολις.

—LUCIAN.

A HISTORY

OF

EUROPEAN THOUGHT

IN THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY

JOHN THEODORE MERZ

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A HISTORY OF EUROPEAN THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

PART II.

PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT

(*CONCLUDED*).

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ συνοπτικὸς διαλεκτικός, ὁ δὲ μὴ οὔ.

—PLATO.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE BEAUTIFUL.

I.

IN the course of this history I have had occasion to characterise nineteenth century thought by various epithets. Two of them have been prominent. I have in the first part called the nineteenth century, so far as its thought is concerned, the Scientific century. And secondly, in the present portion of my narrative which deals with philosophical thought I have called the nineteenth century the Critical century. I shall now introduce the problem with which this chapter will deal by calling the nineteenth century the Æsthetical century. I wish to emphasise the difference between æsthetical and artistic as, in itself, characteristic of modern thought. An age or a nation may be called artistic which produces great works of art; an age may be called æsthetic which writes and talks about them.

1. The Æsthetical century.

In spite of the fact that a great deal has been done during the nineteenth century to diffuse a love and understanding of art, I do not think that anyone would venture to call the nineteenth century an artistic

century. Other centuries belonging to the ancient world, or to the transition from the middle ages to modern times, might lay claim to be called the artistic periods of history. The nineteenth century can set up no such claim. Though it has produced an enormous volume of poetry and art, and has certainly excelled in musical composition, it might perhaps rather deserve the name of the inartistic century; so much has been done, through the growth of industries and by the congestion of teeming masses of population, to destroy the natural beauty which was to be found almost everywhere before steam and electricity usurped the leading place as features and agencies of intercourse and civilisation. It may be that the very recognition of this has prompted a large part of the writings and speculations about art, not infrequently with a desire to bring back again what has been lost.[1]

[1] The larger portion of the writings on art will not be dealt with in this chapter, nor in this section of the 'History of European Thought.' That portion goes usually under the name of Criticism; to it I referred in the second chapter of this section. In the narrower sense, as cultivated traditionally in France, it owes its diffusion and influence mainly to the growth of periodical literature, and is sometimes identified with literary taste. As such, its History has been written by Prof. George Saintsbury, whose 'History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe' (3 vols., 1900-1904) seems to be the only comprehensive and complete treatise on the subject. The author marks off his province from that of textual and higher Criticism on the one side, and refuses, on the other, to "meddle with the more transcendental Æsthetic, with those ambitious theories of Beauty, and of artistic Pleasure in general, which, fascinating and noble as they appear, have too often proved cloud-Junos" (vol. i. p. 3). He proposes to go to work entirely *a posteriori*, and "except on the rarest occasions when it may be safe to generalise," confines himself "wholly to the particular and the actual" (p. 4). So far, therefore, as the nineteenth century is concerned, his review of that period takes no note of what specially interests us in the present chapter—viz., the different philosophical theories of the Beautiful. On the other side he deals with many works and authors of which I shall make no mention. This refers pre-eminently to what has been written on Art and Literature in France and, to a large extent also, in this country. Some of these writings are highly original and important, indicating sometimes quite novel aspects of thought. As their authors, however, have rarely defined their method, they belong to the great region of individual or subjective thought which, in the plan of this History, should form an independent third section. That a large portion of the most valuable methodical—philosophical and scientific—thought has its origin in this region is a truth with which I desire to impress my readers.

Be this as it may, writings about art, whether purely critical or scientific or metaphysical, sprang up in great number about the end of the eighteenth century, and have continued to increase in quantity and bulk all through the nineteenth century; pre-eminently in Germany, but latterly also in the other countries of Western and Southern Europe.

2. The term Æsthetic.

The term "Æsthetic" was first introduced, as denoting a theory of the Beautiful or a treatise on Art, by the Leibnizian professor, Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, in his 'Æsthetica,' which was published, in Latin, in the year 1750. He had already used the term in an earlier thesis from the year 1735. Thirty years later Kant introduced the same term in a larger sense, co-ordinating in the first of his 'Critiques' the word "Æsthetic" with the word "Logic," as referring respectively to the two sides of the intellectual process—viz., perception and conception. It has, however, been correctly remarked that, as Baumgarten's treatise contained nothing new, except the term which he invented, and as this term itself did not become general till much later, his contribution to the solution of the æsthetical problem or the problem of the Beautiful was not in any way of much importance. Quite recently the Italian philosopher, Benedetto Croce, has claimed for his countryman, Giambattista Vico, in

his 'Scienza Nuova,' the discovery of the "Independence of the realm of Æsthetics," though he has to admit that Vico's ideas remained for a long time unknown and sterile.

During the eighteenth century what we now term Æsthetical problems or questions of taste had been treated from a critical and psychological point of view by several philosophical writers in this country, among whom Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Hume, and Burke are conspicuous. It is important to note that it is this narrower psychological aspect and not the great metaphysical systems of Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibniz on the Continent which renewed the philosophical interest in the great problems of poetry, art, and the beautiful that had played such a prominent part in the ancient speculations of Plato, Aristotle, and Plotinus.

3. Æsthetics in the eighteenth century.

The speculations of German thinkers on art, poetry, and the Beautiful, mark an epoch in the development of modern conceptions regarding these subjects. Although the external stimulus was probably given to them in this region, as likewise in many others, by this country, it must be admitted that they raised the subject to an entirely different level, created for it a wider and deeper interest, and established it once for all as an integral and independent discipline in philosophical teaching. The historical causes which brought this about are many and complicated. The following are some of the more important.

4. Systematised in Germany.

5. Sociological causes.

To begin with, the theoretical interest in poetry and art was closely allied in Germany with that great movement under the influence of which other regions of thought received a novel treatment and a new start.

This was the educational movement, notably in its higher claims and in the wider sense which the word education acquired in the writings of Lessing, Herder, Schiller, and Goethe. Lessing wrote a treatise on the education of mankind. Herder, in his writings as well as in his official position, occupied himself all through his life with the problem of education, which he conceived to consist in the widening, deepening, and spiritualising of human interest. Schiller published his celebrated letters "on the æsthetical education of man," and Goethe not only gave pointed and telling expression, in many passages of his writings and in his voluminous correspondence, to the aims and ideals which impelled his age, but also stood before the world as a living example of the highest form of liberal self-culture, striving continuously to subdue that element which "drags us all down," and which, in his own beautiful words, Schiller alone had cast into a shadowy distance: "the Vulgar."[1]

[1] Indessen schritt sein Geist gewaltig fort
In's Ewige des Wahren, Guten, Schönen,
Und hinter ihm, in wesenlosem Scheine,
Lag, was uns Alle bändigt, das Gemeine.

The poem in which these beautiful lines are contained is, I believe, little known in this country though it is rich in poetical feeling and in sentences which have become proverbial, and contains some of those telling words which Goethe has introduced into the German language. It had its origin in a memorial service held on the 10th August 1805, after Schiller's death, and was subsequently twice repeated in 1810 and 1815 with some additional stanzas. It is termed an "Epilogue to Schiller's Song of the Bell"; this being, in the opinion of many, one of the most characteristic of Schiller's poetic productions. As such it attaches itself immediately to the closing words of that "Song," according to which the first ring of the newly-cast bell should be the message of Peace. If the "Song of the Bell" gives one in a few pages a fairly complete idea of the peculiarity and many-sidedness of Schiller's poetical genius, the "Epilogue," on the other side, is quite as characteristic of Goethe's mind: one of the finest and most magnanimous tributes that ever a poet paid to the genius of his friend and rival.

6. Stimulus from classical and foreign literatures.

In studying the history of other civilisations and the growth and diffusion of human culture in other ages and nations, the gaze of many a German thinker was arrested by the greatness of classical literature and the splendour of ancient art. In the latter direction it was notably Winckelmann who led the way and, for a long time, guided German art-criticism. It was he who had so great an influence upon the formation of Lessing's ideas and the earlier views of Goethe, and who gave to classical studies in Germany that artistic and literary colouring which was grievously absent in many of the older grammarians, editors, and commentators. But in the sequel Herder and Goethe did not confine their interests, as did the classical philologists, to an understanding of the models of Greece and Rome, but simultaneously took up with avidity not only the study of Shakespeare and Dante, of English and Italian literature, but also of that of Spain and Portugal, and furthermore of the great newly discovered Eastern world. In fact, the cosmopolitan interest in the songs, poetry, and literature of primitive as well as of highly cultured peoples was one, and certainly not the least, among the lasting achievements of the earlier Romantic school. The leaders here were the brothers Schlegel and Ludwig Tieck.

But there was a third influence which made itself felt in the development of German æsthetics—an influence which did not come from this country, which was indeed rather opposed to the manner in which philosophical problems were treated here. This is the methodical or systematic tendency of all German thought, which grew with the establishment and growth of the German University system.

7. Influence of the German University system.

versity system. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the great philosophers abroad were, as little as those in this country, induced to regulate their literary utterances by the necessities of teaching. If, in spite of this, the philosophies of the Continent were marked by systematic unity and a love of strict method, this was owing to other causes to which I have had occasion to refer in former chapters. I have there defined this circumstance by saying that the leading thinkers on the Continent aimed at elaborating a philosophical or reasoned creed, and that the solution of special, psychological, logical, or ethical problems was a secondary and subservient consideration, the main object being to define and develop a central idea. But this systematic and methodical bias was further strengthened when philosophy became in Germany a prominent subject in academic teaching. This introduced the desire to give, not only system and method but also completeness. It was probably with this consideration that Baumgarten interpolated æsthetics in the range of the special philosophical disciplines. A similar desire for method, system, and completeness is also characteristic of Kant's great work. In fact, it is not too much to say that the elaborate formalism which pervades almost the whole of modern German philosophy may be largely traced to the influence of Kant's works, and this in its good as well as its evil consequences.

8. Kant.

So far as our present subject is concerned, it is remarkable what an enormous influence was exerted by speculations which stood in little or no connection with the great literary movement in the centre of Germany.

We are not aware that Kant took any notice of Winckelmann, Lessing, or Goethe. Of Herder he must have known enough, as Herder had been his pupil and was intimate with Hamann, a friend and townsman of Kant's; but it seems that the spirit which breathed in Hamann's and Herder's writings was not congenial to him. Nevertheless, when Kant's teaching was transplanted into the centre of Germany by Reinhold, it produced a deep and lasting impression, not only on philosophical thought but likewise upon general literature and science, and nowhere more than on German æsthetics. This was owing not so much to the systematic treatment which æsthetics received at the hand of Kant in the third 'Critique,' published in 1790, as to sundry prominent ideas which he put forward and which formed starting-points for the speculations of others. It will be of interest if we try to specify these ideas somewhat more closely.

In his first two Critiques Kant had dealt with two problems which were then exercising many thoughtful minds in Germany, but he had dealt with them in a novel and inspiriting manner. The philosophy of common-sense, imported from England and popularised by the writers of the 'Aufklärung,' had already put in a fresh way before the thinking mind the two problems of knowledge and practice, the questions, "What can we know?" and "What ought we to do?" But the answer to these questions could not, in Germany, remain in the position which was given to it in those writings. "Common-sense," which in its home had mostly consisted in isolated replies to isolated questions, professed in its

disciples abroad to give a complete Philosophy of Life. To afford this it was deficient in depth and comprehensiveness. It required to be spiritualised and enlivened. The earlier leaders of the new movement in Germany tried to do this by what we now term the sentimental, a phase of literature influenced partly by English writers, but quite as much by the writings of Rousseau. This earlier phase was followed by a new and genuine outburst of true poetry in Goethe, who came under the influence of the English, of Rousseau, of Winckelmann's classicism, of Lessing's criticism, of Herder's naturalism, and of Spinoza's pantheism, but emerged from all these influences with an original though unsystematic philosophy of his own. Compared with this underlying but unwritten philosophy of poetry and art, that of the schools appeared hopelessly dry and shallow. It must have been generally felt that the skeleton of logical forms and moral precepts had to be clothed with something that would give it life, colour, and interest, and which corresponded more with the spirit of the age. In search of it forgotten thinkers, such as Spinoza, were studied. It was, however, Kant who first of all supplied what was wanted, and this in apparent connection with the ruling philosophy of the schools on the one side and those very writings of Locke, Hume, and Reid on the other, which had been superficially absorbed by the popular philosophy of the period. But of the new critical, and especially of the poetical, literature of his country Kant had taken no notice, and it might appear as if his philosophy would not do justice to the poetical and artistic powers of the human mind,—the very side from which the leaders in German literature,

Lessing, Herder, Goethe, and Schiller, drew that inspiration which was to elevate the nation out of the flatland of dry rationalism, narrow orthodoxy, and prosaic moralising.

9. The Critique of Judgment.

The genesis of Kant's third Critique has been the subject of much writing and many discussions. The edifice of philosophy built up in the first two Critiques seemed incomplete and divided into two independent structures. This circumstance alone may have prompted its author, who delighted beyond measure in architectonic grouping, in symmetry and system, to add a third and completing structure which would unite the different parts into a complete and harmonious whole. But not only had his system appeared externally disunited through its separate treatment of the intellectual and the practical problems, but both treatments had alike emphasised the duality between the intelligible and the sensible, between the real and the phenomenal worlds. That we should remain in perfect ignorance of the underlying reality of things and yet be able, through our senses and our intellect, to create and possess a knowledge which somehow corresponded to this unknown something; that, in practice, we should in the phenomenal world be expected and able to carry out, to some extent at least, a purely abstract principle of action,—both these circumstances pointed to the existence of some correspondence between the Known and the Unknown. Otherwise the world of knowledge and that of action would fall hopelessly asunder in the same way as the system itself which in the first Critique started from the known phenomenal world, and confessed itself unable to find the real, and, in

the second Critique, started from a moral dictum, demanding categorical realisation without being able to show that such was possible. The third Critique professedly aimed at meeting this want, by filling the gap which was left in the architecture as well as in the ideas of the system. The two main conceptions which were introduced for this purpose—though their connection was never satisfactorily explained—were the conception of the Beautiful and the conception of final causes or Ends. To what extent Kant was influenced by the prominent part which isolated questions of taste played in some of his favourite English authors, as well as in Rousseau's writings, or by the recent introduction by Baumgarten of æsthetics as a separate discipline, it is impossible to say. There is, however, no doubt that by assigning to poetry and art, to beauty and the beautiful, a prominent function in the world of thought and in the philosophy of life, he fell in with a current of ideas which was running very strong in the minds and works of the foremost German writers of his age.

10. Schiller.

Before Kant's 'Theory of the Beautiful' was published, and before it became generally known, Schiller had already speculated independently on the same subject. It was subsequently largely owing to Schiller's appreciation and partial assimilation of Kant's views that the latter were extensively studied. In this respect he did for Kant's æsthetical what Reinhold had done, ten years earlier, for his intellectual and practical philosophy. In addition to this, Schiller was probably the first genuine and great artist who felt the necessity of accompanying his poetical creations by theoretical reflections on the

source, the aims and value of art as a whole, and of the Beautiful in nature and art. With him higher criticism applied to the region of art, went hand in hand with creation. If we except Plato, who may perhaps claim a place among creative artists, what the latter had done, up to the time of Schiller, to establish or perfect a theory of their own activity, consisted in the discussion of isolated questions of taste and technique, such as we find in Horace's "Epistle to the Pisos," and in its many modern imitations, in Lionardo da Vinci's or in Hogarth's fanciful treatise on the line of beauty. Schiller, in fact, went the length of promising a complete philosophy of the Beautiful, which, however, was never written. But what he started—viz., the discussion of art by the artist himself—was followed, or independently taken up, by many of the poets and artists of the nineteenth century, among whom we find such names as Wordsworth and Coleridge, and later on Ruskin and William Morris in England, and in Germany Robert Schumann and Richard Wagner in music.[1]

[1] With an increasing philosophical interest in Art and the creative faculty of the artist, there has arisen an historical interest, not only in Art itself but latterly also in the theories of Art; and thus we find, within the last fifty years, attempts made to write the history of Æsthetic. As in other subjects, so also in this, German erudition has furnished the more elaborate works, but this country and Italy have followed with important and original contributions, whilst in France the sociological aspect and value of Art has been discussed by thinkers of very different schools. The earliest of the larger treatises came, curiously enough, from that school of philosophy in Germany in which the problem of the Beautiful was really most meagrely treated, out of the school of Leibniz and Herbart. Robert Zimmermann (1824-1898), Professor in Prague and Vienna, published in 1858 his History of 'Æsthetic as a Philosophical Science.' It is written from the Herbartian point of view, æsthetic being considered as a *Formwissenschaft*. It was followed in 1871 by the History of 'Æsthetic as the Philosophy of the Beautiful and of Art,' by Max Schasler (1819-1903). As the founder and editor for a long period of some of the foremost Art Magazines in Germany, and, in consequence, not unjustly claiming some freedom from academic pedantry and more practical acquaintance with artistic creations and interests, he nevertheless attaches himself to the definite philosophical tradition which centred in Hegel and was handed down through two of the most original and productive of Hegel's disciples: Karl Rosenkranz (1805-1879) and Fr. Theod. Vischer (1807-1887). Shortly before Schasler's Work there appeared in the Munich Collection of the Histories of Sciences in Germany a very original work on the 'History of German Æsthetics,' by Hermann Lotze. This work is highly subjective, and has accordingly been very differently judged both as to its criticisms and its style, which have been blamed as deficient in decision, definiteness, and simplicity; thus, *e.g.*, by Schasler, by E. von Hartmann (to whom we owe a critical 'Account of German Æsthetics from the point of view of the Philosophy of the Unconscious,' 1886), and by a writer of a very different order, Henri Fr. Amiel (1821-1881), who, in his 'Journal Intime' (ed. E. Scherer, 4 ed., vol. ii. p. 26), confessed himself attracted in the beginning but wearied by a further perusal of the book, coming to the conclusion that "les Allemands entassent les fagots du bûcher, les Français apportent les étincelles." Nevertheless, Lotze's work is well worth studying in connection with his own æsthetical teaching, which forms a striking feature in his system, as notably also for its lucid exposition of the æsthetical doctrine of Chr. Herm. Weisse (1801-1866), who, as we shall see, forms a link between Hegel and Lotze himself. As such it seems to have escaped merited attention by the only foremost thinker of this country who has devoted himself to a profound study of the History of Æsthetics, Professor Bernard Bosanquet, to whose original work on this subject (2nd ed., 1904) I am much indebted. Quite recently we have a spirited and original treatment of the subject, also in the light of a special theory, by the eminent Italian thinker, Signor Benedetto Croce. As standing impartially outside of the literature of the three nations who have so far devoted themselves to this subject, his work is especially fresh and interesting. I shall quote from the French translation of the 2nd ed. by Henry Bigot (1904) with the title 'Esthétique comme science de l'expression et linguistique générale.'

The main point on which Schiller agreed with Kant, even before he knew much of the writings of the latter, was this, that the region of the Beautiful stood in definite relations to that of knowledge (the True) and that of practice (the Good), that among human interests poetry and art occupied a definite place. At the same time he agreed with Kant in maintaining the independence of the three ideals, and opposed the attempt to confuse them or absorb one of them in the others. As he was,

11. Special mission of Art.

however, more of an artist than of an abstract thinker, the doctrine of the independence of Art became magnified in his mind so as to signify the special mission which Art had to fulfil in the origin and progress of culture. Schiller's speculations can be divided into two periods, as has been clearly pointed out by Kuno Fischer.[1] It is incorrect to look upon Schiller merely as a disciple of Kant. His speculations started much earlier than the appearance of Kant's principal work on Æsthetics, which he did not study till he had laid down his own ideas, not only in prose writings and in his correspondence with Körner, but likewise in one of his greatest and most original poems, 'Die Künstler' (1789). On this inspired poem he spent much time, discussing it with friends and other prominent writers, such as Körner, Wieland, and Moritz. But it belongs to the period which preceded his personal association with Goethe and his acquaintance with Kant's theory. In it he puts into a final form his earlier pre-Kantian conception of the place which beauty and art occupy in the evolution of human culture.[2] Two points

[1] In his 'Schiller-Schriften' (1892). The second series deals specially with Schiller as a philosopher, and divides the subject into two periods: the earlier pre-Kantian period, falling into the third decade of Schiller's life (1779-1789); the second comprising Schiller's career as an academic teacher (1789-1796).

[2] Schiller's speculations in this his first period stood under the influence of Spinoza, Leibniz, and some of the English writers, such as Shaftesbury and Ferguson. They centred in what he termed his *Kunst-idee* (art-idea). This included the Spinozistic conception that the whole of creation is divine and the Leibnizian idea of a universal harmony and of the world of monads, each of which reflected the whole with more or less distinctness. It has been remarked (*e.g.*, by Lotze, in his 'Geschichte der Aesthetik,' p. 9 *sqq.*) that Leibniz' system contained important suggestions which might have been developed in the interest of a philosophy of the Beautiful, but that this escaped his immediate followers, such as Baumgarten, Moses Mendelssohn, and others. Nevertheless, such poetical minds as Herder, Schiller, Goethe, and Schelling always felt themselves attracted by Leibniz' ideas, though not by the manner in which they had been stripped of their poetical interest in the systematic philosophy of the Wolffian school. In addition to the doctrine of the pre-established harmony which led to the conception of the World as a work of beauty and of Divine Art, Leibniz' doctrine of the *petites perceptions*, the half-illuminated storehouse of the Soul, which formed the abode of the sensations of beauty, lent itself to a twofold, a prosaic and a poetical, interpretation. It might be interpreted as meaning that the Beautiful was an inferior stage in the development of ideas which in Knowledge and Science had to rise to complete clearness and definition, or it might be interpreted as meaning that the human soul contained an inexhaustible store, or fund, of intuitive knowledge on which the intellect with its stricter logical methods could always draw, finding new matter for thought. The immediate followers of Leibniz accepted the former interpretation, and started their æsthetical theories, as Lotze has shown, with a kind of excuse for the necessity of their existence to fill up a gap which had been left in the system, attempting to furnish a kind of logic of sensations, inferior, it is true, to the perfect logic of thought. The other and more inspiring interpretation of Leibniz' doctrine was, consciously or unconsciously, worked out by later idealistic thinkers at a time when Germany had put forward its great creative effort in the realms of poetry and art, an effort which had been wanting or not sufficiently recognised (note the long-delayed appreciation of Sebastian Bach's great musical creation) before the end of the eighteenth century.

are prominently brought forward: the first is, that man, as placed between the purely sensual (animal) and the purely intellectual (superhuman) creation, alone possesses art; this latter flourishes only on the borderland of the higher and lower worlds.[1] The second leading idea is that art or poetry appears in history before science and philosophy; the Beautiful is the portal through which man enters into the region of truth.

Kant had given expression to the first idea in a different form.[2] He had maintained that neither the

[1] In industry a bee may be your master,
And greater skill a worm may own,
Knowledge thou shar'st with Spirits vaster,
But Art, oh Man, thou hast alone.

[2] A great deal has been written regarding the exact point at which Kantian ideas made themselves felt in the philosophy of the Beautiful, which, as we have seen, was a subject that had occupied Schiller independently. It likewise crops up in the writings of Winckelmann, of Lessing, of Herder, and of Goethe in connection with and suggested by their own poetical and artistic creations. But though their writings abound in valuable hints and aphorisms on the subject, they deal more immediately with definite artistic problems, and they do not get the length of a comprehensive treatment of the problem of the Beautiful in its general-

region of the sensations alone nor that of the intellect alone afforded any room for the æsthetic faculty—*i.e.*, for the appreciation or creation of the Beautiful. He had thrown out the idea—though he had not maintained the existence—of an intuitive intellect as opposed to the discursive intellect with which human beings were endowed. This idea was taken up by some of his followers

ity. This certainly stood as a task before the mind of Schiller even before he became acquainted with Kant's original treatment. His knowledge and appreciation of Kant's writings had been confined to two tracts which Kant had written in the 'Berlin Monthly' on "the problem of the origin and historical development of the human race" (1784-1786). These had impressed him much, and convinced him, as he wrote to Körner (29th August 1787), that he would be obliged to "read and perhaps to study" Kant. The novelty in Kant's treatment may be stated to consist in the attempt to find in the human mind the exact position which the sensation, perception, and recognition of the Beautiful occupied as compared with the purely intellectual faculties on the one side and the moral on the other. It was indeed a psychological problem, but one conceived under the sway of the older faculty-psychology. The following extract taken from Schasler's History referred to above (p. 471 *sqq.*) will, I think, give my readers the clearest and most concise statement so far as it interests us in this chapter. "Kant's philosophy falls into the two divisions of the theoretical and practical philosophy—*i.e.*, into the doctrine of the subjectivity of knowledge and the doctrine of liberty: the former is treated in the 'Critique of Pure Reason,' the latter in the 'Critique of Practical Reason.' The former, subjective knowledge, forms the region of understanding, its aim being Truth; the latter, the subjective will, with its aim in the Good, is the province of reason. Kant is the first who distinguished these two, understanding and reason, as separate faculties, a distinction which has since, at least in this sense, been superseded. Between these two opposed faculties Kant interposes a third, the faculty of Judgment, in this wise that on the one side it participates in both, and on the other differs from them. It has in common with the understanding judgment; with the faculty of desire, pleasure and displeasure; but in order not to identify them, Kant adds that its judgment is without conceptions, for with these the understanding alone is occupied, and its pleasure is without interest, for this belongs only to the faculty of desire. Whilst understanding is directed towards the True, and willing towards the Good, the faculty of judgment is directed to the Beautiful, for this implies, on the one side, a judgment, viz., that of approval, but without a notion of the essence of the thing; and produces, on the other side, satisfaction, but without a practical interest in it. This recognition of the Beautiful without definite conceptions is what we call Taste."

in the conception of an intellectual intuition, and, as we shall see, played a great part in their writings. About the time when Schiller became acquainted with Kantian æsthetics a great change had come over his own ideas, and this change was helped on by the study of Kant's works. When Schiller wrote his earlier treatises and the great poem 'The Artists,' he was living under the impression that a new era had dawned upon humanity; it was the short period of repose which in Germany succeeded the wars of Frederick the Great, and preceded the wars of the Revolution. In art, literature, and poetry a new life had started. It was of home growth, but was nourished by influences which came from far and near, from the ancient and the modern world; it had in the eyes of its leaders a cosmopolitan, a humanitarian character. Under this impression Schiller had begun his poem with a glorification of the age which, as it seemed to him, had, through art and poetry, risen to a singular height of calm dignity and repose, opening illimitable vistas into the higher regions of culture. This impression was for a short time heightened by the great promise which the first stages and events of the French Revolution held out to the hopes of many thoughtful observers. But subsequent events soon changed the whole aspect. "Since his 'Künstler' four years had passed, a great volume of stirring world-events had happened, and his view of the height of civilised humanity had been radically changed. Within a short time he had witnessed the outburst of the French Revolution, its destructive storms, the fall of Royalism, the horrors of September, the foundation of the Re-

12. Influence of Revolution.

public, the execution of the King, the victorious beginnings of the Revolutionary wars. The new Republic had given him the right of citizenship; the document (which reached him only after years) was dated August 1792, was signed by Danton and forwarded by Roland. . . . Under the impression of murderous terrorism, overcome by horror and pity, he retracted the high opinion which he had formed of the humanities of the age. The present generation is not ripe for civil, as it is wanting in human, freedom. . . . He had thought that art had furthered the noble work of human education, the fruit of which was human culture and liberty; he had now become convinced that this work had not been done in the present time—it had rather to be held in view, to be begun. The æsthetical education of man, which in his poem he had praised as the work of bygone times, rose before him as the task of the future."[1]

At the same time the conviction must have dawned upon Schiller as it dawned upon many others, that what was needed was not so much an æsthetical as an ethical revival: strict discipline and order, the acknowledgment of duty, reverence for the sacredness and inviolability of a supreme moral law. This was the note that Kant had already struck in the second of his three Critiques. He had there proclaimed, in all rigour and above all compromise, his 'Categorical Imperative.' When Schiller, after an absence of several years, returned to Jena, he met there the second great disciple of Kant's philosophy—Fichte, who had succeeded Reinhold.

[1] *See* Kuno Fischer, *loc. cit.*, p. 291 *sqq.*

If Reinhold had been the chief exponent of Kant's intellectualism, Fichte became the still greater exponent of his moral system. He was fully impressed by the necessity of following up Kant's work in that direction. He preached the autonomy of the human will, self-restrained liberty, as the foundation of the moral order and the only guarantee for its maintenance. This elevated idea of human freedom, opposed alike to slavery and to libertinism of every kind, was an ideal not unknown to Schiller, but it was expressed by Kant and Fichte in the most captivating terms. It takes from now a leading part in Schiller's speculations regarding the Beautiful.

13. Schiller's assimilation of Kantian Ethics.

At the same time all this indicated a split in the humanistic movement which had centred in Weimar, and of which, by tacit consent, Goethe's person and Muse formed the brilliant focus. A discord had arisen which may be defined by the divergence of the æsthetical and the ethical idealists. The latter, whose leader for a short time was Fichte, saw before them definite practical tasks which had to be clearly set before the age and nation and pushed forward with vigour and self-sacrifice. The serenity of the poetical and artistic atmosphere had become disturbed; those who wished to maintain it had to retire more or less from active life into what Plato termed the world of ideas, into the recesses of their own artistic consciousness, into the region of self-culture, of poetry and artistic creation. Schiller proclaimed this in the last of his philosophical poems: it was termed 'Ideal and Life,' and was published in 1795. Its theme is æsthetical freedom, to be gained by rising,

14. Split in the humanistic movement.

through the help of art and beauty, out of the evils and limitations of life into the sphere of the Ideal. What Schiller proclaimed Goethe actually carried out. Through his long life he strove to attain to what he termed inner freedom. From this hard-won height he contemplated what was going on around him, elaborated a serene and dignified philosophy of life which he did not teach, but of which he gave lasting testimony in the brilliant productions of his poetic genius. He crowned his life and his work with the unique tragedy of 'Faust,' in which the highest problems of life are treated in a manner consistent with the deepest interests of nineteenth century thought, assimilating the valuable ideas of his age, forecasting in a prophetic manner many developments which to others revealed themselves only gradually during the long course of the century, placing the old problems in a new light and hinting at new ways for their possible solution. Only now, when reviewing, after the lapse of a century, the position which Goethe took up at the time, can we appreciate the great gain which not only German literature, German art, and the German nation, but the whole of the civilised world has reaped through the self-reliance and self-restraint with which Goethe, in those years of strife, tumult, and unsettlement, retired into what appeared to many a sphere of epicurean ataraxy or of egoistic repose. He felt that only by so doing could he fulfil the mission in which he believed, and bring out the truth that was in him. He worked at the definition of problems which exist at all times and everywhere, and are not confined to a special age or a limited society.

15. Goethe's "inner freedom."

To show all this more fully is not my object at present, as Goethe's activity belongs to the sphere of poetical and subjective rather than to that of philosophical thought. An adequate appreciation of his surpassing greatness and influence would properly belong to a different section of this history. In the region of philosophical thought his presence, nevertheless, made itself continually felt, though from outside or from depths which lie hidden below those speculations which found expression in the actual literature or the academic teaching of the age.

It is, however, important for our present purpose to note how the ethical idealism moved away from its birthplace at Jena and Weimar into a larger sphere of action, and became ultimately centred in Berlin and the Prussian State, whence emanated, under the leadership of Prussia's greatest minister, Stein, the anti-Napoleonic revolution of Europe, followed by the wars of Liberation, and later on by the age of Restoration and Reaction. Philosophical thought through this migration did not escape the temptation of allying itself in later years with the aims and doctrines of political and ecclesiastical parties, a circumstance which did not work for its true interests, but contributed much to pull it down from the high level which it had occupied in the earlier years of the century.

16. Severance of art and literature from practice.

Through the severance which thus took place between the literary and artistic work of the nation on the one side and the practical work on the other, the former was left free to follow its own independent course. This had its advantages as well as its disadvantages. Among the former must be reckoned the unhindered pursuit of

philosophical, scientific, and poetical labours for their own sake; among the latter, the fact that German literature and German philosophy became gradually estranged from the practical interests of life, and moved in a region by themselves: from being imaginative they gradually became fantastic. What in Goethe were only passing phases of his poetical development which mutually supplemented each other and contributed to the depth and width of the whole of his matured thought, were singly taken up and exaggerated by a school of poets and artists which assumed the name of Romantic. It was a movement which was sometimes opposed to the classical and sometimes to other interests nearer at hand: thus arose Mediævalism, a return to Roman Catholicism, a love for the remote and the unreal. In all these endeavours we think we can trace at least one common and prominent feature, namely, the desire better to understand and to cultivate the world of the Beautiful, to appreciate it wherever it could be found, and to elevate it to the rank of a living and active principle. This movement found its philosophical expression in the writings and academic teaching of Schelling, who has been appropriately termed the philosopher of romanticism. As romanticism itself was characterised by no definite and fixed aim, but by a variety of interests, so also did Schelling's speculation pass through a succession of different phases, marking rather a great aspiration than a lasting and valuable achievement. It is, however, Schelling's undoubted merit to have done more thoroughly what Schiller had attempted before him, namely, to have conceived of

17. Schelling the philosopher of Romanticism.

the beautiful, not as a casual and fanciful attribute of certain things or mental states but as an independent revelation of the essence of reality, of the truly Real. "It was of high value to look upon beauty, not as a stranger in the world, not as a casual aspect afforded by some phenomena under accidental conditions, but as the fortunate revelation of that principle which permeates all reality with its living activity; it was of value that this idealism put an end to merely psychological theories which reduced the beautiful to a convenient coincidence of external impressions with our subjective habits of thought; and, on the contrary, sought in every object of beauty its objective meaning in the connection of a comprehensive world-plan; it was of value to recognise in all those formal properties of continuity, of unity in multiplicity, and of comprehensiveness upon which actually our æsthetical feeling rests, the actual forms in which the eternal ground of everything has voluntarily unfolded itself; and, lastly, it was of value to look upon art likewise not as an accidental play of human powers which might also be wanting, but as a necessary stage in that series of developments which form the essential nature and life of the Eternal and truly Real."[1]

[1] Lotze, 'Geschichte der Aesthetik in Deutschland' (p. 125 *sqq.*). This passage may serve as a convenient opportunity to define more precisely the object before us in treating of the Beautiful as a problem of philosophical thought. Leaving out of consideration the views developed in ancient times by Plato, Aristotle, and especially by Plotinus, as to the place of the Beautiful and of Art in a comprehensive theory of the world and of life, we do not find (with the solitary exceptions, perhaps, of St Augustine's 'Beauty of the Universe' and Leibniz's 'Pre-established Harmony,' neither of which was developed in the interest of a philosophy of the Beautiful) the problem treated in this larger spirit till we come to German philosophy in the last

In this passage, taken from Lotze's 'History of Æsthetics in Germany,' various theories are touched upon which philosophers before Schelling had framed regarding special questions and problems in which the larger comprehensive problem of the Beautiful had presented itself to them. These theories can be divided into two classes. Notably to the earlier English philo-

third of the eighteenth century, and there we find it introduced, as stated in the text, from two sides: first, in the interest of an aspiring conception of the task of education; and, secondly, as a connecting link between the two great divisions of Kant's doctrine. These two interests met for the first time with full appreciation in Schiller, and his influence in this sense cannot be overestimated. The direction which, through this combination, was given to philosophical thought, and which helped materially to raise it to a level which it had not occupied since the time of Plato, is very largely owing to him, and this has been recognised from very different sides in the historical treatment of Æsthetics and Philosophy by Hegel, Kuno Fischer, Lotze, and Schasler, although his dependence on Kant has sometimes been overestimated. "Full of the warmest reverence for Kant, subjecting the mobility of his poetic mind to Kant's severe training, he tried to reconcile the rich intuitions of an artistic consciousness with the ever-present maxims of his master," embodying his reflections "in that brilliant series of æsthetical dissertations which form, for all time, one of the finest ornaments of our [German] national literature" (Lotze, *loc. cit.*, p. 87). In consequence of this the problem of the Beautiful has, first in Germany, and later in France, England, and Italy, become of importance in philosophical thought: æsthetics has been enriched by a new chapter. It is only with this that we have to do at present. The large volume of art-criticism based upon a study of the masterpieces in poetry, art, and composition in its various branches, and the attempt to arrive at standards, rules, and canons of taste do not enter into the history of philosophical thought, although treatises of æsthetics very frequently intermix what we may term the rational and the empirical treatment. As in the case of the problem of Knowledge we did not occupy ourselves with the details of logical doctrine, and shall not hereafter, when treating of the ethical problem, deal with the detail of systems of morality, so we are not now interested in the detail of æsthetical theories dealing with different arts in their historical development. The fact that many of the best writers on these subjects have got their inspiration from a very different quarter—viz., from the source of purely individual thought—shows that æsthetics, as well as science, logic, ethics, and theology, as a separate body of doctrine, has its root and origin, not so much in philosophical reflection as in the needs of practice or in the more hidden recesses of the human soul.

sophers to whom I referred above, such as Shaftesbury and Hutcheson, two questions presented themselves. First, the question as to the origin, in the human soul, of the distinction which we make between the Beautiful and its opposite; and, secondly, the further question: What distinguishes beautiful things from their opposite? The former was a psychological, the latter a metaphysical, question. This distinction, which deals with the psychological origin of the sensations of beauty on the one side and with the definition of beauty on the other—the subjective and the objective aspect of beauty,—runs parallel with a similar treatment of the ethical problem which also divided itself into the two questions: How does the moral judgment arise in the human soul? and, What is the criterion of goodness? In the two cases we may say that a distinction was made between the questions as to the moral or æsthetical sense possessed by human beings and the question as to the criterion of the good and the beautiful. The two discussions, that referring to the beautiful or matters of taste and that referring to the good or matters of duty and obligation, were frequently mixed up, a clear distinction between the morally and the æsthetically beautiful being overlooked or wellnigh extinguished. This led to a kind of æstheticism in morals and to moralising in matters of taste, which did much havoc, especially among many of the German writers of the 'Aufklärung.' It was one of Kant's merits to have put an end to this sensualism and æstheticism in morals, and to have emphasised again the stern sense of duty not only as the foundation of morality but also as the most im-

18. Shaftesbury and Hutcheson.

portant problem in all philosophy. To the conception of the good and of moral obligation, which constitute the supreme interest of life, he opposed that which pleases us without any ulterior or personal interest. The beautiful, according to him, is an object and source of disinterested pleasure. By this view, however, he suppressed an aspect of the question which was taken up by later thinkers, and is now familiar to us—the aspect according to which both the beautiful and the good have their origin psychologically in the idea of value or worth which we attach to things or actions, and which points to the existence of certain standards possessed by the human mind. According to these we judge external things and human actions, and assign to them a certain value. The difference between the æsthetical and the ethical value is this, that the latter always implies and is accompanied by a sense of obligation.

19. Kant's theory of disinterested pleasure.

A second series of discussions, to which Lotze refers, turned upon the subdivision of the beautiful. For instance, how is the beautiful distinguished from that which is merely pleasant and agreeable? to what extent and why does utility please? These discussions led to what has been termed Utilitarianism and Eudæmonism in æsthetics and in questions of art. One of the favourite points of discussion was that regarding the difference between the Sublime and the Beautiful. On this subject Edmund Burke had published, in 1756, his celebrated 'Essay.' It was translated and much read in Germany, and became suggestive to Kant, as well as independently to Schiller, who both framed theories based upon this distinction.

20. The Beautiful and the Sublime.

A further very important view regarding the nature of the beautiful referred to in the passage quoted above is its supposed casual and accidental nature. When Kant found himself unable to establish a clear connection between the intelligible and the phenomenal worlds, either in his intellectual or in his practical philosophy, the fact did not escape him that, in single though isolated instances both in nature and in human life, the distance by which substance and form were usually kept apart appeared to be annulled; the form appearing expressive of definite meaning, and the substance or content revealing itself almost perfectly in its formal representation; both form and substance, in fact, appearing completely adequate and mutually exhaustive. Such instances, which are rare and isolated, and, as it were, fortunate coincidences, come to us as surprises, as glimpses into the hidden harmony of things, and fill us with that peculiar joy and satisfaction which constitute the real nature of æsthetical pleasure. The artist himself, who is able to create such instances and afford this insight or revelation, does so by the force of his genius, in an unexplained and unaccountable manner working within him. This view led Schiller, in the second period of his æsthetical speculations, to a celebrated theory which has, in more recent times, been independently revived in this country by Herbert Spencer.

This theory was worked out in a series of letters which Schiller wrote to the Duke of Augustenburg, and which were afterwards published in the periodical named 'The Hours.' In it Schiller finds the origin of art in

21. Schiller's "Play-theory."

the instinct or impulse to "Play"; he conceives of man as rising out of a complete dependence on nature, and as exhibiting a superabundance of life and energy in the freedom of Play. "The animal plays when a superabundance of life stimulates it into action." This is the lowest stage of play, which in a higher stage becomes creative. Play creates a world and forms of its own. This world of its own is the world of semblance or beautiful appearance. This appearance may be gained by imitation or by free action, but imitation becomes beautiful and real when it rises to independence; and free action becomes beautiful when it contains within itself its own end, when it is not only the means but an end in itself. Thus, before man is ripe for the exercise of moral freedom he passes through the stage of æsthetical freedom; before the seriousness of life sets in, the child is introduced to the sphere of freedom through play; it learns to use its powers without constraint before it advances to the use of them for a definite end and purpose. The unconstrained freedom of play, within the limits of the beautiful, precedes the self-constrained freedom of action according to the moral law. It has been remarked that Schiller's speculations contain an antinomy, an inherent contradiction. "Two questions press upon us. We are told that out of the æsthetical stage the moral is produced easily and with certainty, and as such is and remains the higher. On the other side we are assured that with the æsthetical condition the moral is already fulfilled, that its task is performed, that therefore moral exertion is not any more required but

has become superfluous. . . . Schiller distinguishes three stages in the development of mankind: the physical, the æsthetical, and the moral. In the first stage we are controlled by the force or might of things, and experience the world as a 'dark and hidden' fatality; in the second we liberate ourselves from this power; in the third we control it."

As Kuno Fischer has shown, Schiller has not solved this contradiction. With one foot he stands within the rigorism of Kant's ethics, with the other he stands in the world of the artist or poet, and draws the picture of the beautiful soul in which the highest moral law is obeyed, not as the result of a conflict, but as the inevitable outcome of its own beautiful nature. The letters on the "æsthetical education of mankind" were succeeded by the essay on "Naïve und sentimentalische Dichtung." This is probably among Schiller's philosophical essays the one which possesses most permanent value. In it he has attained a complete understanding of the great change which had come over modern art and poetry in his age, to which he himself so largely contributed, and of which his own later works belong to the most brilliant examples. To this insight he had risen through a third influence which made itself felt during the last decade of the eighteenth century, namely, the influence not only of Goethe's works but of Goethe's personality. Schiller's early speculations upon art and poetry went hand in hand with the first period of his greater poetical productions. He then lived under the influence of the neo-classical ideal. When this was destroyed or was found to be inadequate, he

for a short time came under the extreme influence of Kant's and Fichte's philosophy with its ethical rigorism. He stood for a moment in danger of giving up poetry for philosophy, but his poetical genius asserted its supremacy again and was led to higher activity through his contact with Goethe. With the last of his philosophical essays, just mentioned, and the last of his philosophical poems, he retired from the field of speculation and entered into the last and greatest phase of his creative productivity.

In the course of his various speculations, and through his intercourse and correspondence with Körner, Goethe, and Wilhelm von Humboldt, Schiller had arrived at a more or less definite conception that two new problems presented themselves to the thinker on art: the problem of the beautiful had become much more complicated. These two new problems had likewise occupied Goethe's prolonged thought, though his occupation with them was never methodical and continuous.[1] They can

[1] The question, how to deal with Goethe in a history of German thought, is as important and difficult as it will be, how to deal with Ruskin in a history of more recent thought on which he has had a very marked and—so far as that of the Continent is concerned—a growing influence. As to Goethe, historians of æsthetics have had difficulty in assigning to him a definite place, or have, like Lotze, von Hartmann, and B. Croce, left him out altogether; and this has also been his fate in most of the German histories of philosophy. In the plan of this work a discussion of his many-sided intellectual activity, including the thought revealed in his poetical creations, should belong to the third section. Nevertheless, it may be noted here that it is probably owing mainly to his influence that Schelling in his speculations was led away from the direct line indicated by Kant and Fichte through the philosophy of nature and that of art into the region of the spiritual and mystical, somewhat analogous to the various stages described in the second part of Goethe's 'Faust.' Schelling was, though no doubt only for a short time, under the influence of Schiller, yet he was much more attracted by Goethe's love of nature; whereas Hegel, though referring to Goethe, laid more stress upon the stimulus which Schiller had imparted to German speculation at the end of the eighteenth century. For the English mind a very spirited and interesting but somewhat superficial picture of Goethe was drawn by G. H. Lewes, and this defect was not removed even by Carlyle's sympathetic Essays, and still less by the oft-quoted passage from Matthew Arnold ('Memorial Verses,' 1850), where he said—

"The end is everywhere,
Art still has truth, take refuge there!"

The latter marks only a passing phase in Goethe's as well as in Schiller's thought, which is readily explained by the hopeless conditions which surrounded them, following on the track of revolution and war. Out of this Goethe had, for a time, withdrawn into the serene atmosphere of classicism in art and poetry; but the classical ideal could not, in the long-run, satisfy his nature, and after giving living testimony to it in some of his most perfect works, he again returned to a conception of art in its relation not only to nature but also to practical life and its deeper ethical and religious interests. And here we must note a neglected side in Goethe's philosophy of life: his appreciation of human labour, of the dignity of honest and useful work, even of simple handicraft or manual toil. It has perhaps not been generally recognised, though it is pointed out by Bosanquet ('History of Æsthetic,' p. 306), how a kindred spirit actuated the two greatest unsystematic philosophers of the nineteenth century, Goethe and Ruskin: "Goethe's short paper, 'German Architecture' [1773], is perhaps the profoundest æsthetic utterance of the eighteenth century. For in it we have the germ of those ideas which were to find their full expression eighty years after in the chapter on the 'Nature of Gothic' in Mr Ruskin's 'Stones of Venice.' I fear that the indifference of our philosophic historians to the former utterance is but too well explained by their unfamiliarity with the latter and all that it implies. The relation of all work to the life of the individual workman is not indeed insisted on by Goethe, but the point of view which he adopted was one in which this relation was necessarily involved." Two prominent articles of a practical religious creed were common to both thinkers; the blessing and dignity of useful labour carried on with reverence for a spiritual end. It does not appear as if Schelling had appreciated this side of Goethe's conception of Art.

be best understood by pointing to the difference between Art and Beauty. This difference became emphasised as soon as poets and artists on the one side, and writers on art on the other, took a wider view than had been the custom both with the artists and the critics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; when the former evolved a style of their own, and the latter ceased to lay down formal rules. In two directions the view was widened. It was widened first through the growing love of nature, through the re-

22. Nature and Art.

cognition of natural as differing from artistic beauty: or — if we like to put it in a different way which suggested itself very early—we may say, if beauty and art are to be convertible terms, nature must be looked upon as an artist and, *vice versâ*, the artist must be looked upon as producing his works after the same fashion as Nature or the Creator has produced natural things — viz., through a conscious or unconscious but inevitable impulse. The second problem which presented itself was the relation of the work of art to

23. Personality of the Artist.

the personality of the artist and to the idea which it had to express. It was recognised that modern, as distinguished from ancient art, had a different function to perform. To express this, Schiller had written the last of his philosophical essays. In this he distinguished ancient from modern art, the former being naïve, the latter suggestive. The former appeared in its greatest models, such as those of Greek Sculpture (which Winckelmann had studied) or the Epics of Homer (then brought into prominence by Voss and F. A. Wolf), to have attained to a complete harmony of form and content. Such works were complete in themselves, neither pointing to an ulterior purpose nor suggesting glimpses into something beyond. On the other side, modern works of art, of which the great poem of Dante and the great works of the Italian painters may be considered to be examples, pointed to a higher and far-off world of ideas which they aimed at representing, into which they opened out illimitable vistas or momentary glimpses. Schiller expressed the difference by saying that ancient classic art excelled through Limitation,

modern art through recognising the illimitable, the Infinite; he further explained the difference by referring to his own experience. He was, according to his own confession, so much occupied, during the earlier phases of his poetic creations, with a desire to represent the ideal, to embody a higher meaning in poetical form and language, that he was blind to the *naïveté* or immediateness both of Shakespeare and Homer, in whose works we meet with a living creation behind which the personality of the author disappears, remaining unknown and unapproachable, and which are intelligible and impressive without explanation. Goethe had already pointed to the peculiar character of Gothic art and to that of Albrecht Dürer, as exhibiting the aspirations and workmanship of the artist. Many of the works of more modern artists, notably of the French and Dutch schools, would also suggest to the student and thinker the existence of works of art of high technical merit which do not come, or which come only slightly, into the region of the Beautiful.

Out of these various discussions which were carried on in a lively and stimulating manner in Schiller's periodical, 'The Hours,'[1] the distinction between the

[1] This "Monthly" was started by Schiller in the year 1794. It followed upon an earlier serial, 'Thalia.' Between them they contain Schiller's two most important and mature æsthetical essays: the first (in the 'Thalia,' 1793) was entitled "Anmuth und Würde," and testifies to the strong influence which Kant's philosophy had upon Schiller's conceptions of Art and the Beautiful. It drew after it an appreciative reference by Kant himself in the second edition of his work, 'Religion within the Limits of mere Reason.' Schiller had read Kant's work with the greatest interest, but had revolted against Kant's doctrine of the "radical evil inherent in human nature," though he admitted that Kant's arguments were unanswerable. His own Essay on "Grace and Dignity" gave him an opportunity to oppose Kant's rigorism. In this controversy with Kant two expressions have become

significance and the beauty of a work of art, between the idea and the form, became more and more clarified. The discussion was further enriched by the introduction of a new term, the "Characteristic." It was maintained that Art has to represent the characteristic, not the Ideal.

24. The "Characteristic."

I have frequently had occasion to point out how various lines of thought which strove indefinitely to give expression to a hidden conception were brought together through the introduction of some novel word or

celebrated. Schiller allowed that "Kant's ethics were necessary, considering the lax morality of the age: he became the Drako of his age because he did not consider it worthy and ready to receive a Solon," but added further on, "How have the children of the household deserved it that he [Kant] should only look after the servants." The philosophical question was, How was freedom, the autonomous nature of the moral law, compatible with the radical propensity to evil? moral beauty and grace would become impossible. To this Kant replied by a celebrated simile, "Only after vanquishing the monsters was Hercules introduced to the Muses, who, on their part, shrunk from that severe task." This symbol of Kant's has, so Kuno Fischer says, suggested to Schiller one of the finest verses in his latest philosophical poem, "Das Ideal und das Leben." Goethe, on the other hand, missed in Schiller's treatment a real appreciation of natural beauty, and felt even personally offended by some passages which he supposed were directed against his own position; but an approximation of the poets was soon to follow, and after it we have in 'The Hours' that last and most important of Schiller's æsthetical essays named in the text; it had the full appreciation of Goethe himself. In contrasting Realism and Idealism in poetry, in art, and in the whole of human endeavour, Schiller has opened out illuminating aspects of great importance: "His ideas and reflections have borne fruit everywhere, and have exerted a distinct influence on many regions of thought. They have flowed, as Gervinus remarks, into the minutest arteries of our [German] national culture. We carry them about in our minds not knowing whence they come. Especially in criticism and literary history, the philosophy of art and culture are immensely indebted to Schiller. Those distinctions have, under different names, made the run of the whole world, and they laid (according to an expression of Goethe) the first foundation of all modern æsthetic; for all synonymous conceptions which have been put forward, antique and modern, Hellenic and Romantic, popular and artistic, are only sports and variations of those fundamental distinctions brought out by Schiller" (Berger's 'Schiller,' vol. ii. p. 234; see also Goethe, Werke, section ii., vol. ii. p. 53).

term, which serves as a kind of resting-place in the development of ideas, giving temporary satisfaction and a basis for further discussion. It forms, as it were, the synthesis or bringing together of many and varied contributions, and prepares the application of the reverse process of analysis and explication. Thus we find in more recent times that the word Evolution has exercised such a function, bringing together or focalising many stray thoughts and indefinite suggestions, affording for a moment the triumphant feeling that a new step had been taken forward, a new and comprehensive aspect gained, and that it only required further explication and unfolding in order to bring in a rich harvest of results. To the historian such definite steps never present themselves as final, the focus is soon lost again and the rays of light scattered, the rest and satisfaction afforded proved to have been only temporary. As such we must regard the introduction of the term Characteristic, and the philosophies which made use of it, such as the philosophy of Schelling. It is, however, of value to see how, in the term "Characteristic," various attributes were united by which artists and thinkers of that age tried to define to themselves the objects of art or the nature of the Beautiful. The word itself had been first introduced by two friends of Goethe, and the conception had then been criticised by Goethe himself. To him the characteristic was, as it were, the skeleton around which both nature and the artist threw the definite form which produced the beautiful object. We know—and I have elsewhere had occasion to refer to it—how Goethe was impressed by the platonic conception of ideas as the

archetypes which, in the real world, found only an imperfect expression; how he for a long time sought for the "Urpflanze," for the original or typical plant from which all other plants are ideally or actually derived; how he sought in his optical theories for the "Urphänomen" or ground-phenomenon, which would lead him to an artistic understanding of the world of colour. To others, again, the word characteristic implied unity and consistency, and, lastly, the character of a creation of art or nature places itself, as it were, between the idea which is too general and the individual object which is too particular, being only one of many representations of it. Kant had already emphasised the necessity of finding a middle term between reason, as the faculty of ideas, and the world of the senses which contains many things and examples.

25. Goethe on seriousness and play.

In a charming essay which Goethe wrote for an art journal entitled 'The Collector and his Friends' (1799) he gives, not without some quiet irony, a description of the different views on art which were at that time current and much discussed. Without referring specially to Schiller's Play-theory, he finds two indispensable elements in every work of art, the element of seriousness and the element of play. Neither alone will produce either beauty or perfection or truth in art. The serious element alone leads only to imitation, to faithfulness in detail, or, on a higher level, to character; Play alone leads only to fancy or to ornamentation or to sketchiness; but, united, these different extremes produce the attributes of a true work of art; imitation joined with fancy produces artistic truth; character with

ornamentation or grace produces beauty, and the sketch becomes perfect only by the elaboration of detail.[1] This charming effusion of Goethe's, a piece of fiction in letters and dialogue, must have been before the mind of Schelling when he wrote and delivered before the Academy of Munich, nine years later, his celebrated address "on the relation of the fine arts to nature."[2] He there succeeds in giving a yet correcter expression of what must have been an underlying thought in Goethe's mind. The passage is worth repeating in full: "How does it come about that to every person of fairly educated taste imitations of so-called reality which are so close as to become deceptive, appear nevertheless to be untrue, that they make the impression of spectres; whereas a work of art in which a thought is dominant captivates with a full power of truth, placing you as it were in the truly real world? How does it come to pass except through the, more or less, hidden feeling which declares that thought is the only living principle in things, everything else being without substance, a vain shadow? On the same ground all the reverse instances are explained which are brought up as examples to show how nature has been surpassed by art. If the artist stays the rapid current of man's years, combining the power of developed

26. Schelling on Art and the problem of Reality.

[1] The term characteristic had been introduced by Hirt (1759-1836), had been commended by Goethe in correspondence with his friend Meyer, and had then been playfully treated in the Dialogue mentioned in the text. It has, however, been correctly remarked, *e.g.*, by Bielchowsky, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 238), that for Goethe himself these marked differences, expressed by the terms Real, Ideal, and Characteristic, do not exist, as his view was eminently synoptic, and averse, as we have seen before (vol. iii. p. 608), to minute analysis and philosophical distinctions.

[2] Published in Schelling's 'Werke,' sec. i., vol. vii. pp. 289 *sqq.*

manhood with the tender charm of early youth, or showing a mother with grown-up sons and daughters in the full possession of healthy beauty: what does he else than remove that which is unessential, time? If, according to the remark of one who well knows, every product of nature has only one moment of truly perfect beauty, we may also say that it has only one moment of full and complete existence. In this moment it is what it is through all eternity: outside of this it is only becoming or vanishing. Art, representing its essence in that very moment, lifts it out of the sequence of time: she lets it appear in its true being, in the eternity of its own life."[1]

Had Schelling been content to remain at this point of his speculations, he would have saved himself and his admirers the many disappointments of his later career. When he delivered his address, which ranks in substance as well as in form as one of the finest specimens of writing in the German language, he was already passing into a different stage of his philosophy. His words were rather a reminiscence of bygone days when his orbit coincided for a moment with that of his older and greater contemporary, Goethe. The latter, with the true instinct and genius of the poet and artist, was spared the temptation and the desire of following his theories into their logical consequences. Schelling lived always on the borderland of poetry and science. The greatest that he has done resembles his own description of works of art; they are only true to reality for a moment, they are momentary glimpses resembling

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 302.

poetical visions and, on closer examination, reveal their ephemeral transient character. Thus during the earlier period of his career when he lived, wrote, and lectured in Jena and Weimar, he thought that he had found in the Beautiful and in Art the consummation of his philosophical system, the revelation of the Absolute or truly Real; but the solution satisfied him only for a moment.

27. This only a transitional point of view.

In his system of Transcendental Idealism, which was published in the year 1800, Schelling had passed through that phase of philosophical development in which he assigned to Art the highest function. He had there attained to what he considered a higher position than that occupied by his predecessor Fichte. The latter's interest was centred in the ethical problem. For him the conscious self was the beginning, its development in the sphere of self-constrained freedom, the end of life and the problem of philosophy. From this point of view he had neglected nature. His career coincided momentarily with that of Schiller, but he never did justice to the spirit of Goethe's implied but unwritten philosophy of nature. This was reserved for Schelling, who realised that a better understanding of the problems formulated by Kant on the one side, and forming the deeper interests of the new era of culture on the other, could only be attained by moving the centre of thought away from the extreme subjective position of Fichte, by recognising the underlying unity of nature and mind. Accordingly, Schelling took up in real earnest an idea thrown out by Kant. Goethe himself had done the same, as he explained in a series of autobiographical

memoranda which seem to refer to that period.[1] The drift of the argument which was systematically developed by Schelling may be found in a short reference of Goethe's entitled 'Intuitive Judgment.' He there refers to his desire to utilise, if not to penetrate, Kant's speculation in the third of his Critiques, admitting that this attempt had wellnigh driven him to desperation. "In this respect," Goethe says, "the following passage [viz., from Kant] seemed to me to be most important: 'We can imagine an intellect which, not being discursive like our own, but intuitive, proceeds from the synthetically universal, the sight of a whole as such, to the particular, *i.e.*, from the whole to its parts.—Not that it is at all necessary to prove that such an *intellectus archetypus* is possible, but only that we, in contrast to our own discursive intellect which requires images (*intellectus ectypus*), . . . are led to the idea of an *intellectus archetypus*, and that it contains no contradiction.' It appears, indeed, as if the author here referred to a Divine intellect; but if we are to elevate ourselves in the moral region through the belief in God, Virtue, and Immortality, into a higher sphere,[1] the same might conceivably take place in the intellectual region; we might through the contemplation [sight] of an ever-creating nature become worthy to take an intellectual part in her creations. Had I not indeed unconsciously and through a hidden impulse, untiringly striven for the ground-form and the typical, even though I had succeeded in building up a natural exposition, nothing would now prevent me from courageously facing what the old man of Königsberg termed 'the adventure of reason' itself."

[1] These are contained in the 11th vol. of the 2nd section of the Weimar edition of Goethe's Works. The passage referring mainly to Kant's influence is to be found on p. 47 *sqq*. After explaining that he listened with interest to the manifold discussions which arose in the circle of his friends over the First and Second 'Critiques' of Kant, without being able to penetrate beyond the introduction and below the surface, Goethe continues: "But now the 'Critique of Judgment' came into my hands, and to it I owe a most joyful period of my life. Here I saw my most disparate occupations brought together; the creations of art and nature treated one like the other, æsthetic and teleological judgments mutually illuminating each other. Though my manner of regarding things could not always fit into that of the author, if here and there I found something wanting, yet the great leading ideas of the book were analogous to my own; the creating, doing and thinking of the inner life of art as well as that of nature, both acting from within, were clearly expressed in the book. The productions of these two infinite worlds were to be there for their own sakes, near each other and for each other, but not intentionally in consequence of each other. . . . I rejoiced that the art of the poet and the comparative study of things natural were so intimately related, both submitting to the same power of judgment." Goethe then goes on to remark that the Kantians could not follow his interpretation of Kant, but that his discussions with Schiller led the latter to consider the difference of ancient and modern poetry, and resulted in his Essay on 'Naïve and Sentimental Poetry,' which became the foundation of all modern æsthetics. In the sequel of these biographical memoranda we come upon the passage quoted in the text.

This is exactly what Schelling attempted to do in philosophy. He placed himself, as it were, at the root or beginning of things, and conceived of nature and mind as emanating from the same source, from a state of indifference or identity, forming the two sides of the world-process—the unconscious and the conscious. His earlier writings were accordingly concerned with tracing the different stages of this twofold development, the former in the philosophy of nature, the latter in the philosophy of mind. At the end of this he points out that what philosophy has done in detail and in elaborating an intellectual intuition must at last

28. Philosophical meaning of Schelling's attempt.

[1] As Kant pointed out in his 'Practical Philosophy.'

become a reality, a living representation, and he conceives that this is attained through Art. Art rises at once out of the initial and undefined intuition and, at the same time, supersedes the painful elaboration of detail in the philosophical exposition. In this way he combines the intellectual intuition of Kant with the æsthetical intuition of Schiller. He admits that philosophy as philosophy can never become objective and general; it becomes so only in the sphere of art. "The one thing which possesses absolute objectivity is Art; take away from art its objectivity and it ceases to be what it is and becomes philosophy; give this objectivity to philosophy and it ceases to be philosophy and becomes art.—Philosophy, indeed, attains to the highest, but she brings to this height, as it were, only a fraction of the whole man. Art brings the whole man to this height, *i.e.*, to the comprehension of the highest, and on this depends the eternal distinction and the wonder of Art."[1]

From this position Schelling takes a further step forward. He had conceived philosophy as rising out of poetry, as indeed his own philosophy was an attempt to put into systematic form what Schiller and Goethe and the poetic genius of the age conceived intuitively. This poetical intuition he had made the postulate and starting-point of his philosophy. At the end of it he conceived of poetry and art as the consummation of the system, saying finally: "All the single streams flow back again into the ocean of poetry from whence they

[1] The passages quoted in the text are to be found on the last pages of Schelling's 'System of Transcendental Idealism' (1800) reprinted in the 'Collected Works,' sec. i., pp. 327-634.

had come." But he demands, further, an intermediate stage or medium through which this return is effected. This middle term he finds in Mythology. Every great poet and artist, every poetical age, creates its own mythology. "How such a new mythology [or as we might say Symbolism], which is not the creation of a single poet but of a new age which represents as it were one poet, can come into existence, this is a problem the solution of which depends only upon the coming events in the world and the further course of history."[1]

29. Mythology.

This passage may be considered as giving expression to a central idea which was taken up in many different ways and by different representatives of the thought of the age. For Schelling it meant the renewed study of a subject which had occupied him in the earliest years of his speculation, the mythology of the different nations, notably of the classical nations. In that school of poetry and literature which in Germany was opposed to the classical as the Romantic school, the same idea was taken up in an extreme form, as indicating the liberation of philosophical as well as of poetical thought from the strict rules of reasoning on the one side and from the limitations of the classical models on the other side. It led there to much that was fantastic and irregular. This development, in its further course, threw off many brilliant suggestions as well as poetical creations, but, where it was not controlled by or subservient to historical studies and the critical spirit, it ended in arbitrariness and barren subjectivism. A well-known example both of the brilliant achievements and of the unsatis-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 629.

factory endings of this romantic movement is to be found in the lectures and writings of Friedrich Schlegel.

Schelling himself took no part in this one-sided development, but through a study of mythology was led away towards that of the religious spirit. In these studies, of which he only gave fragmentary evidence in his later writings, he laid great stress upon the historical genesis and growth of the different sides of human culture. This again was as much a result of influences which surrounded him as it was inherent in, and eminently characteristic of, his whole philosophical attitude.

We may now sum up in a few words what the philosophical problem of the Beautiful had gained in the writings, and through the personal influence, of Schelling. It had first of all been brought into immediate contact with the central philosophical, the metaphysical problem, the problem of reality, and it had been brought also immediately into contact with the problem of nature as well as the problem of history or humanity. Henceforward no philosophical writer who desired to do justice to the subject could afford to ignore the problem of the Beautiful. Any conception pertaining to the whole of nature and life would have to deal with the Beautiful not merely as a subjective or accidental phenomenon but as something that touches or reveals the innermost core of reality. With this great truth Schelling, following upon Schiller and with the spirit of Goethe in the background, impressed the early period of the nineteenth century, and he did this as much through the originality of his own speculations as by absorbing ideas which were

floating about in the intellectual and artistic atmosphere which surrounded him. If, nevertheless, his writings are now rarely studied, we must attribute this not to the want of finish of his exposition and style, but to the absence of an element of which that age was particularly proud, not to say boastful: the strictness and rigour of logical method.[1]

30. Want of logical method in Schelling.

[1] Nevertheless Schelling's writings abound in luminous passages on special subjects of art and poetry, as has been recognised by later writers. Prof. Bosanquet has, *inter alia*, made Schelling's remarkable paper on Dante the basis of his treatment of the subject in chap. vii. of his 'History of Æsthetic.' He has also pointed out (p. 326) how Schelling's statement "that *Naturphilosophie* is the first adumbration of the future world-mythology, may be taken as an anticipation of the *Modern Painters* in as far as the essence of the latter work is to disclose the rational and symbolic content of natural phenomena." Another instance of Schelling's anticipation of later artistic movements and discussions in artistic schools may be found in the fact that already, in the year 1807, he had written the following passage in which he emphatically states that the birth of modern art in Italy did not consist in an imitation of the antique, but in a return to an original study of nature: "The demand that art, like every other living thing, must start with the first beginnings, and in order to celebrate its revival must always return to them, may appear to be a severe precept in an age which has so frequently been told how it finds the highest beauty formed already in existing works of art, and that it could, therefore, with one step arrive at its goal. Have we not the excellent and perfect before us, and how should we go back to the primitive and the unformed? Had the great founders of modern art thought in this wise we should never have seen their wonders. . . . The assimilation of a beauty which they had not gained for themselves, and which was therefore unintelligible to them, did not satisfy their artistic instinct which went straight to the root out of which the Beautiful was freely to create itself anew with original power. They, therefore, did not shrink from appearing simple, artless, and dry if compared with those sublime antiques, sheltering art for a long time in an unseemly bud till the time of graceful unfolding should come. How is it that we still gaze at the works of those old Masters from Giotto down to Raphael's teacher, in a devout spirit as it were, even with a certain predilection, if not because the truthfulness of their endeavour and the deep earnestness of their self-imposed limitation commands our esteem and admiration" (see the Munich Address, 'Works,' 1st sec., vol. vii. p. 324). This was written thirty years before the pre-Raphaelite movement, following on the return to nature under the guidance of Wordsworth, Turner, Constable, and Ruskin in this country.

What that age demanded was more than a poetical and artistic expression of the truth which it believed to be within its reach; it was a strictly logical, or, as it was called, scientific treatment and exposition. This was required in the interests of academic teaching, and also in opposition to the arbitrariness and the vagaries of the romantic school. The suggestiveness of Schelling's writings, lectures, and addresses was widely recognised, but also the want of a definite method through which his ideas could be more closely defined, developed, and applied. This method was supplied by Hegel. The vague idea of development which governed the speculations of Schelling—but which with him, as also with Goethe, did not really get beyond the search for distinct types, or what Schelling called powers or stages—was to be more clearly set out. This was to be done by a new logic which not only should study the formal side of the thinking process but should take in real earnest the suggestion that thought was in some form or other at the root of everything, and that the conscious process of thinking, known to us by introspection, was symbolical of the life and unfolding of the world-spirit. To show this in the abstract was the task of Hegel's Logic. Hegel had already, in the 'Phenomenology of the Mind,' clearly defined the position which he took up as distinguished from Schelling; he there breaks with the idea of an æsthetical or intellectual intuition. He desires that this should be replaced by clear and transparent thought, that Sight should be replaced by Knowledge. The Absolute or ground of everything does not live in polar contrasts, or identity of opposites; it is a definite idea

31. This supplied by Hegel.

or content, and the object of philosophy is to show this, and by following its development through the various regions of natural and mental life, of history, art, and culture, to reach a fuller definition of this underlying idea, and of its recurrent forms, phases, and stages of development.

It may at once be remarked that for the carrying out of such a scheme the psychological study of the human mind suggested two definite and distinct principles, which we can define as the intellectual and the practical. It is characteristic also of that age that the practical side which in the philosophy of Kant and Fichte had attained to supremacy was pushed into the background in favour of the intellectual or contemplative side. That age desired, above all, to understand reality better. The great changes which had taken place, first in the region of higher culture and still more in politics and society, had taken the world by surprise. The progress of science, in the larger sense of the word, embracing the exact and the critical methods, also suggested that the human mind had come into possession of more powerful instruments of research. It seemed natural, especially for the leaders of the higher educational movement, and the teachers of the coming generation, that they should first endeavour clearly to understand what had taken place, and by doing so, qualify themselves and their disciples to take a leading and rational part in the government of the world and the shaping of events. Thus it came about that the equally legitimate accentuation of the active process represented by Fichte's philosophy was for the time superseded, and

32. Neglect of active process.

that it was not till much later in the century that it found philosophical expression first by Schopenhauer, and later on by more recent thinkers who variously term themselves voluntarists, pragmatists, or humanists.

Hegel carried out the programme he gave in his first work in great fulness, and with a wealth of illustration drawn mainly from the regions of the history of civilisation and culture. In several courses of lectures on the Philosophy of Religion, of Society, and of Art, he applied the abstract formulæ of Logic to the comprehension of the growth and life of all the higher and more important human interests. After Aristotle in ancient and Kant in modern times, he was the third prominent leader of thought who not only established firm principles but condescended also to elaborate and apply them in the many regions of culture and learning, attacking with them the many outstanding problems. His mind was as tenacious of its ultimate convictions as it was encyclopædic in the large view and the grasp which it possessed of detailed knowledge. Thus his system seemed to many to be the consummation of a great intellectual development, a resting-place from which the achievements of modern research and learning could be profitably surveyed. Each department of culture, all the higher human interests were clearly mapped out, put into their right order and places. His disciples could choose for themselves a definite field of work and enter upon it equipped with lofty ideas and a practical plan of proceeding. Among the separate courses of lectures which he delivered, in which he carried out his great programme, those on Æsthetics must have been among the most

stimulating. They were edited after his death by one of his most appreciative disciples, to whom we owe, *inter alia*, a graphic and picturesque portraiture of Hegel as an academic lecturer.[1]

33. Place of Æsthetics in Hegel's system.

In the general scheme of his philosophy, which was divided into Logic, Philosophy of Nature, and Philosophy of Mind, Æsthetics found a place in the last subsection of the third and most important department, together with the Philosophy of Religion and Philosophy proper. The trichotomy or threefold rhythm of development which was introduced in the first section as an abstract formula, coinciding with the movement of human reasoning, was repeated in the different sections and subsections, in which it assumed a more and more intelligible and living appearance. Notably in the last section, in the Philosophy of Mind, we have first to deal with the subjective or individual mind (Anthropology, Phenomenology, and Psychology); secondly, with the objective or collective mind (Law, Morality, Civil Life, Culture, and History); and lastly, with the Absolute mind, which manifests itself in the regions of Art, Religion, and Philosophy proper. In these three highest regions, each of which constitutes, as it were, a "Divine worship in the service of Truth," the Absolute or supreme Idea which pervades everything — *i.e.*, the fundamental core and kernel of reality—rises to complete self-consciousness.

[1] The Lectures on "Æsthetics" appeared as the 10th vol. (in three parts) of Hegel's 'Works,' and were edited by H. G. Hotho (1802-1873). As he states in the Preface, the lectures were delivered for the first time at Heidelberg in the year 1818, and repeated at Berlin in 1820, 1823, 1826, and 1828. The graphic description of Hegel's personality and academic teaching is quoted by Caird in translation from Hotho's 'Vorstudien für Leben und Kunst' ('Blackwood's Philosophical Classics,' 1883, p. 97 *sqq.*).

The first step in this process is a sensuous knowledge in which the Absolute is seen and felt: this is the region of Art; in this region the Idea becomes the Ideal of which Art is the representation or embodiment. In the second stage, that of Religion, the sensuous or outward representation appears inadequate, and is accordingly abandoned. The Absolute, or Idea, has become an object of thought to which no external representation but only a mental presentation is adequate and sufficient.[1] The Idea has receded from the external world into the internal world of the mind, where it occupies a position in the region of feeling and undefined thought.[2] The last

[1] This way of putting it corresponds to the maturer form of Hegel's philosophy. In the 'Phenomenology,' his first great work which really contains the entire programme or sketch of his system, Art is not kept in the same way separate as it is later on. It is there only incompletely treated under the section of Religion, Hegel having, as Kuno Fischer has pointed out, at that time—which coincides with his intimate friendship with the poet Hölderlin—before his mind mainly the spirit and religion of Grecian antiquity. Much difficulty exists in rendering in English the terms which Hegel employs in his description of the development of Mind or Spirit. To this I referred already on a former occasion (vol. iii. p. 466, n.) At present it is mainly the use of the word *Vorstellung* that I have in view. It is usually translated in English by "presentation," and this term, if distinguished from "representation," denotes pretty fairly what, in the German language, would distinguish *Vorstellung* from *Darstellung;* Hegel's meaning would probably be this, that in Art the Idea, or the truly Real, finds a representation (*Darstellung*), and rises in the higher forms of religion to a presentation or Thought (*Vorstellung*).

[2] Hegel, in speaking of religious, as differing from philosophic, thought, uses the word *Vorstellung* in contradistinction to the word *Begriff*. In this way *Vorstellung* forms, as it were, the intermediate term between what can be presented to the senses on the one side and what can be conceived by the intellect in the most abstract form as logical Idea on the other. The content of religious thought is thus more spiritual than what can be expressed in Art, under which term Hegel thinks primarily of the plastic, the fine, and the dramatic Arts. But it is less definite and, as his whole philosophy implies, less satisfactory to the modern mind than what he terms the scientific notion. For in his system the attempt of the Continental mind to establish a creed at once spiritual and reasoned has attained its climax and consummation. Anything that has been done since in this direction, either in Germany or elsewhere, has been nothing more nor less than an attempt to work out the programme of Hegel's philosophy. It is interesting to note that when the last stage in what Hegel called "the movement of the Absolute Mind," the ascent from the vaguer, or what was termed the mystical, stage of religious thought, into the clear daylight and definiteness of philosophic thought was, at least in Germany, found to be impossible, one school of thinkers (of which Albert Lange may be considered the representative) fell back upon Art and the Ideal as the region in which the spiritual and emotional demands of the human soul should find satisfaction. I believe it also to be true that a very large class of cultured persons in Germany find, or think they find, the satisfaction of their somewhat unclarified religious demands in the creations of their great musical composers, from Bach through Haydn and Beethoven to Wagner and Brahms; listening to their creations is indeed to them what Hegel termed "Divine Worship." See, for example, the striking passage in the 'Reminiscences of Carl Schurz' (vol. ii. p. 60), in which he describes the impression which the first performance of Wagner's "Parsifal" made upon him and others.

and highest step is the clear and free thinking of the Absolute, the spiritual cult of the Divine, where that becomes intelligible which in the region of art and faith is an object merely of representation or of thought-presentation. Thus the philosophy of Art, or Æsthetics, precedes the philosophy of Religion, and both lead up to Philosophy proper, to the speculative or reasoned thought of the human mind in its historical development.

34. Art, Religion, and Philosophy form an ascending series.

In all his different works Hegel endeavours to show that philosophy is the highest sphere in the intellectual development of man and mankind. It is, as he says, the veritable Theodicy, as distinguished from Art and Religion, both of which lead up to it. Fichte and Schelling had already suggested a similar view, but it slipped, as it were, from their grasp. With Hegel it was the highest and deepest conviction, which he was never tired of expressing and illustrating from the many points of view which he successively and systematically took up. In the special department with which we are now

dealing, in the department of the Philosophy of the Beautiful, his achievements may be judged and assimilated from two different points of view. From one of these we may disregard the general scheme into which he has thrown the vast material and the many valuable reflections which are contained in his lectures, and see in them merely the first adequate attempt to give a complete and comprehensive theory of the different arts and a philosophy of the Beautiful, both founded upon extensive historical studies not only within the limits of the subject itself but still more in connection with other interests. Such a view finds in the three volumes of Hegel's lectures a rich accumulation of valuable material and of fruitful suggestions, both of which have been largely utilised by his successors—opponents and admirers alike. A second point of view emphasises rather the position which Hegel assigns to Art and to the Beautiful in the great scheme of his philosophy and, following from that, in the totality of human interests; further, also the comparative value which he attaches to the various departments of art, to the different schools, and, lastly, to the natural and artistic forms of beauty. We may, in fact, value mainly the encyclopædic grasp or the metaphysical insight of Hegel's speculation.

The first point of view is more interesting to the historian of Æsthetics, the second to the historian of philosophic Thought. In the latter respect there are two points which are of paramount interest in dealing with the problem of the Beautiful. The first point is fully and unmistakably developed in the introduction to Hegel's published lectures, and as this introduction was written

out and revised by Hegel himself, it is as well to use his own words in explaining it: "If we assign to art on the one side a high position, it is necessary on the other side to remember that, neither in its substance nor in its form, is Art the highest and absolute means through which the human mind becomes aware (conscious) of its highest interests. Through its very forms Art is limited to a definite content; only a certain sphere or phase of truth is capable of being represented through the means of a work of art; to be a genuine subject for art it must lie in its very nature to step out into the region of the sensuous and to find itself adequately expressed therein. Such is, for instance, the case with the Grecian deities. Against this there exists a deeper conception of truth, in which the latter is no more so near and friendly to the sensuous that it can be adequately embodied and expressed by the same. Of such a nature is the Christian conception of truth, and especially the spirit of the present age; our religion and our culture seem to have left the stage in which Art is the highest means by which we become conscious of the Absolute. The peculiar form of art-production and the works of art do not any more answer to our highest wants; the latter are no more objects of divine worship or adoration; the impression which they produce is of a more reasoned nature, and what we feel through them requires further verification and a higher testimony. Thought and reflection have advanced beyond the fine arts. If one chooses to do so, one can indulge in complaint and censure, and look upon this circumstance as a sign of deterioration. . . . However this may be, it is nevertheless a fact that

art does not give any longer that satisfaction of our spiritual demands which former ages and peoples sought and found in her; a satisfaction which, certainly on the part of religion, was intimately connected with art. The beautiful days of Grecian art and the golden period of the later middle ages are past. . . . Our age is therefore in general not favourable towards art. . . . The theory of art is in our times much more in request than in those ages when art, as art alone, gave complete satisfaction. Art invites us to a reasoned contemplation, and this not with the object of furthering art itself but with the object of scientifically finding out what art is." [1]

35. Art abandoned by Schelling for mysticism.

We see from this that Hegel had abandoned the position occupied for a moment by the philosophy of Schelling. We noted above that Schelling had abandoned it likewise. They were both led to see that the religious interest of the Christian world could not be exhausted by the means and in the region of Art. But they differed in this, that Schelling sought a fuller comprehension by descending into mystical depths, Hegel by ascending to greater intellectual heights. The second point which interests us, and which is peculiar to Hegel's philosophy of the beautiful, is this, that he did not do justice to the Beautiful in Nature. He neither allows that natural things possess beauty in themselves—they possess it only for the contemplating mind—nor does he seem to consider natural beauty as equal to artistic beauty. In the same introduction he makes the remark that it had never occurred to anyone to emphasise specially

36. Hegel unappreciative of natural beauty.

[1] Hegel's 'Werke,' vol. x., part i., pp. 14 *sqq.*

the aspect of beauty in natural things, or to give a systematic representation of this beauty.[1] Lotze has appropriately remarked that Hegel must have forgotten what Schelling said in the Address mentioned above, in which the idea is, not worked out, yet certainly suggested, that the beautiful in nature might be the key to her deeper significance. My readers will here already expect a reference to the poetry of Wordsworth and the writings of Ruskin, to which my narrative will lead me further on, and they will also understand that Hegel had abandoned, or never realised, the truth of Goethe's magnificent poetic comprehension of nature.

Before leaving that region of ideas in which Schelling's and Hegel's expositions move, the idealist view of Art and Beauty, I may briefly note the writings and posthumously published lectures of Solger,[2] who was inspired by

37. Solger.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 5.

[2] K. W. F. Solger (1780-1819) was a native of Prussia. His home was not only locally distant from that of Schelling and Hegel, but he also differs from Reinhold, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel in not having come to philosophy through theology. He approached it rather from the side of polite literature and classical learning, being inspired by the teaching of F. A. Wolf. Of his philosophical writings the only larger production that appeared during his lifetime was a Dialogue ('Erwin,' 2 vols., 1815), in the platonic style, in which he introduces and combats, under fictitious names, the views of Fichte and Schelling, treating them, especially the latter, with little sympathy, although there is, no doubt, a great resemblance between his own views and those of Schelling. Historians like Schasler, who see in the Hegelian point of view the consummation of the modern idealistic tendency of thought, consider that Solger as well as Schelling stuck, as it were, half way in the development of a correct idea. This criticism is expressed by saying that neither Schelling nor Solger got beyond the position occupied by Plato, who saw in the ideas of the True, the Beautiful, and the Good, the archetypes which lived in the Divine Mind; they did not advance to the conception that these archetypes do not live only in the Divine Mind, but that they, of necessity, descend into the actual world where they appear as living powers in things that are true, beautiful, and good. In fact, there exists, according to this view, the same difference between Hegel's conception of a necessary scientifically demonstrable development of the content of the Divine Mind, or

Schelling. Gifted with a keen perception of artistic beauty, he published in 1815 a philosophical dialogue on the Beautiful, very much on the platonic models, and gave a complete course of Æsthetics in 1819. Agreeing in general with Schelling's view, he nevertheless considers the "intellectual intuition" of the latter to be too indefinite. He himself distinguishes between phantasy and imagination. The latter belongs to the ordinary intellect, and moves, as a mediator, between the antitheses of the ordinary understanding. From this he distinguishes phantasy which starts from the original unity of these antitheses in the "Idea," and is able to reunite them in the actual world. Thanks to this faculty, we are able to perceive objects which are higher than those of the ordinary consciousness, and to recognise in them the "Idea" as real. This faculty of phantasy has various forms and subdivisions and a dialectic of its own, corresponding to the dialectic of thought. With Solger, as with Schelling, beauty belongs to the region of the Idea, —it is inaccessible to the ordinary consciousness; the

the Absolute, in the existing world (notably in its historical progress), and the archetypal view of Schelling, Solger, and the Platonists, as there exists between Schelling's and Goethe's philosophy of nature on the one side, and the more recent evolutionary ideas of Darwin, Spencer, and their successors on the other (see on this vol. iii., chap. 6, p. 595, the quotation from Wundt in the note). It is, however, well to remark that Solger as well as Weisse worked out their æsthetical theories before Hegel's Æsthetics were generally known, and that Hegel recognised in Solger's work a spirit kindred to his own. In the Introduction to his Lectures there is the following passage about Solger: "His innermost speculative desire forced him to descend into the depths of the philosophical idea. Here he came upon the dialectical movement of the idea, . . . upon its activity to negative itself as the infinite and universal in the shape of the finite and the special, and equally to overcome this negation and thus to re-establish again the universal and the infinite in the finite and the special" (Hegel, 'Werke,' xi. p. 89).

thought of the artist is distinguished from the thought of the philosopher, — it is practical, not theoretical. The latter has to do with the appearances of commonsense, which it has to dissolve or resolve; the thought of the artist performs the wonder of creating an appearance which resolves itself. The thought of art, accordingly, is not theoretical but practical thought, but it is distinguished from the ethical or the idea of the Good inasmuch as the latter never is, but always is to be, realised: Art alone realises its ideal completely and perfectly. In this conception of the freedom of art and the perfect realisation of its ideal, Solger comes in contact with the theory of artistic Irony developed by Friedrich Schlegel and Ludwig Tieck, and adopted also by Novalis. This idea was not derived from Schelling, but was a sort of caricature of the subjectivism of Fichte. According to an extreme interpretation of the latter,—an interpretation which Fichte himself never intended,—the mind, the subject, creates the world, its object; if it does so, it can also annul it. The mind can, as it were, rise above its own creation and smile at it; it can remain in its divine serenity above its own creations which it does not regard *au sérieux*. Following up this view, Schlegel called art a perpetual parody of itself, a transcendental farce; Tieck defined irony as a force which permits the poet to dominate the matter which he treats; and Novalis raved of a magic idealism which realises its dreams.

It is needless to say that the seriousness which pervades the whole of Hegel's philosophy does not permit him to fall in with the arbitrariness and flippancy which characterised many of the writings of

the romantic school: he strongly denounces their aberrations, but he fully acknowledges the promise which lay in Solger's prematurely terminated philosophical career, and he admits that Tieck himself, though always talking about artistic irony, forgets the same in his excellent appreciation and exposition of great poetical creations, such as those of Shakespeare.

It is therefore needless to dwell at any length on these lucubrations of the romantic writers; it is more interesting for our purpose to follow up the more serious developments of Schelling's and Hegel's ideas in the later æsthetics of the nineteenth century.

II.

38. Chr. H. Weisse.

One of the most important questions in the philosophy of the Beautiful had come to the front in the speculations of Schelling, and still more in those of Hegel, namely, the relation which exists between Art and Religion, or between the Beautiful and the Spiritual. This problem was taken up by Christian Heinrich Weisse and, in the spirit of his philosophy, by Lotze.

As Lotze himself has given, in his 'History of Æsthetics in Germany,' a very full analysis of Weisse's teaching, as much in its development out of Hegel's philosophy as in its less important differences from his own views, I wish to refer mainly to that exposition; the more so as Weisse's own works are now inaccessible

and too voluminous for present use.[1] Lotze himself has said that "Weisse's Æsthetic is the most perfect conclusion of the lines of thought which in that region

[1] Chr. H. Weisse (1801-1866), a native of Leipsic, descended from and moved in a literary circle with a distinct religious though not a specifically theological interest. His studies were literary, classical (under Gottfried Hermann), and juristic. He was, for a time, under the influence of Hegel's dialectic as expounded in the 'Logic' and the 'Encyclopædia,' but his independent philosophical speculations began and were published before the applications which Hegel made in his Lectures on 'History of Philosophy,' 'Æsthetics,' and 'Philosophy of Religion' were generally known outside the circle of his academic hearers. Starting thus at a time before the full breadth and depth of Hegel's speculations were known, Weisse was able to work out the Hegelian idea in an independent manner, and neither he nor Lotze can be considered as a disciple or follower of Hegel. In fact, Weisse prepared that opposition, within the Idealistic school, to Hegel's Panlogism which Schelling had only indicated in those polemics with Jacobi which he harboured in his mind during thirty years, and to which he only gave official expression after he had been called to the philosophical Chair at the University of Berlin as one of Hegel's successors in the year 1840. In the meantime the transmutation of the strictly logical process, unfolded by Hegel in his published works, into its expression in the more easily assimilated idea of historical development, had attracted so many disciples and followers, and produced such an enormous historical literature, that the purely philosophical criticism was neglected; nor was it the latter as contained in the works of Weisse and some of Hegel's own followers, such as Göschel, that prepared the violent reaction which set in against the whole of the Hegelian philosophy. This came from the side of the Positivists: the exact mathematical and natural sciences on the one side and positive theology on the other. The former pointed to the sterility, the latter to the scepticism produced by the current Hegelian formalism. The historic succession from Kant, Fichte, the earlier works of Schelling, the logical writings of Hegel, to Weisse and Lotze has never been clearly brought out in the History of Modern Philosophy, with the result that Weisse has remained practically unknown in wider circles, and that Lotze's philosophy stands somewhat isolated. This succession may, however, be studied without much trouble through the publications of Weisse's friend and disciple, Rudolph Seydel (1835-1892), in his 'Religion und Wissenschaft' (1887), in his edition of Weisse's 'Kleine Schriften' (1867), and in his publication of the last form which Weisse's Lecture Syllabus on 'Æsthetics' assumed, in the year 1865. To this must be added the important section in Lotze's 'History of Æsthetics' mentioned in the text. I may remark that in an Appreciation, which I published in 'Macmillan's Magazine,' May 1878, of Edward Caird's 'Philosophy of Kant,' I referred to Kant's later succession in Weisse and Lotze as distinguished from that of pure Hegelianism.

had been attained by the philosophical idealism of the age."[1]

Agreeing in the main—at least in the earlier stages of his philosophical career—with Hegel's dialectic, Weisse nevertheless sees a defect in the latter, inasmuch as Hegel makes too much of the logical form in which the highest content, the Divine Idea, has unfolded itself. According to Weisse, that which unfolds and realises itself in the supreme ends, purposes, or ideals of existence, is the True, the Beautiful, and the Good. These ends are grasped not so much by the human intellect as in the

[1] 'Geschichte der Aesthetik,' p. 211.

Lotze's 'History of Æsthetic' has been unfavourably criticised by Schasler, who evidently had a very imperfect knowledge of Lotze's philosophical position, and who himself believed in the possibility of a further development of the Hegelian position, not only so far as the science of Æsthetics is concerned, but also of Hegel's fundamental speculative scheme. In relation to this Schasler, in the year 1872, gave expression to an opinion—independently and about the same time indicated by the Hegelian school in this country—that the programme of Hegel required to be worked out afresh. He admits that the Hegelian scheme contained an inherent defect which provoked two developments, the theosophical (Weisse) and the realistic (Herbart), both of which, according to him, have lost hold of the great truth and governing idea of Hegel. Against these he maintains that the problem of modern philosophy consists in "the truly concrete application of Hegel's method to the regions of the Real, so as to bring them under the domination of the logical notion. This concrete will then—but in a higher logically intelligible manner—elevate the Subject-Object of Schelling's 'intellectual sight' to a truly substantial unity. Such a thoroughgoing regeneration of Hegel's philosophy in all its parts would seem to be the real task of philosophical endeavour in the future; our special object is to attempt this reconstruction in the province of Æsthetics; if this attempt should, although only partially, succeed, there is at least the possibility shown that it would also be possible on a large and complete scale" (*loc. cit.*, p. 940, 945 *sqq.*). Schasler's treatment of Weisse is also instructive as showing where the real difference between himself and contemporary followers of Hegel (such as Vischer) on the one side and Weisse on the other, really lies. The former had no genuine religious interest, or rather, they were apparently contented with a purely philosophic creed; whereas, on the other side, Weisse and Lotze recognised the independence of the religious sentiment—which Weisse places above and Lotze outside of the purely philosophical or speculative interest.

region of feeling, or, as we may figuratively say, by the human heart. To the human intellect they present themselves as Ideas, not as an Idea, which is the term continually used in Hegel's writings. The Idea is only the logical or intellectual form in which those supreme Ideas represent themselves to the human mind and in which they can be grasped by human thought.

Having, however, put prominently forward the logical process in the form of the unfolding of an idea, and developed a logical mechanism of this process, Hegel appears too much interested in showing how this mechanism or formula is continually repeated in the actual world; the latter becoming, as it were, merely an array of instances in which the highest content is seized, pictured, and repeated. All the different regions of mental life had therefore found in Hegel's systematic speculation an inadequate treatment, inasmuch as their special value was only estimated according to the perfection with which they brought it into appearance in an intrinsically worthless and indifferent logical formulary.

Beauty has shared the same fate. Hegel did not conceive it to be one of the eternal ends of existence, as an integral constituent of the world-plan; it appeared to him only in the shape of Art as one of the means through which the finite mind recalls and assures to itself its essential unity with the Infinite. Weisse, on the other hand, looks upon beauty as one of the great things or tasks which have to be realised in and by the world-process. Whereas it might appear as if in Hegel's system the Absolute or World-spirit attains to reality

only, yet fully, in the mental developments of finite beings, Weisse sees the beginning and end of all development in a personal Deity. Above and beyond the forms of the appearance of this Divine Spirit in the finite world there exists the Absolute Spirit as such.

Further, the mind seemed, in Hegel's system, to exhaust its own essence and fully to grasp the Absolute in the intellectual (individual and historical) movement of thought. According to Weisse, the thinking process, or thought, does not exhaust the essence of the Divine Spirit, nor does it exhaust the world of finite things themselves. In the Divine Being, as well as in the many things which surround us, there is something more than what we can reach by thought. This something more is not a dark and unfathomable matter which lies beneath thought and cannot be grasped by it, but is something higher. It is the infinite productivity of the Divine Being, the life of the Creating Spirit. "This process exists in all the regions of the universe, in the Divine Mind as much as in the created world and in the human soul, from eternity to eternity: to show that it is so is the object of the science of the Beautiful or Æsthetics." [1]

In further expounding this view,[2] which originated in

[1] Freely translated from the quotation as given by Lotze from Weisse in 'Geschichte der Aesthetik,' p. 209.

[2] Into his exposition of Weisse's ideas Lotze has imported a conception peculiar to himself, but which does not seem to be brought out with the same definiteness in Weisse's own statement. To some it may appear to turn on a mere word, but as this word has in the sequel, both in German philosophy and in that of other countries, received currency as expressive of a special philosophical creed, it is as well to note it here. To express the highest conceptions, which are termed by Weisse Ideas or Ideals, Lotze very early adopted the term Values or Worths, importing into this conception the meaning that they must

Weisse's peculiar development of a conception we can trace back to the writings of Schelling, Solger, and Hegel, it will be most useful for my purpose to appeal to Lotze's own statement, which is to be found in two tracts (1845 and 1847), but more concisely and clearly in the syllabus of his lectures on Æsthetics, delivered during his professorship at Göttingen, for the last time in the year 1865.[1] He there refers to the fundamental aspect—no doubt suggested by Weisse—which forms the foundation of the whole of his speculation, and which he repeats in all his more important writings. With a desire to vindicate for the Beautiful not merely a subjective existence in the human soul but an absolute value and important connections in the real world of men and nature, he says: "The real world shows us three interwoven regions or powers—viz., *first*, a realm of general laws which impress us as absolutely necessary, which govern everything that is real, but through their very generality produce for themselves

39. Lotze's version of Weisse's doctrine.

be the subject not only of the thought but also of the moral appreciation and æsthetical enjoyment of personal minds or spirits, forming a feature in their living experience. I cannot find that, even in the latest form of Weisse's Æsthetics, this point or the difference in this respect with Lotze, mentioned by Seydel in his appreciation of their respective philosophies, is brought out. (See 'Religion und Wissenschaft,' pp. 84 *sqq.*, 132 *sqq.*) As, however, the introduction of definite words, such as Value and Worth, has done so much in history to characterise and even to direct courses of thought, it is well to point, as Windelband has done, to the importance of Lotze's introduction of these terms into philosophical literature. Cf. *supra*, note to p. 408, vol. iii.

[1] The two Tracts appeared originally in a collective publication, 'Göttinger Studien,' with the respective titles: 'Ueber den Begriff der Schönheit' and 'Ueber Bedingungen der Kunstschönheit.' The Lecture Notes on Æsthetics were published after the Syllabus, prepared by Lotze for his Course in the year 1856, by E. Rehnisch in the year 1884. The two earlier Tracts are reprinted in Peipers' edition of Lotze's 'Kleine Schriften,' vols. i. and ii.

nothing that is defined or particular; *second*, the realm of actual matter and forces which appear to us not as necessary but only as actually existing, which, acting under definite conditions according to those laws, produce the manifold phenomena; *third*, a definite and specific plan, according to which the elements of reality are gathered together in such a way as to realise by following those general laws a definite end or purpose.[1]

Lotze then goes on to say that, for common-sense and to the popular mind, these three regions or principles appear to be disconnected and independent, and only casually and accidentally interwoven. It does not appear at all clear why the general laws should be realised only in the existing examples, and even the general plan or the purposes of existence—if we knew them—would not appear realisable only by the laws and things which actually exist. But neither the common-sense of life nor the demands of science can rest satisfied with this threefold aspect, and it has always been the main object of speculation to unite the three in a highest principle. "Now in general we may say that this task has never been, and never will be, completely solved. But between speculative knowledge, which vainly searches for a complete understanding of this connection, and practice, which seeks in an equally partial way to make things subservient to the unity of a purpose—*i.e.*, between the regions of the True and the Good — there arises a peculiar feeling or sensation. This is the impression of the Beautiful, which, standing in the middle [between the True and

[1] 'Grundzüge der Aesthetik,' p. 10.

the Good], does indeed neither solve the theoretical nor the practical problem, but receives through a beholding of the Beautiful an immediate assurance of the possibility of its desired solution—*i.e.*, of the reconciliation of the existing contradictions."[1]

A complete solution, either theoretical or practical, is indeed not conceivable except in the whole of the world—*i.e.*, for a spirit which should comprehend and control everything. In us human beings, who comprehend and control only a very limited region, and can therefore not expect to meet with the desired reconciliation, the latter, if it does appear accidentally and casually, comes as a surprise, and this surprise creates in us a feeling of pleasure, of joy, or, in its highest form, of bliss, inasmuch as we see the idea of beauty—*i.e.*, the complete harmony of those three supreme principles or powers—concentrated as it were in a small compass, in a visible image.[2]

As stated by Lotze himself, this way of looking at

[1] 'Grundzüge der Aesthetik,' p. 10 *sqq*.

[2] In the Tract of the year 1845 Lotze traces this idea back to Kant. "Kant, to whom the thoughtful analysis of the Beautiful is more indebted than is now generally admitted, found that beauty consists in this, that the features of an object lend themselves to the play of our intellectual powers. Whereas what falls merely into the necessary forms of our understanding does not merit our special thanks, we must, on the other side, consider it to be a free favour of fortune if what is given to us contains, in addition, features which meet our desire for comprehension under a few leading thoughts. A world would be thinkable in which no species governed the manifoldness of existing things, but where the latter were mutually incomparable. That, instead of this refractory world, the actual world exists which gathers itself together in higher aspects, this in itself is a subject of disinterested pleasure which in its bearing upon the single and the manifold leads to the sensation of beauty. According to Kant, therefore, the Beautiful does not consist merely in the agreement of the impression with the ways of our intellect, but in the harmony with a striving and purposeful endeavour" ('Kleine Schriften,' vol. i. p. 295).

the Beautiful stands at the end of the idealistic movement of thought. It has been remarked that in this statement Lotze does not do justice to sundry developments which have equally their starting-points in suggestions which were more or less distinctly expressed in the writings of Schelling. And, as I said before, we may look upon the latter as the centre of the idealistic movement.[1] Among those developments it is of interest

[1] Lotze's theory of Beauty and the Beautiful, which he himself traces back to Schelling and Kant, has not received that attention on the part of historians which it deserves. This neglect is, I believe, largely due to the criticism to which Lotze's æsthetical writings have been submitted by Von Hartmann and by Schasler: by the latter in a lengthy Review, which he published shortly after the appearance of Lotze's 'History' in his Art Journal 'Die Dioskuren'; this he quotes in an appendix to his 'History,' and considers—as does likewise Hartmann—that it has finally disposed of Lotze's æsthetics as a popular exposition of Weisse's ideas. On the other side, Erdmann, on whose mind the importance of Lotze's ideas grew, did more justice to Lotze in proportion as he emancipated himself from the early control of the Hegelian formalism. In fact, the best and concisest rendering of Lotze's central idea is given by Erdmann, when he defines Lotze's difference from Schelling: "The defect in Schelling's system which caused the antagonism of the natural sciences has also been fatal to his Æsthetics in spite of all the credit which is here due to him. This defect lies in his misunderstanding of the difference of Ideas and Appearances: the former denote values, tasks, imperatives; the latter are governed by mechanism — *i.e.*, by rigid causality or necessity. Inasmuch as Schelling, instead of modestly admitting the latter, claims to have demonstrated what must be through that which ought to be, he has made natural science his enemy. But it has likewise become to him æsthetically impossible to see that the joyful surprise afforded by the Beautiful (in nature) has its ground in this, that by the entirely different processes of necessity that has come about which ought to be, and, as such, possesses value. That the manifoldness of visible things, though not subject to any moral obligation, deports itself in ideal forms, fills us with reverent enjoyment through the semblance of a world in which the eternal laws of what ought to be appear in flesh and blood" (Erdmann, 'Geschichte der Philosophie,' 3rd ed., vol. ii. p. 854). According to Lotze, without a conflict between what ought to be and what is, there could exist neither the Beautiful nor its opposite. That such a conflict is solved in the totality of actual existence is a matter of religious faith, a fundamental conviction; that in single instances and moments this conflict appears solved to us in actual life produces in us the feeling of joyful surprise, as it were an unsuspected gift of good fortune confirming our fundamental spiritual conviction or hope.

to note the treatment of the problem of the Beautiful in the writings of Schopenhauer and in those of von Hartmann. Both these thinkers started from the idealistic conception elaborated by Schelling, although Schopenhauer ignores the influence of the latter, and leads his readers back to Kant, of whom he professes to be the only true follower, having, as he thinks, drawn the one inevitable conclusion which presents itself. Hartmann, on the other side, does full justice to the work of Schelling, especially to the latest phase of his speculation. It can, nevertheless, not be denied that both Schopenhauer and Hartmann prejudiced the treatment of the æsthetical as well as of other philosophical problems, by introducing, at the outset of their expositions, rigid conceptions of a very definite kind, to the proof and explanation of which the rest of their lives and writings were exclusively devoted. It will be easiest to understand this if we look upon the main object both of Schopenhauer and Hartmann as having been to give a definite answer to the question stated by Kant—viz.: What is the "Thing in itself"? Schopenhauer answers this question by saying the thing in itself is "the Will"; Hartmann answers the question by saying it is "the Unconscious."

40. Schopenhauer and von Hartmann.

Both thinkers arrived at their respective solutions comparatively early in life. In this they differ from Kant, whose whole writing and thinking may be looked upon as merely a preparation for a future positive philosophy; and from Hegel, who in his thirty-seventh year had published only the programme of his future system. Their youthful attitude towards the problem of philosophy resembles more that of Fichte and Schelling, who

also daringly announced their central ideas at an early age; but they differ from them inasmuch as both these thinkers found it impossible to retain their early positions, and in consequence developed various modifications known in the history of philosophy as the later phases of their respective systems. The tenacity — not to say obstinacy — with which both Schopenhauer and Hartmann clung to their original formulæ, to what many may consider mere words, is characteristic of thinkers who live out of the world and secluded from its practical interests, who also take no part in academic teaching, but are interested only in the written, not the verbal, transmission of their ideas. Although such thinkers may cast inquisitive and searching glances all round into the different regions of science, art, and life, they do so always through the coloured eyeglasses which they have armed themselves with, and which transmit only those rays that are congenial to their organ of vision. A similar one-sided colouring is characteristic also of the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, who, early in life, came under the spell of the formula and the word Evolution; though it must be admitted that by placing in opposition to, and at the foundation of, evolution, "the Unknowable," his influence upon the thought of his age has been twofold and in opposite directions—in the direction of dogmatism and positivism on the one side, of agnosticism and scepticism on the other.

41. Peculiarity of Schopenhauer's philosophy.

To understand Schopenhauer's philosophy we must realise that he was the first among recent German thinkers to break not only with the general tendency of the philosophical systems which he opposed, but also

with the fundamental beliefs which governed the aspirations and endeavours of contemporary German culture. This aimed at realising what has been termed the Ideal of Humanity. Two aspects are characteristic of all those endeavours, however different their expression may have been in the various systems or in the unsystematic writings of the great leaders of German thought. They were, first of all, hopeful—they inherited the optimism of Leibniz's philosophy; and they were, secondly, religious in the Christian sense of the word. They desired to get hold of the essence, as distinguished from the letter, of Christian truth, to purify and elevate the existing dogmas of the Church, to do away with the narrowness of orthodoxy, and to spiritualise the teaching of rationalism. Although they appeared, at times and in single instances, to favour the pantheistic view of Spinoza, they were theistic in this sense that their pantheism did not oppose Christian Theism, but that the one implied the other. In many cases we find that a more or less pantheistic version of the Christian truth returned again, in its final developments, to a theistic conception. Schopenhauer's philosophy was neither optimistic —*i.e.*, hopeful—nor was it theistic or pantheistic; it was pessimistic and anti-theistic. I intentionally avoid the use of the word atheistic, as this has acquired in modern controversial literature a much more extreme meaning, having almost become an epithet of moral opprobrium which I should be sorry to cast upon any honest searcher after truth. But it was less through the second characteristic trait of his teaching that Schopenhauer placed himself and all his followers and admirers

outside of the affirmative and progressive movement of modern thought. He did so most by abandoning the doctrine of human progress and the hope that by intellectual and practical effort the condition of man and mankind could be improved. Thus he took no part in the great educational movements of his age and country.

Schopenhauer was brought up in the midst of the new poetry, literature, and philosophy of Germany. He had himself a keen appreciation of the beautiful, and an extensive knowledge not only of poetry and the fine arts but also—and this distinguished him from many of his contemporaries — of music. His whole attitude, however, was eminently subjective; he did not fall in with any existing current or movement of thought or practical activity. He was as arbitrary and extravagant in the enunciation of single ideas as any of the romanticists, and he had no hesitation in placing himself in antagonism with his surroundings. These peculiarities of his personal character, joined to his fundamental disbelief in human progress and perfectibility, are sufficient to explain how his views on Art and the Beautiful should turn out diametrically opposite to those of other contemporary thinkers. Whereas these laboured at the clearer definition and practical realisation of certain ideals, and considered Art as one of the great agencies which furthered these purposes, Art with Schopenhauer occupied an exceptional position outside of the ends and aims of human life; whereas with them the Beautiful was one of the aspects of the truly Real which revealed itself also through science, religion, and culture, the Beautiful with Schopenhauer formed a contrast to the

truths of science and the efforts of life; it occupied a region by itself. Schopenhauer had learned from Kant, Fichte, and Schelling, to consider the Will or the active principle as the most important, the primary factor in the human soul. He further agreed with Kant in considering the space- and time-forms of sense-impression and the logical forms of the intellect as having their origin in the human soul; but, as he exaggerated the doctrine of the primacy of the human Will to mean that the essence of the human mind was "Will," he saw in the human intellect a creation of the Will. And, as he judged of everything outside of self by analogy with the self or human mind, he further exaggerated the term Will to mean not only the fundamental essence of human nature but the essence of all reality. Consistently he looked upon that portion of reality which was devoid of intelligence as exhibiting the activity or creative power of the Will in forms and stages inferior, but leading up, to the highest manifestation of the Will when it is joined to the Intellect. As he expressed it, everything in the world is an objectivation of the Will; the highest form of this process of objectivation is to be found in the Intellect or the world as seen through the senses and through the forms of thought.

Whoever is led by inclination, study, or practical experience to look at the active powers of the mind as fundamental and all-important is face to face with the ethical problem. This problem contains two great difficulties or mysteries: the mystery of the Freedom of the Will and the mystery of Evil and Sin. Schopenhauer had no difficulty in solving the former, and he

had no inclination to deny or minimise the gravity of the latter; he affirmed the Freedom of the Will, and he affirmed, still more strongly, the existence of Evil. Following Kant, he considered the Will to be transcendental—*i.e.*, anterior and superior—to the visible and intellectual order of things; the latter, the empirical order of things, he considered to be characterised by the necessary and rigid sequences of Cause and Effect. Inasmuch as the Will, or the inherent essence of the mind, did not belong to the empirical order of things, but had really created it, it stood outside of this order, it was not subject to, but the origin of, the law of Cause and Effect with its necessary sequences in the flux of time. The Will was timeless, and hence free, but through descending out of its original sphere of freedom by creating the empirical world with its ascending stages or objectivations, and its rigid sequences of Cause and Effect, it did not unfold and augment its own reality, but, on the contrary, it reduced and lowered the same. The World-spirit committed a mistake, took as it were a false step, and this false step is the cause of the evil and suffering, of the pain and sin in the existing phenomenal world. The fundamental error, the cause of all that is perverse and wrong, is the very World-process itself, the assertion, the endless striving of the Will. This original error can only be made good, redemption is only possible, by a negation, not by an affirmation, of the World-process, of the promptings, desires, and workings of the Will. To become quiescent, to return again into the original state of repose, to reverse the World-process, is the only way out of the misery of

actual existence, the only solution of the moral problem. It was not difficult for Schopenhauer to find his philosophy of pessimism and quietism confirmed in the teachings and precepts of many thinkers, both ancient and modern, heathen and Christian; notably the philosophy of the Hindus, as laid down in their sacred books, then for the first time made accessible to modern readers by translations, contained a perfect expression and confirmation of Schopenhauer's views; nor is he slow in pointing out these striking anticipations of his doctrine.

42. His happy interpretation of the beautiful in nature as well as in art.

It is not difficult to see how Schopenhauer's system lent itself to a happy interpretation of the Beautiful as it appears in nature as well as in art. The World-process, the objectivation of the Will, proceeds by definite stages; the lowest stage is occupied by the elemental forces of nature, the highest by the intellect of man; here the Will becomes conscious of its own manifestations, and also of the initial error it committed by going out of itself into the phenomenal world of strife and unrest; it recognises the supreme moral obligation of self-negation and self-annihilation in a voluntary return to the state of rest. The phenomenal world which displays the ascending stages or objectivations of the Will shows everywhere unrest, things and events succeeding each other in endless change, without beginning and without end. But each stage of this development is a lower or higher manifestation of the eternal and changeless essence of things; each stage is the embodiment and manifestation of some idea, some expression of the underlying reality, though in an incomplete form. Schopenhauer here assimilates Plato's

doctrine of ideas. The actual world around us, the world as seen by our senses and understood by our intellect, is the imperfect appearance, the semblance, of the world of ideas, of the underlying reality. Science, the work of the intellect, follows the ideas in their endless phenomenal existence, in their appearance, governed by the law of Cause and Effect; tracing everywhere the antecedent and the consequent, never getting hold of anything in rest and repose, it gives us an insight only into the apparent; it never grasps the underlying reality. This latter cannot be grasped through so unstable a medium as that of our senses, nor by so restless a process as that of our thought; the real, in its different stages, can only be grasped by contemplation, by an attitude of the mind where effort and self-interest cease, where the self is forgotten and the Will annihilated, in a state of perfect repose. This is attained in a contemplation of the Beautiful; it exists everywhere where and when the contemplating soul can entirely forget itself, becoming one with the object it beholds.

The Beautiful in nature is the same as the Beautiful in art; the difference between the two lies only in this, that the artist is better able than we are to rise to the position of serene and self-forgetful contemplation. In this consists his genius, through it he becomes one with the thing he contemplates, he understands better than we do the half-uttered speech of nature; he is able to do so by completely identifying himself with his object, and this identification is possible because the underlying reality in the contemplating subject and in the contemplated object is one and the same—viz., the Will. Thus

Schopenhauer is able to assimilate not only the platonic doctrine of ideas but also Kant's philosophy of the beautiful. In fact, at a very early stage of his mental development he conceived that the solution of the central philosophical problem, the problem of Reality, would lie in uniting the truth as expressed by Plato with the truth as expressed by Kant. Kant had defined the Beautiful as that which gives us disinterested pleasure, and he had maintained that this enjoyment is not merely individual or personal but that it is universal. Schopenhauer shows the real significance of this disinterested enjoyment, inasmuch as we, through it and for the moment, liberate ourselves from the principle of Evil, from the endless striving of the Will; and he further explains how this is not a purely subjective and individual experience, but an achievement of the universal Will which retires in such moments into its original unity by forgetting the difference of self and not-self.

"Schopenhauer," as Kuno Fischer says, "distinguishes three kinds of knowledge, each of which consists in a definite relation between the subject and the object; for these two are always correlated: phenomena, under the law of causation, are opposed to the understanding, as the intellectual subject; conceptions, abstracted from sensuous perceptions, are opposed to the reason; ideas are opposed to the pure knowing subject. The ideas are the appearance of the thing in itself in the scale of actual phenomena, they are the world-ideas which constitute the eternal and changeless essence of the world. Could we abandon the order of time or succession, this inevitable form of our intellect, we should behold the

world in the eternal and lasting content of its ideas.[1] . . . According to Schopenhauer, art and philosophy have the same beginning and the same end; their common origin is the intellect of genius, their common end is to exhibit the essence of things: both desire to discover, each in its own way, what the essence of things is. Art also labours at the problem of existence, tries to answer the question: What is life? Every true and genuine work of art is an answer to this question. But whilst philosophy tries to fix its conception of the essence of things in definite notions, art remains true to its origin, and gives its intuitions of the ideas in the simplest and clearest forms, through which it makes its conception immediately evident and easily grasped. For ordinary intelligence the essence of things is obscured by the mist of objective and subjective accidents; art removes this mist; every genuine work of art unfolds an idea, emanates from an inspired conception which in the execution . . . frequently loses in force: this explains why the sketches of great masters are frequently more interesting and inspiring than their fully elaborated works. Now as the world-ideas are the theme of art, and as they rise from the lowest stage to the highest, from the appearance of material forces up to that of the human will illuminated by the intellect, art equally unfolds itself in different stages which run parallel with the world itself. The will reveals itself in the elemental forms and figures of bodies, in the passions, characters, and actions of men; the will is the ground

[1] Kuno Fischer's 'Arthur Schopenhauer' (vol. viii. of the 'History of Modern Philosophy'), 1st ed., 1893, p. 315.

of everything, from the lowest to the highest. Accordingly the realm of art divides itself into three separate regions: the fine arts, poetry, and music."[1]

43. His grouping of the arts.

It will be seen from this passage that the philosophy of Schopenhauer lends itself further to a natural arrangement of the different arts, a problem which was hesitatingly solved by Schelling and, according to other principles, by Hegel. The fundamental conception of Schopenhauer indicates clearly the ascending scale of the arts and their exhibition of the beautiful. The more material arts, those which have to do with actual matter, form the beginning; these are architecture and the plastic arts. Painting stands a step higher, as it works not only with the material given by nature but also with the passions of man and the scenes of life, and exhibits what is characteristic in the affairs of the human world: it includes the landscape, the portrait, and the historical picture. The next stage is occupied by poetry, which is still more ethereal, less material. Painting already had worked with an ethereal element, that of light and shade; poetry works with words and notions, her task is to represent through them the ideas. Poetry is rich in symbolical expressions, in allegories, parables, and metaphors. But the highest of all arts, that which works with the most ethereal element, the element of sound, is Music.

44. His theory of Music.

Schopenhauer had a deeper understanding of contemporary music, especially of Beethoven, than any of the thinkers and poets of his age, with the exception perhaps of the romantic writer and composer E. T. A.

[1] Kuno Fischer, *loc cit.*, p. 316. Freely translated.

Hofmann. Hence his conception of music or, what he was fond of calling, his metaphysic of music, is strikingly original, and plays an important part in his system. In musical composition, especially in the higher forms, such as the symphony and the mass, we attain to the greatest that the human soul can produce in the realm of art. We have seen that the other arts are occupied with representing the world-ideas in their ascending scale. But the world-ideas themselves are the objectivations of the Will, they are only partial representations of the latter, they all represent the Will not in its purity, in its original essence, not in its self, but in its not-self, in the process of falling away from its original full and pure unity. In the highest of the arts, in Music, the human soul ascends to the highest possible artistic performance that it is capable of,—it represents not an objectivation of the Will but the Will itself.

Music does more than the other arts; it is the language of feeling and emotion; it expresses joy, sorrow, pain, horror, exultation, and also the absolute rest of the soul, the complete negation of self, of the individual will. It expresses these states, as it were, in the abstract, in their universality, without any admixture. But this abstraction is not indefinite but clothed in a definite form. Music gives the innermost soul of the human feelings without the body. Music is capable of doing this, according to Schopenhauer, because it expresses the original will, the soul of everything in its most original and elemental form, not in the relations of space but only in the sequence of time. Thus music occupies

a place by itself in the artistic scale. It follows from this that any admixture of other forms of artistic expression is against the highest ideal of music. Thus Schopenhauer condemns, by anticipation, the part which, in the later musical schools of the nineteenth century, the human voice, song and language, played, notably in the compositions of Richard Wagner. Wagner has nevertheless paid a high tribute to the teaching of Schopenhauer. In his book on Beethoven—published on the occasion of the centenary of Beethoven's birth in 1870—he says: "Schopenhauer was the first to recognise and define, with philosophical clarity, the relation of music to the other fine arts, inasmuch as he assigns to it a unique character quite different from that of the plastic and poetical arts." And Wagner proceeds to say that Beethoven himself could not be fathomed without a solution of that deep-lying paradox which Schopenhauer has pointed out. This paradox consists in the assertion that music reveals the essence of things, not the world-ideas (the different objectivations of the will), being "itself an idea of the world," so that "whoever could translate music completely into thoughts would in doing so have produced a philosophy which explains the world." And Kuno Fischer says: "Music in a manner comparable with language—being the only language which everyone understands — demands a grammar and a dictionary. Grammar teaches how to form words and sentences, the dictionary teaches what the words signify. The grammar of music is the theory of harmony. . . . But the dictionary of music came later. Schopenhauer claims to have given

this; he is the first who has taught what music signifies."[1]

I have given more space to an account of Schopenhauer's views on art and the beautiful, and especially on music, than is usually accorded by purely philosophical writers. This I have done in deference to the popularity which Schopenhauer's writings have acquired and enjoyed during the last fifty years; also because he furnishes one of the rare instances in which speculations about art have been received with favour by artists themselves. There is also no doubt that, independent of his philosophical doctrine, Schopenhauer's wide acquaintance with, and appreciation of, the best in art and literature of nearly all times and nations, and his transparent and interesting style, have attracted many readers and students to whom otherwise philosophy would have remained a sealed book.[2] Similar qualities and similar causes have formed the attraction also in some, especially of the earlier, writings of Eduard von Hartmann.

[1] Kuno Fischer, *loc. cit.*, p. 341.

[2] Kuno Fischer has also well brought out that Schopenhauer's philosophy is really more a work of art than a well-founded and well-reasoned work of thought. And in this, its artistic character, containing a striking theme repeated in endless variations and clothed in a beautiful yet simple style, it must be contemplated rather than critically dissected. Least of all must it be brought into relation with the personal character of its author, from whom it appears detached and unable to receive any further illumination. Living out of the world, he looked upon it as something entirely detached from himself: his pessimism was not, as some of his opponents suggest, a mere affectation. "It was a serious and tragic view of the world, but it was an image, a picture. The tragedy of world-misery was acted in the theatre. He sat among the spectators in a comfortable fauteuil with his opera-glass. . . . Some of the spectators forgot the world-misery at the buffet; not one of them followed the tragedy with the same intense attention and seriousness as he did with his penetrating eye; then he went home deeply moved but quite happy, and described what he had seen" (*loc. cit.*, p. 125).

45. Von Hartmann.

The problem of the Beautiful does not occupy such an important position in Hartmann's system as it does in that of Schopenhauer's. In the first and most important of his larger works, 'The Philosophy of the Unconscious' (1869), there is a short chapter on the "Unconscious" in æsthetical judgment and in artistic production. In a much later work on the History and Theory of the Beautiful, Hartmann criticises, from his point of view, the æsthetical theories and doctrines of a large number of German writers, and enters on a full discussion of the subject which may be looked upon as confirming and illustrating the main principle of his philosophy. This main principle—which contains his solution of the central philosophical problem, the problem of Reality — he acknowledges to be foreshadowed in Schelling's later writings, when Schelling had recognised the insufficiency of his own earlier speculation, in which, however, were contained the germs for the twofold but antagonistic development in the systems of Hegel and Schopenhauer. The whole question turns upon the duality which was established in modern times in the first two 'Critiques' of Kant, and which may be variously defined as the dualism of knowledge and action, of the theoretical and the practical reason, or, as Schopenhauer has most pointedly put it, as the dualism of the intellect and the will. Hartmann shows in a lucid manner, and with a great wealth of examples and illustrations, how the whole of the idealistic movement of thought after Kant aimed at showing that the Idea—*i.e.*, the intellectual factor—is the underlying principle, the essence of the truly Real, the

ground of everything; how, nevertheless, both Fichte and Schelling had pointed to the existence of an independent (alogical) active principle which they identified with the Will, and how, on the other side, Schopenhauer had exaggerated the latter conception, placing an abstract or general Will at the beginning of all, subordinating to it the intellect as one only, but the highest, among the manifestations or objectivations of the Will. Hartmann also makes the pertinent remark that, inasmuch as the idea or the intellect unfolds itself in the manifold processes of thought, the idealist thinkers had a rich field to work on, whereas the opposite movement of thought had only one fact, that of the Will, and was therefore not capable of any further development beyond the simple statement given to it by Schopenhauer, in which it found both its beginning and its end.

46. Contrast of Will and Intellect, transcended in the Unconscious.

According to Hartmann, both movements of thought contain a truth, but each contains only one side of the truth. He adopts the formula of Schopenhauer, looks upon the world both as Intellect and as Will, but to him the two principles are co-ordinate: a higher aspect must be gained, a principle must be established which, as it were, unites the two; this principle lies higher or deeper than either the intellect or the will. The underlying unity of both becomes divided or broken in two in the region of consciousness. Accordingly the union of the two separated principles, of the Intellect and of the Will, must be sought in the region of the unconscious; it might be termed the absolute substance with Spinoza, or the absolute mind with Hegel. But inasmuch as the last term is usually meant to imply

consciousness or personality, it is better to call it simply the Unconscious. After having reached this position, Hartmann's philosophical work may be looked upon as fulfilling two main tasks. The first task is to trace the unconscious through the whole realm of existing things in nature, mind, and history, in individual and in social life. The analysis of any and every phenomenon in all these different regions, the attempt to understand any and every form of existence, leads us always and everywhere to the acknowledgment of some undefinable remainder, of some hidden principle which lies above and beyond knowledge, the undefinable background of all. This is identified with the Unconscious which appears to us separately as the unconscious Will and as the unconscious Intellect. In carrying out this task Hartmann has spent an enormous amount of fruitful labour, and the reading of the sections of his works which deal with this side of his philosophy is highly suggestive and instructive. The second main task was to establish some theory of the drift of the historical development in the actual world, in which the only increasing factor seems to be the rational principle, the ever-increasing mastery of the intellect over the blind forces (the Will). Hartmann's solution of this second or practical problem is pessimistic as is that of Schopenhauer, though in a somewhat different sense. It does not interest us at the moment, and may be disregarded by those who, in studying Hartmann's writings, desire to gain the useful information which they abundantly afford.

So far as the first side of Hartmann's philosophy is concerned, it will be readily seen that the idea of the

unconscious background of the phenomenal world finds abundant confirmation in the existence of the Beautiful both in nature and in art.[1] In the main, then, Hartmann agrees with the æsthetical view current in the

[1] Hartmann's difference from Schopenhauer is nowhere better seen than in his treatment of that æsthetical problem which Schopenhauer claimed to have treated more adequately than any other thinker, the problem of music. In spite of the favour which Schopenhauer's theory met with on the part of great composers, such as Wagner, Hartmann maintains that its one-sided emphasis of the unconscious, but blind, Will or impulse without regard for the unconscious intellect, the region of thought and feeling, had made it impossible for him to understand fully the real nature of musical beauty: "The Will in itself, irrespective of its object, can exhibit no other differences than those of intensity, and can, therefore, at best only contribute towards the explanation of the sublime, whereas the whole region of characteristic and formal beauty can only be explained through an ideal content. Schopenhauer's peculiar theory of music is therefore unable to introduce any other æsthetical principle than that of the æsthetical idea. . . . The combination of the emotions with the will has therefore borne with Schopenhauer the wrong fruit; in order to produce the right fruit it would have been necessary that he should have admitted the unconscious Thought together with the unconscious Will, and that he should have brought the emotions as much into contact with the former as with the latter. But as his system knows nothing of unconscious thought, he was incapable of taking this fundamental step, and it is a brilliant testimony to his divinatory insight that he nevertheless suspected a connection of musical feeling with unconscious thought, and expressed it at least in a simile, for he says that the composer expresses the deepest wisdom in a language which his intellect does not understand, just as a magnetic somnambulist tells about things of which waking she has no notion. . . . On this point Richard Wagner has attained greater definiteness than his philosophical leader. According to his view the orchestra expresses through its instruments clearly and intelligibly what is inexpressible through intellect and language, and indeed not only as something that is thought but as something actual and sensuous, &c., &c. . . . Whoever does not admit the unconsciousness of the intellectual content can neither admit that the composer whose objective creation is further removed from conscious intentions than that of any other artist desires unconsciously to embody in tone-images an unconscious content, nor that his hearers unconsciously comprehend it. Nothing remains, then, but to deny to music all ideal content, &c., &c." ('Deutsche Aesthetik,' p. 488 *sqq.*). It is also suggested that through this one-sided view Schopenhauer failed to appreciate that combination of instrumental with vocal music of which Beethoven's 'Ninth Symphony' was the first brilliant example, and which was carried to such perfection especially in Wagner's operas.

idealistic philosophies; but he lays stress upon what he calls the concrete side of the idealistic view. According to him the Beautiful consists in the sensible appearance of the Idea. In his history of modern Æsthetics in Germany he accordingly divides the idealistic writers on the Beautiful into two classes. The first represent concrete idealism, the principal representative being Hegel; the second represent abstract idealism, the principal representatives being Schelling, Solger, and Weisse.[1]

[1] A concise summary of his critical account will be found at the end of the first book of his 'Deutsche Aesthetik seit Kant' (1886), pp. 357-362. This work contains — as do likewise several of Hartmann's later writings, such notably as his 'Treatise on the Categories' and his 'Phenomenology of the Moral Consciousness'—an enormous mass of historical information, and does justice to the writings of many authors, unnoticed or forgotten, who nevertheless advanced the discussion of the subject on more or less important lines. He is unjust only when he criticises thinkers whose fundamental principles put his own entirely out of court, such, *e.g.*, as Weisse and Lotze in their distinctly theistic tendency, which he wrongly regards as mere accommodation to current but nevertheless obsolete beliefs. The constructive part of his æsthetics ('Philosophie des Schönen,' 1887), though its aim is to show the importance of his fundamental doctrine of the Unconscious in dealing with the problem of the Beautiful and of Art, contains, nevertheless, lucid chapters which may be read with advantage even by those who do not appreciate his fundamental doctrine. Such are notably the passage on "the Beautiful as Mystery" (pp. 197-199), and still more the chapter on "Beauty and Truth" (pp. 434-444), from which I have freely quoted in the text. One more quotation is characteristic: 'The word Mystery does not mean anything else but that the decisive point of the æsthetical process lies in the Unconscious, and the increase of the feeling for the strength and depth of this mystery is equivalent to the increasing anticipation that the essence of the beautiful lies in the unconscious perception of an immanent content unconscious in æsthetical appearance. Higher beauty does indeed give more matter for reflection also to discursive thought than the lower; but proportionally to the inexplicable mysterious remainder the conceptual part of the beautiful becomes smaller, the higher the beautiful stands; and—still more — the conceptual part becomes in proportion to the mysterious ever less important and, taken æsthetically, more indifferent. Not only does the ideal kernel of the beautiful become broader and larger, also it becomes more weighty and important, the nearer the individual idea stands to the absolute world-ground. That the increase of the mystery is at the same time an increase of the unconscious logic of the Beautiful is seen only in the highest modifications of

These latter thinkers, according to Hartmann, do not fully recognise the indispensable character of the Beautiful — viz., that it must appear in the region of the sensuous. For them the Beautiful is something transcendent; beautiful things are, as it were, merely the reflection of the essentially and supersensually beautiful.

47. Philosophy rooted in poetry.

Hartmann agrees with Schelling in considering that philosophy is deeply rooted in poetry. "In the same degree as beauty is opposed to science with its realistic truth, in the same also it is the parent of philosophy with its metaphysical truth. Beauty remains, through its innermost activity, the prophet of ideal truth in an age which has no faith, which detests metaphysics, and which sees no value in anything that is not realistic." Truth, as represented in the Beautiful, lacks the method and the strictness of philosophical truth. It leaps from the subjective appearance to the ideal essence. But against this it carries with it fascination and the force of conviction which belongs to intuition (or sight) alone, but never to the mediate and gradual process of reflection. The higher philosophy ascends, the less it is distinguished from Art. The latter has the wisdom to start on the journey to the ideal world without burdening itself with the weight of unessential and indifferent things. The Unconscious is inherent or immanent in the Beautiful. By means of the Unconscious is brought about intellectual intuition, or intuitive intelligence. Inasmuch as the Beautiful pushes its roots into the unconscious ground

the individually beautiful, as in the comic, the tragic, and the humouristic, since in these the conflict of the logical with the unlogical and the conquest of the latter by the former becomes distinctly the content of the Beautiful" (p. 199).

of everything it is a mystery; with the disappearance of this mystery, of the mystical element, beauty would disappear likewise.

There are two points in which the philosophy of Hartmann claims our attention in connection with the problem of the Beautiful. The first point refers to the mystical element which is strongly urged by him. In his first important work he has a long and appreciative chapter on the Mystical, which he considers to be an important factor and phase in the life and history of the mind. Through this side of his philosophy he has contributed largely to bring out one of the main tendencies of the later thought of the century. I shall have to revert to this when, in the concluding chapter of this portion of my history, I shall try to characterise more definitely the outstanding problems of philosophical thought and the main drift of philosophical reasoning. The second point which interests us is the view that Hartmann holds as to the function of art in modern society and culture. In this respect he approaches to a conception which is shared by several thinkers abroad.

48. The mystical.

49. Art and the Beautiful subordinate to philosophy.

It is true that Hartmann, as well as Hegel, assigns to Art and the Beautiful not the highest position which the human mind can attain to. Both thinkers aim at elaborating a philosophical creed; the object of their search is attained only in a preliminary way and in transient and, as it were, casual glimpses, whenever and wherever nature or art unveils to us the Beautiful. But that the Beautiful in nature and art reveals to us the Ideal is a conception which plays an important part with both these thinkers. It can be traced back in

various forms in modern philosophical thought in Germany, to the writings of Schiller and Lessing. It received an extreme and one-sided expression in the philosophy of Fr. Albert Lange. It is expounded at the end of his well-known work, 'The History of Materialism,' which appeared in 1865 and ran through many editions. Lange is looked upon as one of the main representatives, if not the originator, of Neo-Kantianism in Germany. He considers that the attempts of idealism to solve the metaphysical problem of reality and to arrive at a philosophical creed have failed, but not less so the materialistic systems which for a moment occupied the position in public estimation which the idealistic systems had occupied before. To prove this Lange wrote his great historical work. Having thus shown that neither idealism nor materialism had succeeded in solving the problem it had set itself, he asks at the end of his history: How are the higher aspirations of human nature to be satisfied? The answer to the question is: By the culture of the "Ideal" and its creations. Everywhere the "Ideal" interposes in our work, be it in science or in art or in life. All attempts, even those of the materialist, to bring his knowledge into a system, to show its unity in one harmonious conception, are dictated by the Ideal. In art and poetry the Ideal is not tied to the data of empirical knowledge, as it is in science, but is free to create its own world. Philosophical speculation occupies an intermediate position between science and poetry. In speculation the formal element gains the upper hand over the material element—*i.e.*, over the mass of facts, events,

50. F. A. Lange.

and interests which it desires to harmonise. In poetry and art the material is completely mastered by the form. "The poet creates by the free play of his mind a world, according to his pleasure, in order to impress the easily moulded material with a form which has its value and meaning outside the tasks of knowledge. . . . The same principle which reigns supreme in the realms of the Beautiful in art and poetry appears in the realm of action as the true ethical rule, the foundation of all moral principles; and it appears in the region of knowledge as the formative factor of our world-view."

All these activities are the outcome of a process of bringing together or of synthesis; the freer this synthesis is, the more poetical will be our view of things and the more ethically elevating its reaction on our doings and strivings in this world. Not only poetry but speculation itself has an essentially æsthetical, and through the educational power of the Beautiful, an ethical intent.

The expositions of Lange remind us of Lessing and Herder, of Schiller and Fichte. Lange himself quotes Schiller and Fichte; indeed, all that he says is more impressively stated in the prose and poetry of these earlier thinkers, for their works contain an element which is characteristic with them but which is wanting in Lange: this is the element of faith or hope. They believed—or at least had a firm hope—that their Ideal was somewhere realised; the Ideal, in fact, was to them the truly Real. With Lange this assurance seems to have vanished.[1] The element of doubt and resignation

51. Contrast with similar view of earlier thinkers.

52. Problem Reality abandoned.

[1] The relevant passages in Lange's work will be found in the last chapter of the first book, which deals with the "Reaction against Materialism in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century,"

has crept in, disappointment through the failure of efforts in the past plays a greater part than confidence in the success of efforts in the future; but the latter was just the characteristic temper, the governing feature with the thinkers and poets of the age of the Revolution.[1]

and treats of the influence of Spinoza; and again in the last chapter of the whole work, which deals with a similar reaction setting in in more recent times. Whereas in the former period the constructive metaphysical philosophy of Spinoza, assimilated as we have seen (*supra*, vol. iii. p. 119 *sqq.*) by Goethe, led the reaction in philosophy and poetry, the reaction which again set in against the renewed materialism after the lapse of a century, dropped the speculative confidence and hope contained in Spinozism and its more recent pantheistic and theistic developments and returned, not to Spinoza, but to the destructive criticism initiated by Kant and revived by the Neo-Kantians. The difference is significant. In the former instance philosophy, which included science, was considered capable of reaching the highest content, or the Absolute, through methodical thought. Art also and poetry were considered to be a distinct expression of the Divine. In the later reaction both philosophy and art were considered to be incapable of attaining to these heights. Nevertheless, scientific or realistic thought remained, and the creations of art, the work of imagination, remained; but the former was limited to mere appearance, unable to grasp the truly real, and the latter were not considered to represent the idea as the truly real. This position was not that of Hartmann, although it was only a short step to take from the Unconscious to the Unknowable. The difference then, so far as beauty, art, and the Ideal is concerned, may be stated in this wise. For Lessing, Winckelmann, Schiller, and others, as likewise for Schelling and Hartmann, the Ideal was a revelation, though a transient and momentary one, of the truly Real; for Lange and his followers the Ideal was not a revelation but a product of the human imagination, which by some mysterious impulse —biologically explained as a necessary propelling force in the struggle for existence—invented the fanciful world of beauty and the beautiful. In the former case the Beautiful was a revelation of the truly Real; in the latter, a mere invention, a cunning device, of the human soul.

[1] Towards the end of the century the view expressed by Lange has been more or less adopted by many thinkers, and quite recently (1911) there has appeared a remarkable Treatise by Prof. H. Vaihinger, a friend and disciple of Lange's. It bears the title, 'Die Philosophie des Als Ob,' and is explained on the title-page as a "system of the theoretical, practical, and religious fictions of mankind founded upon an idealistic Positivism," and it introduces itself by a motto (being one of the last utterances of Lange himself): "I am convinced that the point herein dwelt on will some day become a corner-stone of philosophical epistemology." The work has an author as well as an editor

This leads us to an understanding of the importance of Lange's view,—a view which is, consciously or unconsciously, explicitly or implicitly, shared by many thoughtful minds in Germany at the present day. I have had occasion to point out in an earlier portion of this chapter, as likewise on former occasions, how the aspirations of German poetry and the courageous efforts of German speculation, at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth, were a reflection of the new interests and the youthful ideals of the age—an expression of the general hope that a new era had dawned for human history and human culture; also, how this universal and widespread feeling received an extreme expression through the French Revolution; and, lastly, how the disenchantment which followed upon its exaggerations and excesses led to two

in the same person; Vaihinger having written the book more than thirty years ago (1875-1878), but allowed it to remain unpublished, as it seemed to him that the age was not ripe for its reception. During the generation, however, which followed the publication of Lange's 'History' and the composition of his own work, he recognises that Lange's ideas have been more and more assimilated by other thinkers. Of these he gives a long list in his Preface as the author, pointing especially to the similarity of his views to such popular philosophies of modern times as those of the Pragmatists in this country and of Fr. Nietzsche in Germany. His relation to Henri Bergson, which has been pointed out (see Dr K. Oesterreich in 'Deutsche Literaturzeitung,' 1913, p. 199), is less evident, inasmuch as the final drift of M. Bergson's speculations is not yet clear. Although the main title of the work is repellent to common-sense, it is of value to the historian of thought to see it clearly expressed in the sub-title that according to this tendency in philosophy all progress in culture and society seems to be based on fictions or on inventions of the human mind, without any underlying conviction that they are, if not the expression, yet at least a reflection of the truly Real — in fact, the latter seems to vanish altogether out of existence. It will be evident to my readers that the whole tendency which I desire to bring out in this History is exactly the opposite of what Prof. Vaihinger considers to be the drift of recent thought; but it is of advantage for both sides that through the use of the word "fiction" this contrast should be distinctly defined and emphasised.

independent currents of thought and endeavour. The first consisted in a reaction, in an effort to stem the tide; the second and more important movement consisted in a universal resolve to do better, more methodically and in a more orderly manner, what had been done in storm and haste in the earlier stage of the great revolutionary movement. This was to be achieved by deeper thinking, more extensive learning, by popular education, as well as by higher academic teaching. At the same time, especially in Germany, a novel conception of the ideals of art and poetry, a fresh spiritual impulse, produced a great mass of poetical and artistic creation. The two points in which the new light was collected, the foci from which it spread into far regions, are the life and work of Goethe and the divine creations of Beethoven.

When Lange wrote, the Ideal which had guided poets and thinkers half a century earlier appeared unrealisable, not only through speculation but also through science. But the expression which that Ideal had found in poetry and art had not perished; it was realised and perpetuated for all time in the artistic productions of that age. If the faith and hope which had animated the earlier generation had disappeared, the great creations had not disappeared; they stood there as lasting monuments of the workings of a deeper spirit. Hence it was not unnatural that many deeper-seeking and thinking minds should turn for refreshment and spiritual support to those great creations. This explains the very widespread interest which has more recently been taken in the works and personality of Goethe; how it is that his

philosophy of life has become, in many instances, the philosophical creed of a later generation. This also explains the prominent part which music, elevated and deepened in the compositions of Beethoven and his followers, plays in the spiritual life of large numbers among the German people.

To trace this more in detail would mean to penetrate deeper into the poetic and religious thought of the century, into that region where scientific and philosophical forms and methods avail little or nothing, but which is nevertheless the spontaneous and creative source out of which all other mental efforts flow, notably in which all new movements of philosophical no less than of scientific thought have their origin and beginnings. But as this would belong to a different portion of this history, I must at present drop the subject with the single remark that the philosophical study of the Beautiful has led thinkers to the limits of speculation, to the recognition that beyond these limits lies a deeper and more productive region of thought.

53. Unsystematic Æsthetics in England. Ruskin.

Similar reasons prevent me from entering at present upon an appreciation of that range of ideas which have been more unconsciously active than philosophically defined, in the writings and deliverances of English art-critics during the second half of the nineteenth century. The great stimulus to this original and spontaneous — though unsystematic — expression of thought was undoubtedly given by the publication of the first volume of John Ruskin's 'Modern Painters' in 1843. It was not a philosophical interest which produced this highly original work, but it has been significantly pointed out

that it appeared in the same year as John Stuart Mill's 'Logic.' It may therefore be permitted to bring it into a line with that reaction to which I referred at the end of the last chapter, the probably unconscious reaction against what we may now term the mechanical view of nature, the attempt to limit the study of nature to the recognition of certain recurring uniformities, such uniformities being primarily conceived as comprised in the formula of cause and effect, but latterly more and more reduced to a mere repetition of successions in time. The earlier upholders of the scientific study of nature, when they desired to do more than accumulate and arrange facts and observations, laid stress, consciously or unconsciously, on that side of the conception of cause which in their minds was not purely mechanical.[1] This implied that the effect was not purely mechanical either, but shared in the ideal or spiritual nature of the cause from which it ultimately sprang: it exhibited a definite end or a purpose. These

[1] This remark is only fully correct if we look at the mathematical or exact sciences, and does not apply to the organic or biological sciences. The latter utilised for the purposes of classification and arrangement the conception of plan or archetype. To have destroyed this latter idea, replacing it by a conception of change or evolution mechanically proceeding, and by doing so to have converted some of the natural sciences into exact sciences, is one of the great achievements of the Darwinian revolution of Thought. It should, however, not be overlooked that purely deductive reasoning from definite beginnings is not possible; such beginnings must always be a matter of hypothesis or invention. They are hypothetical in all the sciences which deal with a variety of molar and molecular, and still more in those that deal with organic, phenomena; and they are a matter of invention or choice in dealing with purely mathematical configurations. This has been more and more recognised in the course of the nineteenth century, and has resulted in a comparatively recent science, — the mathematics of arrangement as distinguished from the mathematics of quantity. This I tried to show in the last chapter of the first section of this History.

ideal or spiritual attributes, which once clung even to the scientific use of the words cause and effect, and which common-sense still retains, were gradually stripped from the formula by a lengthened process of logical analysis which, in this country at least, started with Mill's 'Logic.'

It was therefore highly significant and valuable that at the same time a line of reasoning on things natural should be started which aimed at pointing out and analysing the artistic as distinguished from the scientific aspect and representation.[1] This analysis was in the main inductively carried out through a study of the numerous works of the new school of landscape painters which had sprung up in this country in the first half of the century. There does not seem to exist any well-defined historical connection between discussions on the Beautiful in the writings of Ruskin and those of the German Idealists a generation before him. But it has been pointed out in the only comprehensive history of Æsthetics[2] which British thought has produced that an

[1] We have seen (*supra*, vol. iii. p. 378 *sqq.*) that Mill himself felt the necessity of counteracting what we should now term the purely mechanical view of the world and life by a poetical view which he, with remarkable insight, found impressively contained in the poetry of Wordsworth. I am not aware that Mill took special or adequate notice of the writings of Ruskin, which probably were for his taste deficient in an understanding and appreciation of the scientific spirit. I can, however, remember no trace in Mill's writings of a view of poetry and art akin to that of Lange or Vaihinger. The emotional side of human nature was to Mill, as it was also to Renouvier, a definite reality, though it does not appear as if he ever clearly defined to himself the implications which such a view carries with it.

[2] Bernard Bosanquet, 'History of Æsthetic' (2nd ed., 1904). A very useful and lucid historical account of the various theories of the Beautiful in ancient and modern times, and prominently also in literatures which the present History of Thought has been obliged to exclude from its survey, is to be found in Prof. Wm. Knight's 'Philosophy of the Beautiful' (1st

idea, much dwelt upon by the latter, received a fuller expression in Ruskin's expositions than it had received in Goethe, Hegel, or Schelling. This is the idea of the characteristic in nature. In both cases the aim was to penetrate to the underlying thought which enlivens genuine artistic creation—*i.e.*, the creation of the artistic or poetical genius. Now, both schools of art criticism—that surrounding Goethe in Germany, and that centred in Ruskin in England—founded their analysis and deductions largely, though not wholly, upon the creations of contemporary art.[1] Of the two, the great world of

part), 'Outlines of the History of Æsthetics' (1891). In contradistinction to the work of Prof. Bosanquet and the critical history of modern æsthetics, which forms the larger portion of Signor Croce's work referred to above (p. 15), Prof. Knight treats at greater length of æsthetics in France and Britain than of æsthetics in Germany. The fact that he comprises under the term Æsthetics not only the philosophical discussion of the problem of beauty and the Beautiful, but emphasises with Jouffroy (p. 114) the existence of a science of the Beautiful as distinguished from the philosophy, and that he includes in his account much that is quite unsystematic, belonging to what the French term Critique and English writers Criticism, gives to his Manual a special value. It may counteract a partiality for the exclusively metaphysical treatment of the subject, which starts with a definition of beauty or of art, and it may open the eyes of students — especially in Germany, where Æsthetics has frequently been considered to be peculiarly a German science—to the enormous mass of valuable thought on subjects of beauty and the beautiful which is scattered in the general polite literatures of modern times all over Europe. And in this respect his Manual has not become superfluous through the publication of Bosanquet's larger work, as he himself modestly suggests it might. For those who, like myself, search for the beginnings of philosophical thought in the general literature, the poetry, and the spiritual writings of individual, and frequently secluded, thinkers, Knight's Manual would prove a very useful guide on their paths of exploration.

[1] It is well to remark that German Æsthetics, with the exception of Kant, started by a study of the classic in Winckelmann, enlarging its field of view by taking in the art of the Renaissance, that of Shakespeare and that of other periods and nations, gradually recognising the originality and peculiar breadth and depth of Goethe's creations. On the other side, we learn from the biographer of Ruskin that the æsthetical and historical interest of Ruskin began, as it were, with what was near at hand, and underwent considerable change and enlargement in the

art which centred in Goethe was probably the more comprehensive; but in spite of its comprehensiveness, it was—probably with the single exception of Goethe himself—wanting in detailed and faithful studies of nature. The whole artistic interest of that age centred in the problem of mind, be it divine or human, in the individual. Thus the principal illustrations of such æsthetical theories as those of Schiller, Schelling, and Hegel, are drawn from poetry or from the plastic arts of classical antiquity; the "characteristic" is to be found, according to a passage quoted above from Schelling's 'Address,' in an individual moment of perfection. With this stands in marked contrast the new world of artistic creation which Ruskin made the object of his study. "It is," says Professor Bosanquet,[1] "this point of view that we owe to Mr Ruskin's unwearied justification of the art of Turner, and it is not too much to say that he, like Winckelmann, has given the mind a new organ for the appreciation of beauty. The characteristic in nature as a whole, though a point of view imperatively demanded by the theory of Hegel, Goethe, and Schelling,

course of his literary career. The social importance of art took in Ruskin a more practical shape than it did in Schiller's writings or, more recently, in those of J. M. Guyau in France.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 448 *sqq.* "The true question is, in the first instance, as to the range and vigour of beauty itself. Now, in one aspect of this question we owe something like a revolution to the English art and criticism of this century. This aspect is our appreciation of external nature in the form of landscape scenery." It is somewhat surprising that in this connection Prof. Bosanquet did not also mention Wordsworth and Tennyson, nor refer to the great influence which amateur naturalists, beginning with White of Selborne, had on the growing appreciation of natural beauty. In general, we may also note the development of this side of artistic taste among amateur sketchers; and the wealth in picturing the life and beauty of nature in what may probably be considered the best in the verse of the minor English poets of the day.

was a region in which we found them weak. They thought more of the individual formation, the crystal, the plant, the animal, while the co-operating laws and larger combinations of phenomena were scarcely within the range of the characteristic as they understood it. But fully in the spirit of science, Mr Ruskin has pointed out with loving appreciation the value and import of variable curves, graduated colours, and the nature and stratification of earth and rock, so that to the nature-lover versed in this expressiveness, the hills and plains, the cliffs and river-courses, are able to tell their story like a human face."

All this, however, is mentioned here only in passing, and to show again how the problem of the Beautiful was studied independently of the great philosophical movement and outside of the systems of the school, as a special branch of art-criticism. At a somewhat later period than that which produced the earlier writings of Carlyle and Ruskin, the desire began to make itself felt, also in this country, to elaborate a philosophical creed. As I have repeatedly pointed out, this demand had existed abroad ever since the middle of the seventeenth century. Under its influence the great philosophical problems were formulated, latest among them probably that of the Beautiful. In this country these problems, so far as they were recognised at all, arose in a loose and disconnected manner through other influences and interests, among which social questions were probably the most important and pressing. We find this specific English characteristic strongly marked also in many of the prominent literary and art critics, such as Carlyle, Ruskin, Matthew Arnold, and William Morris. Apart from these, but agreeing with them in his lively interest in social problems, stands the lonely figure of Herbert Spencer: he alone made a serious attempt to elaborate a reasoned philosophical creed, to formulate and solve the World-problem. In the course of his various and laborious expositions he was led also to deal with æsthetical questions. But apart from marking his adherence to the play-theory of art, his psychological analysis does not contain anything very suggestive or original. He has no idea of the Beautiful as constituting a World-problem, such as it appeared to Plato in antiquity and again to Schelling in Germany, such also as it is declaring itself in spite of the absence of any special love for method and system, in literary and art criticism in the modern literatures of France and England. Of Spencer, Signor Benedetto Croce, the latest historian of Æsthetics, says: "If one desires to determine somehow the philosophical position of Spencer, one is obliged to say that he oscillates between sensationalism and moralism, and has never any idea of art in its character as art."[1]

54. Spencer and the play-theory.

This quotation reminds me that, in dealing with the philosophical problem of the Beautiful, no mention has been made, so far, of the psychological treatment of the subject and, only indirectly, of the connection of Æsthetics and Ethics. Yet these two sides of the question are probably those which receive, at the present

55. Psychology of Æsthetics and Ethics.

[1] B. Croce, 'Esthétique' (1904), p. 389.

moment, most, if not exclusive, attention in Germany, where the metaphysical or essentially philosophical treatment has wellnigh died out.[1]

56. Herbart.

This fundamental change may be traced back to the influence of the writings of Herbart. Herbart himself has not devoted any larger treatise[2] to æsthetics.

[1] This becomes very evident if we compare with the historical works of Schasler, Lotze, and Bosanquet, referred to in the text, such recent statements as are contained in the two representative works frequently referred to already in earlier chapters, the 'Festschrift' in honour of Kuno Fischer, and the volume entitled 'Systematische Philosophie.' The former contains an article on "Æsthetics" by Prof. Karl Groos. He distinguishes between a metaphysical, a critical, and a psychological treatment of æsthetical problems, finds that the first survives mostly only in the influence of Schopenhauer's speculation, but that the latter defines the position of the majority of recent philosophical writers on Æsthetics, defining the latter as a "psychology of æsthetical enjoyment and artistic creation" (quoted from Külpe, vol. ii. p. 138). He then enters on an interesting discussion of the question whether psychology is able to deal with the highest problems of æsthetical judgment or value which the critical treatment puts in the foreground, and comes to the conclusion that psychologists might do well if they left out the reference to value, especially if it were possible to arrive through a critical analysis at absolute standards, which he, however, considers to be doubtful (p. 149). The author then deals at some length with a conception which pervades recent æsthetics, notably in Germany, and which has received through R. Vischer a special designation—namely, the term *Einfühlung*. It means that æsthetical contemplation and enjoyment is based upon the possibility of "feeling yourself into" the object you contemplate. This view is also that of another prominent representative of modern German æsthetics, Prof. Theodor Lipps, who makes it the principal subject of his article on "Æsthetics" in the other volume mentioned above, and enlarges it by the conception of æsthetical sympathy; his definition of the sensation of the beautiful being "the feeling of a positive living activity which I experience in a sensuous object" (Lipps' 'Grundlegung der Æsthetik,' 1903, p. 140). In the interest of the history of Thought it is gratifying to see that both authors trace the beginning of this conception to the writings of Lotze in his 'History' as well as in his 'Microcosmus.' An interesting account of recent German æsthetics from this special point of view "which at present governs it" ('Systematische Philosophie,' p. 385) will be found in a valuable article by Vernon Lee on "Recent Æsthetics" in the April number of 'The Quarterly Review,' 1904, to which I desire especially to direct the attention of my readers.

[2] The principal passages in Herbart's Works which refer to this subject will be found in his 'Introduction to Philosophy' (1813), reprinted in the first vol. of the 'Collected Works,' ed. by Hartenstein; further, in the sixth and following chapters of the 'Encyclopædia' (1831), 'Works,' vol. ii. The best exposition of the whole of Herbart's philosophy, and also especially of his Æsthetics, will be found in Lotze's writings. That referring to the general principles and the originality of his position is given in the Lecture Syllabus on the 'History of German Philosophy since Kant' (1882), chap. 6; that on his Ontology in a long critical article (1843) reprinted in the first volume of the 'Kleine Schriften' (p. 109); that referring to his Æsthetics in the 'History of Æsthetics in Germany' (pp. 225-246). Considering that Lotze does not agree with Herbart in his fundamental treatment of Æsthetics, he is remarkably just and appreciative of Herbart's merit in having for the first time clearly introduced into philosophical discussions the distinct idea and helpful term of Value or Worth, as more expressive and serviceable than the term Purpose used by Kant. Lotze's own position is best understood if we note how he from the beginning (cf. his 'Metaphysik,' 1841) introduces this term, and how he retains it and enlarges its meaning in all his subsequent writings. It is surprising that the philosopher who first, after Lotze, made this idea of Value one of the central points of his speculation, H. Höffding, has not referred on this point to Lotze in his somewhat unsympathetic account of the latter. (See 'History of Philosophy,' vol. ii. p. 508; see also a short Tract by Otto Ritschl, 'Ueber Werthurtheile,' 1895.)

Nevertheless he stimulated in his disciples a genuine interest in æsthetical problems from the psychological point of view, and this not only through his untiring and strenuous opposition to the metaphysical treatment, but quite as much by pointing out how æsthetical, as well as ethical, interests originate in and come under one and the same psychological principle. This is the principle of approval or disapproval with which we contemplate things as well as human actions. Thus Herbart puts at the entry of his practical philosophy the conception of value. Judgments or estimates as to the value of things, phenomena, events or actions, are termed by Herbart æsthetical, and are distinguished from those referring to truth or correctness. Æsthetical judgments, again, divide themselves into those which refer merely to the approval which we experience in contemplation—these are the æsthetical judgments in

the narrower sense — and those which are inevitably accompanied by the feeling of obligation, namely, the ethical judgments.

From this we see that Herbart does not approve of the divisions and definitions which were introduced by Kant. Kant had employed the practical principle, which he termed the Categorical Imperative, to define for practical if not for theoretical purposes the essence of the truly Real. This had been further elaborated by Fichte, who placed the active principle at the entrance of his system. Combined with Kant's doctrine that all empirical knowledge refers only to appearance and not to the truly Real, this meant that the principle of action or the rule of practice would necessarily turn out to be a purely formal and abstract precept without any intelligible sense or meaning through which this abstract principle recommends itself to our approval. Against this Herbart maintains that the practical — *i.e.*, the æsthetical and the ethical—has our approval not through its form but through its content, inasmuch as it contains something which is valuable in our estimation.

The æsthetical view of Herbart has been stigmatised as formal[1] in opposition to the metaphysical conception

[1] Herbart proposed to investigate both æsthetical and moral questions by a combined process of analysis and synthesis not unlike, and no doubt influenced by, similar discussions which abound in the philosophical literature of this country since the time of Shaftesbury. Considering that the epithet of the Beautiful belongs only to the relations of single sensuous elements which, in themselves, do not deserve this epithet, Herbart aimed at discovering those fundamental relations which call forth æsthetical approval, and which in their combination produce the very complex works of nature and art forming the world of the Beautiful. His æsthetics, therefore, proposed to take, what Fechner ('Vorschule der Æsthetik,' introduction) more emphatically urged, a way "from below" in contradistinction to the metaphysical way "from above." The latter starting from a comprehensive or synoptic view of the whole realm of the Beautiful, wherever it might appear, tried to give to this view a definite expression or interpretation in connection with a general creed as to the nature and essence of what was conceived to be the truly Real, tracing this subsequently through all the numerous single instances and scattered appearances in the actual world of nature or the creations of art and life; hence the task of æsthetics consisted in interpreting the world of the Beautiful in the light of the supreme Thought, the Ideal. For Herbart and his followers, on the other side, the task of æsthetics was to determine the elemental relations, and to show how through their manifold combination and according to rules which the science of æsthetics had to establish, the beauty of any larger complex was produced. There seems no doubt that Herbart was somewhat misled by his more exclusive acquaintance with music and poetry to desire to establish everywhere definite rules such as have guided musical and, in a lesser degree, poetical, compositions with their well-defined elementary notions of rhythm, harmony, melody, &c.; he desired a similar schooling in the elements of the Beautiful, in the fine arts. On the other side, thinkers such as Lessing, Herder, Schiller, and Schelling approached the Beautiful by contemplating and studying the existing great productions of the antique and the renaissance, of Shakespeare and other ancient and modern poets, and tried to get hold of that essential Something to which they owed their objective excellence. Herbartian Æsthetics are mainly represented by Robert Zimmermann and elaborately criticised by Fr. Theod. Vischer, the most celebrated representative of the idealistic School. He criticised with equal candour his own great work ('Æsthetik,' 1846-1857) in his 'Kritische Gänge,' Neue Folge, No. 5, pp. 1-224; No. 6, pp. 1-166 (1866, 1873). These articles are most interesting, showing, *inter alia*, how prominent disciples of Hegel were gradually abandoning the logic and metaphysics of their master.

elaborated by the idealists and the purely psychological analysis of the older schools and of that of the psychophysical school represented in Germany mainly by Fechner. There is, however, no need to dwell on Herbart's views at any length so far as the problem of the Beautiful is concerned, except to notice that he considered æsthetical judgments as referring to relations and not to the elementary sensations or perceptions between which these relations exist. His disciples took up this idea and attempted to define more closely in what these relations consist, reducing them to a limited number of definite fundamental relations. With

this view Herbart himself combined a distinct aversion towards that endeavour so prominent among the idealists —the endeavour, viz., to see in works of art the expression of something extraneous though higher, to reduce them to symbols of something else. Much more important than in the directions just mentioned is the influence of Herbart in two other directions, although this is not shown pre-eminently in his treatment of the æsthetical problem. I mention it here because it offers a convenient transition from the subject of this chapter to that of the following. It has been stated that Herbart's views are, to a large extent, foreshadowed in those of Kant. Nevertheless he introduced certain modifications in the expression of these views which have become important. Kant had introduced the idea of purpose in order to explain the Beautiful, which, as he put it, appears to us purposeful without having a definite end or purpose extraneous to itself. It had, in fact, its purpose within itself. This correct idea received a more adequate expression when Herbart put in the place of the term purpose or end the term value or worth. In doing so he emphasised the truth already expressed by Kant, that in pronouncing æsthetical judgments we do not reflect upon the usefulness of the thing we judge, but recognise its end or purpose to lie in itself. At the same time, this way of putting the matter points to the subjective side of æsthetical judgments, inasmuch as we can only speak of the value or worth of anything if we personally realise or experience the same. It also allows us to bring together æsthetical and ethical judgments, and to look upon either of the two as comprised within the other.

57. His introduction of the term Value.

The consequences of the introduction of the terms value and worth are most clearly seen in the philosophy of Lotze, who employs them to make more intelligible—more accessible to the human understanding—the essence of that which in the speculations of Schelling and Hegel had figured as the Idea, the essence of the truly Real, which to the human soul presents itself as that which has intrinsic value or worth, which deserves to exist for its own sake. Accordingly Lotze, as I have stated on several occasions, starts in his philosophy from the empirical fact that the phenomenal world, the world also of common-sense, consists of three intermingled regions—the world or region of Things, the world or region of Laws, and the world or region of Values or Worths.

58. Developed by Lotze.

In quite recent times this conception has found a restatement in the writings of Professor Höffding, who divides the great philosophical problem into the three distinct problems—the problem of existence, the problem of knowledge, and the problem of value. It must, however, be at once remarked that the ultimate formula, through which Lotze tries to bring the three regions of thought into harmony, has not proved satisfactory to Höffding.

The second point through which Herbart has influenced æsthetical theory lies in this, that he has brought æsthetics and ethics into a closer connection than they had in the system of Kant. If in æsthetics

59. Closer connection of Æsthetics and Ethics.

as well as in ethics the idea of value is made the starting-point, we cannot get rid of the question what it is that gives value to anything, be it a natural object, a creation of art, or an act of the human Will. Kant had not made the idea of value the starting-point of his practical philosophy, though it had served him under the name of purpose to define the Beautiful. In ethics he had made the idea of obligation or duty in the form of the Categorical Imperative, the starting-point and dominating conception. Had he attempted to explain psychologically why the highest moral law meets with our approval he would have, to some extent at least, bridged over the distance which separates the good from the beautiful. This was done by that line of reasoning which begins with Herbart. Now although in the sequel very different views have been taken by different thinkers on the relation of æsthetics to ethics, or of the beautiful to the good, there is an unmistakable tendency manifested among the later philosophers of the nineteenth century to emphasise the ethical, educational, and sociological importance of art, and this has frequently happened with those thinkers who have recognised and painfully experienced the decline of the religious factor in modern civilisation. To their view art has in proportion gained in importance, the beautiful has appeared as a kind of receptacle of those truths which formerly presented themselves more naturally in the form of religious beliefs; the vanishing ideals of earlier phases of culture are to be preserved in the works of art and in the region of the beautiful. I have already pointed out how this aspect found expression in the writings of Lange, and

how, notably in Germany, the emotional side of life has, with many persons, taken refuge, and found expression and satisfaction, in the musical compositions of the great masters of earlier and of recent times.

A tendency, not unlike the one just mentioned,—a tendency to take art more seriously,—is to be found in the writings of one of the most original philosophical thinkers during the last quarter of the century in France. I refer to Jean Marie Guyau (1854 to 1888).[1] It may be said that in him the conception of evolution has been applied to a solution of the problem of the Beautiful. The question had already been discussed by the philosopher of evolution, by Herbert Spencer, as likewise by some of his followers. But in the hands of Guyau the evolutionary view acquires quite a different aspect. Herbert Spencer had, as I have had occasion to mention before, revived the play-theory of Schiller, without distinctly referring to Schiller. Now the play-theory of Schiller had its origin at a time when Kant's ethical rigorism had acquired a strong hold on German thought.

60. J. M. Guyau.

[1] The principal works of Guyau in which his æsthetical ideas are developed are: 'Les Problèmes de l'Esthétique Contemporaine' (1884); 'L'Art au point de vue Sociologique' (1889). Both these works have run through several editions. A very interesting volume upon Guyau ('La Morale, l'Art et la Religion'), giving much prominence to his poetical, artistic, and æsthetical mind and thought, was published by Alfred Fouillée, who was his guardian, teacher, and subsequently his stepfather. It contains a biographical notice of Guyau's short life and profound studies. Chapters iii. and iv. on 'Guyau's Æsthetics' are largely interspersed with original poetry. Guyau had during his lifetime published a volume with the title 'Vers d'un Philosophe' (1881). The most important, however, of Guyau's philosophical attempts was to find a basis for morality after, as he considered, the traditional foundations of ethics and religion had been destroyed through the doctrine of evolution. Together with Fouillée himself he may be considered to be a leader in that specifically French philosophical tendency—the idealisation of the philosophy of evolution.

The inexorable law of duty, the Categorical Imperative, had been made by Kant not only the basis of practical philosophy, but as it were also the expression of the truly Real, the only and the sufficient means of insight afforded to us human beings into the ultimate ground and essence of the existing world. In this conception, support had also been found for the belief in God, in Freedom, and in Immortality. Art and the Beautiful were not required for the solution of the moral problem; they were looked upon by Schiller as ornaments, as the adornment of life, as the introduction to the sterner demands of reason and duty. When, a century later, Guyau approached the problems of the Spirit, the Good and the Beautiful,—which, according to Lotze's terminology, constitute the region of values or worths,—the independent foundations of religious faith and of moral doctrine had been profoundly shaken by the scientific and historical criticism of the century; notably the supreme obligation contained in the moral law, as it was understood by Kant, and the sanction derived from religious or metaphysical convictions, appeared doubtful. Yet Guyau was not a pessimist or a materialist; the teachings of Schopenhauer and von Hartmann did not satisfy him, nor did he share in the despair with which both Lange and Strauss took refuge in the ideals that had found expression in art and poetry, in literature and music. Guyau was animated by a great faith and hope which amounted almost to inspiration. Like Schelling, eighty years earlier, he was both a philosopher and a poet; he had, more than Schelling, something of the prophet in him—he lived in

the future. He had not abandoned the belief in progress, in the perfectibility of the human race, proclaimed a century earlier by his countryman Condorcet and the intellectual leaders of the French Revolution.

We may then ask: Whence did Guyau derive his faith and his hope? It came to him through the philosophy of evolution which had found in France an idealistic interpretation in the writings of Alfred Fouillée. According to Guyau the world contains a propelling principle: this he identifies with Life, which is not only a propelling but also an expanding principle; it is the principle not only of development but also of growth and enlargement. His views on this subject are taken from Biology. We live in an age when a larger idea of life is gradually, but inevitably, forcing itself upon us. Life hitherto has been mainly concerned with the individual, the unit; but biology has taught us that the highest form of individual life, man himself, is, like all other organisms, composed of a multitude of separate units, that the individual organism is an assemblage of cells, a society as it were. But on the other side we have human society, an assemblage of human beings in the totality of the social organism. This conception has been forced upon us by the theory of evolution; the great outstanding problem of the nineteenth century, toward which all other problems converge, is the problem of society,—the growth, the development, and the future of Society. The next object of human progress and human development is, to bring about a solidarity, a unity of human interests through co-operation or combined energy—what Guyau calls "*synergie sociale.*" To

61. Evolutionary view.

bring about this combined energy, this unity of interests and of life in human society, is the task of the future and the ideal of Guyau. It is this which he sees realised in the future; it is this that gives him faith and hope. Inasmuch as his writings and speculations are inspired by this faith and hope, by the prophetic view of the future, his philosophy contains that element which existed in a high degree in German idealism in the beginning of the century, giving it a propelling force and animating it with life and vigour. It is interesting also to note that, as the German idealists attached themselves closely to the poetical and artistic creations of their age and drew inspiration from them, so likewise Guyau stands in immediate contact with the great literary forces of his country, notably with Victor Hugo, in whose poetical creations he finds many conscious or unconscious confirmations of his ideas, the poetical foreshadowing of his doctrine.

I shall have occasion to refer again to the fundamental conception which pervades all Guyau's writings. At present what interests us is, not so much his ethics and his religious philosophy, as his views on Art and the Beautiful. Next to Plato and the German idealists Guyau is the most important name in the philosophy of the Beautiful. His Æsthetics do not deal only with questions of taste, with psychological analysis and literary criticism, to which they have been confined in this country and latterly also in Germany; they deal also and pre-eminently with the larger question regarding the nature and essence of the Beautiful and the place which has to be assigned to the Beautiful and to Art in any

comprehensive system of thought or life. Accordingly it has been not incorrectly remarked by some French critics, that with Guyau a new epoch begins in the history of æsthetics. The first epoch began with Plato: his æsthetics are the æsthetics of the Ideal; the second began with Kant: his æsthetics are the æsthetics of Perception; the third starts with Guyau: his æsthetics are the æsthetics of social sympathy.[1] Having destroyed, in two separate works, the sociological value of religion as well as of morals in the generally accepted sense of the terms, Guyau exalts the importance of the Beautiful and of Art inasmuch as it creates social sympathy and produces a community of feeling and sentiment. Without art the *synergie sociale* would be incomplete; we might have a community of ideas, an intellectual alliance of human beings—this being the object of metaphysics of which religion is merely a figurative and imaginative form; or we might have a unity of practical aims and efforts—this is the task and object of morality; but we should not have a community of feeling and sentiment. To give the latter is the aim of art; it adds to the *synergie sociale* the *sympathie sociale*. Thus the education of the intellect through science and philosophy, the education of the will through morals, and the education of the feelings through art, go hand in hand, furthering the same end—viz., co-operation and harmony in human society.

62. New epoch in Æsthetics.

In the same degree as the doctrinal religion of the churches and the ethical code of moral rigorists are destroyed, the importance of Art and of the Beautiful

[1] See B. Croce, 'Esthétique,' p. 399.

increases. We have seen above how Kuno Fischer pointed out the dilemma in which Schiller entangled himself in his "Letters on the Æsthetical Education of Humanity," inasmuch as he could not reconcile the sternness of Kant's Ethics with his æsthetical view of the Ideal of Humanity. This dilemma does not exist for Guyau; he has destroyed the rigour of morality; its highest principle is not a command, it is merely the growth and enlargement of life; duty is an overflowing of life which desires to be used and to give itself up, duty does not arise through an external law of necessity, duty is only the expression of superabundant power. The Beautiful is not opposed to reality, is not a matter of play and fiction, but it is an enlargement of life. Wherever, in nature or in the creations of art, we are made to see this larger life, we have the sensation of the Beautiful. Through this conception Guyau is enabled to attach greater value to the beauty in nature than to the beauty in art, whereas we saw that the idealistic school awakened only tardily to an adequate appreciation of natural beauty.

63. The Beautiful a larger Life.

At the same time Guyau's conception of the Beautiful reminds us of Lotze's views. Both Lotze and Guyau have before their minds an ideal condition, both dream of a harmony which does not exist in the actual state of things and of life which surrounds us. For Lotze, the ultimate harmony and solution of the world-problem would consist in the unity of things, laws and values; for Guyau it would consist in the harmonious life of human society, in the larger social life of the universe. Both recognise that the Beautiful affords us a glimpse,

64. Comparison with Lotze.

or suggests the realisation, of the ideal state of things. Lotze would see the complete realisation if a view of the totality of things were given to us; Guyau sees it in the process of evolution in time.

Guyau is one of the last original writers on Æsthetics who have attempted to solve the philosophical problem of the Beautiful. He has tried to give an answer to the two main philosophical questions: What is the essence of the Beautiful, be it in nature or in art? and further: What position does the Beautiful occupy in the complete scheme of human interests? How is it related to truth (the problem of Knowledge), to the actual (the problem of Reality), and to that which ought to be (the problem of the Good)? He has also made an attempt to reduce these different aspects to a common term, to unite them in one fundamental conception. This fundamental conception with Guyau is the principle of life: but life in a spiritual, not in a merely physical sense. It is an expression for the same immanent power which, in the idealistic school of thought, goes variously under other terms, such as mind, thought, or idea. We may therefore say that he has approached the solution of the highest philosophical problem, the problem of Reality. To this I shall revert again, in a later chapter, which will deal with the problem of the Spirit.

Being an evolutionist, Guyau tries to arrive at an understanding of the highest manifestations of the propelling force or power which pervades everything by fastening upon a phenomenon which we see everywhere in nature, and of which we know something by actual observation, by outer and inner experience: the familiar

phenomenon of life. To him the entire unfolding of life is the key to the world-process; through this view he shows himself to be the child of his age, of the age which revolutionised Biology and placed it on an entirely novel foundation. The idealistic school in the beginning of the nineteenth century was no less the child of its time, an offspring of the movement of ideas which were characteristic of the end of the eighteenth. During that period a great revolution had likewise taken place in the world of thought. This was most prominent and most complete in Germany. It was the reconstruction of what are there termed the mental sciences (Geisteswissenschaften), which, in this country, were at that time frequently termed the Humanities. In the course of this history I have marked the distinction by using the two expressions of scientific thought and philosophical thought. The age which brought forth the idealistic philosophies in Germany was not the age which revolutionised the mathematical and mechanical sciences—this had been done in France and England during the eighteenth century; nor was it the age which revolutionised the natural and biological sciences—this was done later by the combined labours of France, Germany, and England; and the revolution centred in Darwin.

65. Life substituted for Mind.

What the term life now means to the philosopher of evolution, what it conveys to him as an expressive term for the underlying essence and power in the world, the same meaning and function belonged, during the idealistic period, to the word mind and its many synonyms. It was therefore as natural for the idealist thinker to bring unity and harmony into his speculations by referring to the activity and presence of mind everywhere and in everything, as it is natural for the evolutionist philosopher at the end of the century to refer to the presence of life everywhere and in everything. Both schools of thought assume, tacitly and unconsciously, that the terms they use awaken in the minds of their readers familiar conceptions, the meaning of which is readily admitted. They both appeal to an immediate knowledge which the mind of every educated person is supposed to possess intuitively in a more or less distinct and living form. It is perhaps needless to remark that neither of the two terms has appeared, as time has gone on, quite satisfactory to the critical spirit which, before permitting the use of either of them, would require a definition; also, that as soon as this desire makes itself generally felt any philosophy based upon such conceptions will appear unsatisfactory, demanding further investigation: this may, in its turn, either confirm it and place it on a surer foundation or prove the whole superstructure to have been illusory and, at best, of only temporary value.

66. Reluctance to deal with metaphysics.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century we have had occasion to notice a growing reluctance to deal with metaphysical questions. This reluctance has shown itself also in the treatment of æsthetical problems. The purely philosophical aspect of the problem of the Beautiful has given way to the psychological interest or to purely literary criticism. We have also seen that in psychology as well as in criticism important changes of view have taken place. Psychology has developed in the direction of psycho-physics, and literary and artistic criticism has assumed an historical bias. The former change is the

result of the growth of biological and physiological knowledge, based upon observation, scientific theories, and experiment; the latter is a result of historical studies, of an increasing knowledge of the life of other nations and the mental labours of other civilisations. Although, therefore, theories of the Beautiful and of Art, from a comprehensive or philosophical point of view, have seemingly lost in interest and attractiveness, works on Æsthetics, from the scientific, the psychological, and the historical point of view have increased in number and in bulk. It would not serve my present purpose to do more than refer to this growing literature which deals mainly with special problems of psychology, criticism, or taste. They are referred to, though hardly in sufficient completeness, in several comprehensive works on the history of Æsthetics which have appeared in the course of the last thirty years in all the three countries under review. Most of these works are written from definite philosophical points of view, from aspects derived from one or the other among those systematic attempts which have occupied us in this chapter.

Among these various historical treatises I confine myself to the mention of one which does not belong to any of the three literatures to which this history is, in the main, limited. I refer to the treatise on Æsthetics by Signor Benedetto Croce. It was published in 1902 at Palermo; a second edition appeared in the following year. Of this a translation has been brought out in French by M. Henri Bigot. In this connection I refer to this work, of which the larger portion is historical and critical, not because other works on the history of

Æsthetics are not equally, or perhaps more, important, but for two special reasons.

It is always difficult for a writer who deals with the mental labours of several nations, to one of which he himself belongs, to exercise that impartiality which his exposition naturally aims at. In the present chapter we have been almost exclusively occupied with speculations which belong to Germany and originated there. To some of my readers this may have appeared one-sided. I therefore desire to justify my treatment of the subject by quoting what Signor Croce, who occupies an extraneous position, says: "The philosophical movement in Germany during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, in spite of its numerous and great faults, which, in the sequel, inevitably provoked a rude reaction, is nevertheless remarkable and imposing enough in its aggregate to rightly predominate in the history of European thought of that period, relegating to the second or the third planes, and to an inferior importance, the contemporary philosophical productions of other nations. This is true, more even than for philosophy in general, for æsthetics in particular. France, still a prey to the sensationalism of Condillac and his school, was, in the beginning of the century, not in a position adequately to appreciate the creative function of art.[1] . . . In England the Association-Psychology continued, as it indeed never had been interrupted: incapable of rising really beyond sensationalism and of understanding imagination."[2]

67. B. Croce.

The second reason which prompts me to draw atten-

[1] B. Croce, 'Esthétique,' p. 350.

[2] Ibid., p. 352.

tion to Signor Croce's work is of more importance. Having for himself elaborated an independent conception of the task of æsthetics, of the nature of art and the essence of the Beautiful, he proceeds critically to review æsthetical theories from their beginning down to the end of the nineteenth century. Inasmuch, however, as his point of view differs very widely from that taken up by well-known thinkers in ancient and modern times, he has been led to draw special attention to several writers who have been commonly overlooked or misunderstood by other historians of æsthetics. These are the writers who bring art into a closer connection with Language.

According to Signor Croce, human knowledge is possessed of two distinct forms, or, as it were, mental elements. These are images (things) and concepts (the relations of things); the first are seen by the mind or perceived, the second are thought or conceived. The knowledge referring to the first is intuitive (through sight), the knowledge of the second is logical (through thought). But intuitions or images cannot remain in the form of sensations or impressions, they demand expression. This expression is called language in the larger sense of the word. It need not be merely language of words: any form of expression, lines, colours, or sounds, is a sort of language in the wider sense. Æsthetics is the science of language in the largest signification: it is "general linguistic." Art is the expression of impressions, of intuitions; science is a further form of expression; the concept, or general thought as distinguished from the individual, follows

upon the latter. It cannot exist without expression, but expression can exist without logical or conceptual thought. "The relation between intuitive knowledge (or expression) and intellectual knowledge (or conception), between art and science, between poetry and prose, cannot be otherwise defined than by saying: it is a relation of a twofold degree. The first degree is expression, the second is conception: the first can exist without the second, the second cannot exist without the first. There may be poetry without prose, but there is no prose without poetry. Expression is in fact the first affirmation of human activity. Poetry is the mother tongue of the human race: the first men were naturally sublime poets. This is recognised in a different way by those who have noticed that the passage from the Psyche to the Spirit, from the sensibility of the animal to the activity of man, is effected by means of language, we might say by intuition, or expression in general. . . . Man who expresses himself rises, no doubt suddenly, from the natural state, but he rises out of it: he does not remain half in it and half outside of it."[1] Beauty is defined, under this view, as "successful expression, or rather expression pure and simple and nothing more, for expression which is not successful is not expression at all."[2] The ugly, on the other side, is defective expression.

It is not necessary for my present purpose to pass an opinion on the value of this theory; but we must be grateful to Signor Croce for having, from his point of view, recognised the value of the contributions to

[1] B. Croce, 'Esthétique,' p. 27. [2] Ibid., p. 77.

æsthetical theory in the writings of such thinkers as Schleiermacher, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Steinthal, and other pioneers in the general science of Language.

68. Schleiermacher.

He sees the merit of Schleiermacher in exactly those points of which other historians disapprove. "Schleiermacher," he says, "distinguishes a form of thought which is different from logical thought; he has given æsthetics a non-metaphysical, a purely anthropological character; he destroys the conception of the Beautiful in order to replace it by that of artistic perfection, going even so far as to maintain that a small work of art and a large one, if each is perfect in its own line, are æsthetically equal; he has considered the æsthetical phenomenon as an exclusively human activity; and so forth. . . . In the midst of the metaphysical orgy of his age, in the construction and destruction of systems more or less arbitrary, the theologian Schleiermacher, as a true philosopher, has directed a penetrating glance on what is truly characteristic in the æsthetical phenomenon. . . . By pointing to the obscure region of immediate consciousness as that belonging to the æsthetical process, he seems to be saying to his bewildered contemporaries: *Hic Rhodus hic salta.*"[1] Further on, Signor Croce points to the fact that, at the very time when Schleiermacher's meditations remained unrecognised, a fundamentally novel aspect was gradually being gained by German thinkers as to the nature of language. He shows how Wilhelm von Humboldt regards language "not as a piece of work, an *ergon*, but as an activity, an energy, being the eternally repeated labour of the mind to render

[1] B. Croce, 'Esthétique,' p. 322 *sqq.*

articulated sound capable of the expression of thought,"[1] and although Humboldt does not penetrate to the really correct view which identifies language and art, he nevertheless approaches that idea. Humboldt's pupil, Steinthal, notices clearly the linguistic as distinguished from the logical process, maintaining that language produces its forms independently of logic, and that the problem of the origin of language is identical with that of the nature of language. There is no "real difference between the original creation of language and that which repeats itself daily." But Signor Croce also notices how more recent writers on the philosophy of language, "confounding the historical appearance with the nature and internal genesis of language, fail to recognise the spiritual nature both of language and art."[2]

69. Art a larger language.

As this conception of art as a larger language has not so far held a prominent position in philosophical thought, and as it discards altogether the metaphysical problem of the Beautiful, with which we have been occupied in this chapter, it seems sufficient to have drawn attention to its gradual appearance, implicitly rather than explicitly, in the writings of Schleiermacher, Humboldt, and others. So far as the metaphysical problem itself is concerned, we may now try to sum up and answer the question: What has been its fate in the course of the nineteenth century?

The first answer we have to give to this question is that the philosophical problem of the Beautiful—*i.e.*, the question regarding its essence and that regarding its

[1] Quoted from Humboldt's tract, 'Ueber die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues,' p. 327.
[2] Ibid., p. 331.

place in a comprehensive scheme of human interests—first presented itself in modern times with the revival of philosophy and general literature in Germany during the latter half of the eighteenth century; that a series of attempts to answer these questions was there made in the course of the period which begins with Lessing and Winckelmann, and ends in Germany with Lotze and von Hartmann; that after the latter period the interest in these higher metaphysical questions has gradually disappeared, giving way to details of psychological or psychophysical inquiry, and to attempts in criticism and matters of taste such as had been dispersed through English and French literature previous to, and outside of, the metaphysical movement. Hand in hand with this descent from the high philosophical platform has gone a greater appreciation in Germany for the unsystematic writings of French and especially of English authors.[1]

Whilst Germany has thus abandoned the metaphysical

[1] Both the philosophy and the science of the Beautiful have, wherever either or both existed during the nineteenth century, preserved distinctive national colourings. Not only has Æsthetics been in Germany pre-eminently metaphysical, in England psychological, and in France sociological, but the relevant literature of the subject has in none of the three countries taken due notice of that of the others. At the end of 'the century this comparative exclusiveness seems to be making way for mutual appreciation, stimulated in England, notably by the appearance of Bosanquet's 'History,' and in Germany through several influences, among which that of the writings of Wilhelm Dilthey is being more and more felt. Also the growing interest abroad in the works of Ruskin tends in this direction, and yet Vernon Lee, as late as 1904, can still complain that the Æsthetics of M. Souriau, "a most suggestive psychologist, would have been extraordinarily valuable if only he had added a knowledge of contemporary German thought to his own investigations on the subject" (*loc. cit.*, p. 432). Still more than in general philosophy, as noted before, German historians of Æsthetics, like Lotze, Schasler, and von Hartmann, take no notice whatever of contemporary foreign literature. Höffding in the former and Croce in the latter are still unique examples.

interest, we see the same springing up in France, notably in the writings of Guyau.

The reasons why the speculations with which this chapter has been mainly concerned have come to an end in Germany, or have at least been temporarily pushed into the background, may be traced to the circumstance that it is impossible to treat these higher problems of Æsthetics without an openly admitted, or tacitly implied, reference to two other philosophical problems. For to begin with, we cannot hope to answer the question regarding the essence and the meaning of the Beautiful without having previously settled the metaphysical question: What is the truly Real? This implies the necessity of a settled philosophical or religious creed, and that is what all thinkers who occupied themselves with these higher questions were either in search of or had tacitly accepted; the latter was the case with Coleridge, Carlyle, and Ruskin, who stood firm in the belief of the Divine government of the World; the former was the case with the Idealistic thinkers in Germany who aimed at establishing a philosophical creed.

70. Necessity of recurring to other problems.

But, secondly, even if we abandon this reference to the problem of Reality, and proceed merely on the lines indicated by Herbart, and adopted to some extent likewise by Lotze and more fully developed in quite recent times, and consider æsthetical questions merely as psychological phenomena, or bring them under the larger conception of value, thus reducing Æsthetics to a chapter in psychology, or to one in a general theory of Value, we are at once face to face with a larger problem. This is the Ethical problem—the problem of the Good. This

71. Ethical problem.

Ethical problem was for a long time in modern philosophy almost a monopoly of English thinkers. It was, indeed, taken up in an original manner by Kant and Fichte in Germany, but it was never adequately treated in the enormous philosophical literature which centred in Schelling and Hegel: their systems were founded on Æsthetical or poetical rather than upon Ethical justice.

However, since the extravagances among the after-growth of the Idealistic Movement, such as sprang up in the Romantic School and in the writings of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, have become sufficiently alarming, serious thinkers have turned their attention to the Ethical problem.

In doing so, they have joined hands not only with Kant but likewise also with the strenuous workers in this field who have always stood foremost in this country. Their main object is to find and establish a firm and independent foundation for Ethics. What has been achieved in this direction will occupy us in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE GOOD.

I.

THE province of philosophical thought with which I propose to deal in this chapter, is one which, more perhaps than any other, has been cultivated by thinkers of this country. If any philosophical science may claim to be called pre-eminently a British science, it is the Science of Ethics; or—as it used to be more generally termed—Morality, in its theoretical and applied aspects. It is even more so than Political Economy, which, owing mainly to the great name of Adam Smith, is usually considered to have its birthplace and home in this country. But political philosophy or economics formed an important subject of discussion and independent research in France during the age which in Britain produced the works of Hume and Adam Smith. Yet, whereas in France political economy was limited mainly to the discussion of problems suggested by the economic condition of the country, political economy in this country started as a province or a sister science of moral philosophy. It may therefore be said that up

1. Ethics a British science.

to quite recent times, British philosophy was pre-eminently moral philosophy. Even the highly important investigations of Locke, which inaugurated the modern Theory of Knowledge and the more recent researches in Psychology, were originally prompted by a desire to prepare the ground for the discussion and solution of ethical problems. And down to quite recent times, there is a well-marked inclination in English thought, again and again to revert to the discussion of ethical rather than metaphysical questions. Metaphysics, on the other hand, which on the Continent forms the unbroken thread connecting the philosophical systems from Descartes to Lotze, has never continuously and consistently formed the subject of British thought. This has, since the time of Bacon, prided itself rather on finding its way out of metaphysics and reverting to common-sense. And, so far as the theory of knowledge is concerned, it has more than once ended in scepticism or agnosticism, for which maladies the cure had to be found equally in an assertion of the evidence of common-sense. If moral philosophy is thus peculiarly an English province of thought, it is also that department in which English thought has been least affected by foreign thinkers, even less than psychology, in which the now widespread influence of the physiological and physical sciences has been mainly imported from abroad.

2. New beginnings of ethics in Germany and France.

At the end of the nineteenth century, however, Ethics has become the leading subject of philosophical discussion not only in this country but likewise in Germany and France. In Germany indeed, it had received a great

stimulus at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth through Kant, Fichte, and Schleiermacher, but it had fallen into the background during the exclusive sway of the metaphysical systems of Schelling, Hegel, and Herbart. When the spell of these systems was broken and the disintegration of philosophical thought had set in, two distinct interests asserted themselves: the Theory of Knowledge, on the one side, which reverted to Kant, and Practical Philosophy, or Ethics, on the other, which, to a great extent, abandoned the Kantian position and came under the influence of foreign, notably of English, thought. An attempt was then made to gain for Ethics a new foundation, independent alike of metaphysics and religious doctrine. In France, moral philosophy as such had practically no independent existence during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century, and it is only within the last quarter that its problems have been taken up afresh; but since then, that country can claim to have produced some of the most remarkable and original works on the subject.

3. Different atmosphere of moral philosophy in this country.

Moral philosophy, being thus much older in this country than abroad, grew up also in an entirely different atmosphere and environment, and this accounts for some of the traits which are peculiar to its growth and development. It will be of interest to realise how this environment differed from the conditions existing in the two other countries in which we are specially interested. There is one word which characterises the surroundings in which thinkers of this country have lived and worked ever since the Restoration, and

which has happily continued to characterise them—though not in the same degree—up to recent times; this word is Order, or more definitely the security afforded by a constitutional Government.[1]

4. Basis of Order.

Even allowing for the Civil War and the Revolution of 1688 there has, within the last three hundred years, never existed in this country that fundamental subversion of order of which the French Revolution has become the typical instance abroad. A regard for the powers that be, for social and political Law and Order,

5. Contrast of Revolution.

[1] That security and settlement are the first and indispensable requisites for national prosperity, for civilisation and progress, forms the keynote of the whole of the philosophy of Hobbes (1588-1679), which preached the necessity of an absolute Government, be this monarchical or democratic, as the only means of preventing a relapse into the original state of nature, the *bellum omnium contra omnes*. Other characteristics of Hobbes' system, the only English system of philosophy before Herbert Spencer, do not interest us in this connection. As Croom Robertson ('Hobbes,' Blackwood's Philosophical Classics, 1886) has clearly shown, the systematic foundation of Hobbes' system belongs to a later phase of Hobbism, and was, to a large extent, a tribute to the mechanical philosophy, the real mathematical principles of which Hobbes understood as little as his predecessor Francis Bacon. A panic similar to that which the premonitory symptoms of the Civil War created in Hobbes' mind, prompted, one hundred and fifty years later, Edmund Burke's celebrated denunciation of the French Revolution; though Burke's reaction was largely sentimental, while that of Hobbes was rationalistic. The interval between these two periods, the century which began with the Restoration, has been termed by historians the Century of the English Revolution. But it was, on the whole, a peaceful Revolution, an age during which the English Constitution gradually "broadened down from precedent to precedent." J. R. Green, in his 'History of the English People,' introduces his eighth book, bearing the title, 'The Revolution 1660-1760,' with the following words (vol. iii. p. 327): "From the moment of the Restoration we find ourselves all at once among the great currents of thought and activity which have gone on widening and deepening from that time to this. The England around us becomes our own England, an England whose chief forces are industry and science, the love of popular freedom and of law, an England which presses steadily forward to a larger social justice and equality, and which tends more and more to bring every custom and tradition, religious, intellectual, and political, to the test of pure reason. Between modern thought, on some at least of its more important sides, and the thought of men before the Restoration, there is a great gulf fixed."

has existed almost universally in this country through all the changes in Church, State, and Society, which have taken place. This universal and tacit respect for Order which underlay the many reform movements and never permitted the outbreak of a storm such as was witnessed abroad, has been accompanied, in most of the thoughtful minds of this country, by the tacit or openly avowed conviction that there exists a natural, moral, social, or divine order of the world. English Ethics have interested themselves in answering the questions of the nature, origin, and maintenance of this Law and Order, but they have never been, to any important extent, occupied with laying absolutely new foundations, with building afresh the edifice of State and Society, and only quite recently and tentatively with the formation of a philosophical or purely reasoned Creed. If we now contrast the conditions which surrounded thinkers in France at the end of the eighteenth century, we find that they were confronted by one of the greatest social and political experiments which history has ever witnessed. The Revolution had swept away all social and religious landmarks and changed the entire political aspect.[1] The shallow ethical theories which

[1] "That such a revolution must one day come, every observer who had compared the state of Europe with that of England had long seen to be inevitable. So far as England was concerned, the Puritan resistance of the seventeenth century had in the end succeeded in checking the general tendency of the time to religious and political despotism. Since the Revolution of 1688 freedom of conscience and the people's right to govern itself through its representatives in Parliament had been practically established. Social equality had begun long before. Every man from the highest to the lowest was subject to, and protected by, the same law. The English aristocracy, though exercising a powerful influence on Government, were possessed of few social privileges, and hindered from forming a separate class in the nation by the legal and social tradition which

had prevailed in the philosophical schools anterior to the Revolution, the refined hedonism of Helvetius and Holbach, with no feeling of reverence for a higher or a Divine order, nor even a real belief in the dignity of man, did not contain the germs of a new development. On the other side the sentimental belief of Rousseau and his disciples among the leaders of the Revolution—the doctrine of the natural goodness of man—had been falsified when, in the breaking up of all social restraints, a general warfare set in. The work of the restoration of society was much more important than the thoughtful investigation of the deeper ethical questions. Thus a reaction set in which reverted to older and obsolete forms and, alongside of it, a somewhat superficial eclecticism, an importation of foreign theories, many of which were ill adapted to the existing wants.[1] The

counted all save the eldest son of a noble house as commoners. No impassable line parted the gentry from the commercial classes, and these again possessed no privileges which could part them from the lower classes of the community. Public opinion, the general sense of educated Englishmen, had established itself after a short struggle as the dominant element in English government. But in all the other great states of Europe the wars of religion had left only the name of freedom. Government tended to a pure despotism. Privilege was supreme in religion, in politics, in society. Society itself rested on a rigid division of classes from one another, which refused to the people at large any equal rights of justice or of industry." (J. R. Green, *loc. cit.*, vol. iv. p. 296.)

[1] We find all through the eighteenth century in England and at the turn of the centuries in France, the marks of the influence which the progress of the natural sciences and natural philosophy had upon the minds of the foremost thinkers. English thought, however, gradually liberated itself from the repeated attempts or suggestions to conduct ethical inquiries *more geometrico vel mathematico* and adopted the more fruitful method of the natural sciences which led to the cultivation of psychology. In France, on the other hand, it was exclusively the purely mathematical — called there geometrical — methods which impressed thinkers like Condorcet, Laplace, and, later on, some of the extreme radical socialistic thinkers, and really stood in the way of psychology, of which Maine de Biran was the only genuine representative. Comte later on recognised, in the course of the development of his positive philosophy, the one-sidedness of the geometrical method; but he did not look, like British thinkers, to psychology for the truer method, but to the more recent sciences of biology and sociology or history.

few beginnings which were made in the direction of national and independent thought, such as are to be found in the writings of Maine de Biran, remained unpublished or unnoticed, to be taken up and studied at a much later period. It was the age that produced the reactionary writings of de Bonald and de Maistre and the extreme socialistic theories of Fourier and Saint Simon. None of these extreme systems rested on any well-reasoned philosophical, historical, or psychological basis, they contributed nothing to moral philosophy proper, they did not really face and try to solve the problem of the Good.

6. Different conditions in Germany.

If we now turn to Germany and look at the conditions which existed there in the latter part of the eighteenth century, we find that they neither resemble those existing in this country nor those existing in France. In the case of Britain we were able to recognise the presence of, and the universal respect for, an existing law and order of things, and, as a background for ethical speculation, the conception of this order as natural, political, moral or divine, according to the various individual leanings and predilections of different thinkers or schools of thought. This order was, however, rather taken for granted than intellectually demonstrated. On the other side we find that in Germany a strong desire had made itself felt to throw the light of reason upon these fundamental presuppositions of any and every moral system. The sanction of the Church and of tradition had, through the Protestant reform movement

and the growth of the classical and critical spirit, become loosened or had in many instances faded away.[1] The spirit of Free Inquiry, which in this country had shown itself hesitatingly and sporadically, had supervened and become the leading and stimulating agency in German thought. It formed, however, quite as much a contrast to the spirit of scepticism, indifference, and flippancy, which characterised the writings of many of the foremost thinkers in France, before and at the time of the Revolution. It assimilated the hopeful sentimentalism of Rousseau, from which it derived, to a large extent, the interest and belief in a universal popular education based upon the foundation of a plain and simple Christian morality. In fact the educational movement, as I have had repeated occasion to explain, in its two independent branches of popular and academic education, was the principal direction in which the new spirit of faith and hope in human progress found an outlet. We must, however, not

[1] An interesting account of the uncertain position taken up by thinking members of a younger society towards religious subjects in the end of the third quarter of the eighteenth century is given by Goethe in the eighth book of 'Dichtung und Wahrheit,' which deals with his student days in Leipsic: "The Christian religion," he tells us, "oscillated between its own historical positivism and a pure Deism which, based upon morality, should on its part form a foundation for the same. The difference of character and opinion showed itself here in infinite gradations, especially as a further difference intruded as to the question: What part reason, on the one side, and sentiment on the other, could and ought to have in such convictions? Some very intelligent and brilliant men appeared, in this respect, like butterflies which, quite oblivious of their chrysalis state, throw away the covering in which they have grown to their organic maturity. Others, more faithful and more modest, could be compared with flowers which, though developing into beautiful blossoms, do not leave the root nor separate themselves from the mother stem, but rather through this connection bring the hoped-for fruit to ripeness." (Weimar ed., vol. 27, p. 192.)

forget that in the many larger and smaller German States much was done by enlightened Rulers, as well as Ministers of State, to improve the economic and social condition of the people, not so much by sweeping reforms such as were carried later on by men like Stein in Prussia, as by faithful attention to detail in more restricted areas.[1]

7. Free inquiry into metaphysical foundations of morality.

So far as ethical thought is concerned, the spirit of free inquiry—variously termed Rationalism, Aufklärung, or Enlightenment — went down to the metaphysical foundations and presuppositions of morality, mostly in a way that was friendly to the traditional religious doctrines, desiring to throw upon them the light of Reason and to conceive of Revelation as a process not confined to a single historical fact, but as a necessary force in the progress and education of humanity. To this must be added the belief in an underlying harmony that was inherited from the philosophy of Leibniz[2] and the spirit of compromise and mutual concession among various forms of religious faith which sprang from it. The

[1] Interesting information on this point will be found in Cl. Th. Perthes' 'Politische Zustände und Personen in Deutschland, zur Zeit der Französischen Herrschaft,' 1862. This volume refers to the South and West of Germany. A second volume referring to Austria was published posthumously in 1869. Especially as to popular education consult the third and fourth volumes of Karl Schmidt's 'Geschichte der Pädagogik' (3rd and 4th ed. by W. Lange, 1876 and 1883); and for higher education, F. Paulsen's well-known work referred to *supra*, vol. iii., note, p. 116.

[2] In this direction the influence of Shaftesbury on German thinkers was probably quite as important as that of Leibniz, as is clearly shown in the writings of Herder, who attached a translation of Shaftesbury's 'Hymn' to one of his theological writings, and planned a treatise which should exhibit the three thinkers, Spinoza, Shaftesbury, and Leibniz in parallel, considering that Shaftesbury's rhapsody "contains the Spinozistic-Leibnizian philosophy in the most beautiful and select extract." See R. Haym, 'Herder,' vol. ii. p. 269.

extremer forms of materialism and scepticism with their virulent attacks, their uncontrolled animosity towards traditional beliefs, for which Germany has gained an unfortunate reputation in the course of the nineteenth century, did not then exist in the best literature of the country. It was, so far as it was imported through French literature, distinctly distasteful[1] to the humanistic spirit of such leaders of popular thought in Germany as Lessing, Mendelssohn, Herder, and Goethe.

Thus, looking at European thought as a whole, in so far as it occupied itself at the beginning of the nineteenth century with ethical questions, or with the problem of the Good, we find that the three countries contributed independent aspects: the conception of an existing moral order in this country, the overthrow of all existing order in France, and the spirit of free and unfettered inquiry in Germany. There followed from these different aspects a hasty reconstruction in France disregarding the fundamental questions altogether, an extreme love

[1] On this point also see what Goethe says in the eleventh book of 'Dichtung und Wahrheit,' writing then of his Strassburg days and under the influence of Herder, who had introduced him to Goldsmith, and was then already occupied with his studies in folk-lore and folk-song. Criticising French literature, in particular the flippancy and bad faith of Voltaire, but recognising a cognate spirit in Diderot—of whom he, *inter alia*, says that he was "in all that the French blame in him, a true German"—he turns, with a contemptuous estimate of the 'Système de la Nature' as a "quintessence of senility," away from French literature in the following words: "Thus, living on the confines of France we at once got free and clear of all French ways. We found their manner of life too precise and too elegant, their poetry frigid, their criticism destructive, their philosophy abstruse and yet insufficient, so that we were on the point of abandoning ourselves, at least tentatively, to crude nature, were it not that another influence had for some time already prepared us for higher and freer views and enjoyments equally true and poetical; secretly at first and moderately, it dominated us ever more distinctly and powerfully. I need hardly say that I mean Shakespeare, and, after having said this, a further explanation is not necessary" (*loc. cit.*, vol. 28, p. 70).

for metaphysical inquiry in Germany, and, in this country alone, the endeavour to solve practical ethical questions as they presented themselves in the changing and complicated circumstances of a prosperous people. But though England thus offered more favourable conditions for the study of theory and practice in ethics than the Continental countries, it was nevertheless deficient in one important aspect which was common both to France and Germany; one important idea was wanting which in different ways then already guided both French and German thought, but entered only much later into the thought of this country. Here, however, it then assumed that expression through which it again powerfully reacted upon Continental thought, changing its entire character, and in the latter part of the nineteenth century rendering obsolete a very large part of all previous speculation. This is the idea of Development, announced by Leibniz a century earlier and independently developed by Lessing and Herder, by Schelling and Hegel in Germany, by Condorcet and Auguste Comte in France.

8. Idea of Development absent but latterly most influential in England.

Leaving out this important contribution to philosophical thought which is now acknowledged, if not exaggerated, in all three countries alike, and which in this country has become a leading force in popular philosophical reasoning through the canons and watchwords of the doctrine of Evolution, it must be admitted that, at the beginning of the century, ethical speculation was in this country already in full possession of an elaborate ethical vocabulary, testifying to the fact that British thought had recognised the ethical problem, the

problem of the Good, in all its different aspects, having many times turned over the several individual and distinct problems which together constitute that supreme inquiry. Nor had the study of these various problems in this country neglected what had been done by the great thinkers of classical antiquity or by the foremost writers among the schoolmen. The influence of Plato and Aristotle, of Saint Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, even—though to a lesser extent—that of Descartes and Spinoza, has been active in the development of ethical doctrine in this country.[1] The criteria of morality, the nature of obligation, the question of higher or lower and of ultimate sanctions, the connection of virtue and happiness, of the utility and beauty of goodness, the problem of sin and evil, the controversies of determinism and freewill, the phenomena of conscience and moral sense; all these questions, and many others of a more practical application, had been propounded and discussed

9. Comprehensiveness of ethics in England.

[1] According to Henry Sidgwick in his 'Outlines of the History of Ethics' (1st ed. 1886 and many following editions), the only two contemporary Continental thinkers who, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, had any direct influence on British ethics, were Puffendorf and Helvetius (1715-1771). The 'Law of Nature' of Puffendorf, "in which the general view of Grotius was restated with modifications — partly designed to effect a compromise with the new doctrine of Hobbes — seems to have been a good deal read at Oxford and elsewhere. Locke includes it among the books necessary to the complete education of a gentleman." Only in the derivation of Benthamism do we find that an important element is supplied by the works of a French writer, Helvetius; as Bentham himself was fully conscious. It was from Helvetius that he learned that, men being universally and solely governed by self-love, the so-called moral judgments are really the common judgments of any society as to its common interests; that it is, therefore, futile on the one hand to propose any standard of virtue, except that of conduciveness to general happiness, and, on the other hand, useless merely to lecture men on duty and scold them for vice; that the moralist's proper function is rather to exhibit the coincidence of virtue with private happiness" (pp. 267 and 270).

many times over by men representing all the different shades of the intellect of the nation, in and out of the Church, the Schools, and the Universities, with a practical or a theoretical bias and in a systematic as well as a controversial spirit. As much cannot be found in the literature of any other modern country, perhaps not even at the present day.

But though the ground was thus fairly covered, a great additional impetus was given to ethical speculation towards the end of the eighteenth century by a thinker whose interest was not pre-eminently and exclusively ethical, but who succeeded in bringing morals into immediate connection with practical legislation: this was Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). It is interesting to note that in Germany an equally important stimulus was given about the same time to ethical theory by an individual mind of quite a different order and in a totally different direction — namely, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804).[1]

10. Bentham.

In order to understand the nature and the causes of the great influence which the writings of Bentham and his disciples have exerted, we may dwell on two main points. The first was that Bentham formed, as it were, an exception to the general tone which prevailed among the better-known British writers on ethical subjects. He did not share — or shared only

[1] It may be noted that the three most original thinkers — Kant, Bentham, and Goethe — whose works appeared about the same time, and who in different directions influenced European thought most profoundly towards the end of the eighteenth century, were quite unknown to each other, a circumstance which contrasts markedly with the state of intellectual intercourse a century later.

11. Absence in him of the conservative spirit.

to a much smaller extent—that respect for the prevailing order of things; he therefore did not favour that compromise which, if not in theory yet doubtless in practice, the best-known thinkers of very different schools had nearly always in the end resorted to. It is true that he did not propose to alter the moral code of civilised humanity, but he attacked its application in one very important department,—in the department of the legislation of his country. He was the first to show that the existing laws of the country could not claim from enlightened and thinking minds that respect with which they were conventionally treated. But instead of resorting, as was the custom on the Continent, to the legal deliverances of the Roman Jurists codified when the Roman Empire was approaching its decline, he made a bold attempt to deal with the foundations of law through the principles of moral philosophy. His work did not result in a new and complete code such as was elaborated during the reign and at the suggestion of the first Napoleon in France, nor did he initiate that philosophical and historical study of Roman law which, for a whole century, constituted a large and important part of the labours of a brilliant succession of Jurists in Germany.[1] Bentham and his followers dealt with many of the

[1] And yet, this great school of what are called "Romanists" in Germany traces one of its sources to an English scholar. It was about the year 1785 that the Göttingen Professor, Gustav Hugo, began his Lecture Course on "Roman Law," taking as a text-book the celebrated 44th chapter of Gibbon's 'History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.' And when John Austin (1790-1859) attempted, as Professor of Jurisprudence at the newly established University of London, to introduce the philosophical study of Law, he prepared himself by resorting to the University of Bonn, where some of the most eminent Romanists were then lecturing.

glaring abuses and inconsistencies which existed in English law, and by doing so have greatly influenced the legislation of the country ever since. "Who," says John Stuart Mill,[1] "before Bentham, dared to speak disrespectfully in express terms of the British Constitution or the English Law? He did so; and his arguments and his example together encouraged others. We do not mean that his writings caused the Reform Bill, or that the Appropriation Clause owns him as its parent: the changes which have been made, and the greater changes which will be made, in our institutions, are not the work of philosophers,[2] but of the interests and instincts of large portions of society recently grown into strength. But Bentham gave voice to those interests and instincts; until he spoke out, those who found our institutions unsuited to them did not dare to say so, did not dare consciously to think so; they had never heard the excellence of those in-

[1] J. S. Mill, 'Dissertations and Discussions,' vol. i. p. 332.

[2] And yet Mill says in the same essay of Bentham and Coleridge, whom he considers as "the two great seminal minds of England in their age; they were destined to renew a lesson given to mankind by every age, and always disregarded—to show that speculative philosophy, which to the superficial appears a thing so remote from the business of life and the outward interests of men, is in reality the thing on earth which most influences them, and in the long run overbears every other influence save those which it must itself obey. The writers of whom we speak have never been read by the multitude; except for the more slight of their works, their readers have been few: but they have been the teachers of the teachers" (p. 330). A similar reflection is contained in Kant's closing words in the second 'Critique': "Science (critically sought and methodically introduced) is the strait gate which leads to the theory of wisdom; if by this is not only meant what one ought to do but what ought to furnish an indication to teachers how to mark, well and distinctly, that road to wisdom which every one should take and to guard others from wrong ways; a science of which philosophy must always be the custodian, in the subtler researches of which the public has no part, but only in its doctrines thus cleared up" ('Werke,' vol. viii. p. 315).

stitutions questioned by cultivated men, by men of acknowledged intellect; and it is not in the nature of uninstructed minds to resist the united authority of the instructed. Bentham broke the spell. It was not Bentham by his own writings; it was Bentham through the minds and pens which those writings fed—through the men in more direct contact with the world, into whom his spirit passed."

12. Legal reform on basis of moral principle of utility.

The second point which is important is this, that Bentham found it necessary, and had the courage, to select a moral principle whereon to base the legal reforms which he had in view. This principle was selected from the existing vocabulary and ideas of the ethics of his century, solely for the reason that it would work: this means that with its aid the correctness of special existing laws could be tested and the desired change and reform brought about. The moral principle itself, the principle of utility and the definition of utility in this connection as meaning that which is conducive to happiness—the greatest happiness of the greatest number—is not an invention of Bentham's, nor exclusively characteristic of his system. Ethical writers of very different shades of opinion regarding the deeper philosophical problems of the Good, had before him used almost identical expressions[1] with

[1] That the utilitarian aspect, or more definitely the "greatest happiness" principle, worked itself to the front in most of the ethical writings of the eighteenth century, is shown by Leslie Stephen in the 9th chapter of his 'History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century' (1876). Notably of Hutcheson (1694-1747, a predecessor of Adam Smith in the Chair of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow), Leslie Stephen says that he "appears to have been the first person to proclaim the celebrated formula, the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number.' Hutcheson's use of the phrase occurs in the 'Enquiry concerning Moral Good and Evil' (sec. iii. § 8), 'in the same manner the moral evil or vice is as the degree of misery and number of sufferers; so that that action is best which accomplishes the greatest happiness for the greatest numbers.'" After referring to passages from Priestley and Beccaria, Leslie Stephen concludes: "Hutcheson has clearly the right of priority whatever the value of the thing claimed" (*loc. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 61).

regard to utility and happiness; but through Bentham and his disciples the vocabulary of the utilitarian school became fixed, crystallised in certain watchwords and offered for the use of practical moralists, legislators, and social reformers. In this respect Bentham was a pioneer in the application of definite moral axioms, abstracted from the consensus of thinking persons without special respect for traditional beliefs or prejudices. Before him Adam Smith had already applied ethical speculation to one special problem of practical life — to the Industrial Problem. Instead, however, of combining his principles of morality with those of social welfare or wealth, in the same way as Bentham did those of morals and legislation, Adam Smith separated the two problems; he did not force the deeper moral problem on the attention of practical thinkers in the same way as Bentham did in his own special subject. Bentham forced political philosophers to think about the ethical meaning, the morality of their doctrines; Adam Smith hardly considered the morality or immorality of industrialism. This only became an important ethical problem a century after the appearance of the 'Wealth of Nations.' With Adam Smith and many of his followers it was and remained a psychological, an anthropological problem.

It will be well now to contrast with the movement associated in England with the name of Bentham, that

13. Contrast between Bentham and Kant.

movement which on the continent of Europe is associated with the name of Kant.[1] Almost in every respect it marks just the opposite tendency of thought. It originated about the time when Bentham published the most comprehensive of his writings—the 'Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation.' This was printed in 1780 and first published in 1789. Kant's ethical doctrine was given to the world in successive writings, the most important being the 'Metaphysik der Sitten' (1785) and the second 'Critique' (1788), but in their entirety his views on ethics in connection with religion were not known till after the publication of his 'Religious Philosophy' (1793) and various other writings closing with the year 1798. It is important to note that Kant approached the ethical problem after he had exhaustively dealt with the theoretical problems, the problems of Knowledge and of Reality, in his 'Critique of Pure Reason,' which was published in 1781. Bentham's publications dealt mostly with separate points of law and government. He relates how he met with the ethical principle which was to systematise his speculations in the writings of Helvetius. It is characteristic of Bentham that he thus early met with a unifying principle which was in his mind comprehensive enough, and from which

[1] Without entering into the details of the respective philosophical principles, this contrast may be generally defined by saying: "What Bentham did was . . . to stimulate the belief in the possibility of basing a moral theory upon observation" (Leslie Stephen, *loc. cit.*, p. 126). For Kant "it seemed imperatively necessary for once to elaborate a pure philosophy of morals . . . which is completely cleared of all that is merely empirical and, as such, belonging to anthropology" ('Metaphysik der Sitten,' preface, 'Werke,' ed. Rosenkranz, vol. viii. p. 5).

he did not materially depart in the long course of his later writings. On the other side we find Kant, who was twenty-four years older than Bentham, arriving much later in life at the consummation of his philosophical system. Before that period he went through various phases, being influenced, much more than Bentham was, by antecedent and contemporary thinkers. Of the latter, two seem to have decisively influenced him: these were David Hume, so far as theoretical philosophy was concerned, and Rousseau in practical or ethical philosophy.[1] We may incidentally remark

[1] Professor Sorley has pointed out to me, as an interesting coincidence with Kant, that Bentham, too, says (in a note to the 'Fragment on Government') that it was reading Hume that "made the scales fall from his eyes." The influence of Rousseau on Kant has been more and more brought out by historians of philosophy, beginning with Kuno Fischer ('Geschichte der neueren Philosophie,' vol. iii.), and more recently by Jodl (*loc. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 10 *sqq.*), Windelband ('Geschichte der neueren Philosophie,' vol. ii. p. 27 *sqq.*), and fully by Höffding in his valuable articles ('Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie,' vol. vii.) on the "Continuity of the Development of Kant's Philosophy": "It is well known how greatly Rousseau's writings interested Kant. When he received the 'Emile' it kept him from his customary walk. Had, however, Kant's annotated copy of the 'Observations on the Beautiful and Sublime' not been rescued, at the last moment, from the waste paper of a grocer, we would not have known how deeply personal this influence was. In Kant it produced quite a new foundation for his estimate of man and human relations. Up to that time Kant was an optimist, regarded the intellectual development as the highest, and saw progress dependent on it. From Rousseau he learned another way of measuring human worth which was to a certain degree independent of intellectual development. He now learned that the masses are not to be despised merely because they are ignorant. He 'learned to honour men,' and he praises Rousseau because he had brought out the nature of man hidden, only too often, under the forms of civilisation. . . . But it is the same with Rousseau's influence as with that of Hume: were it not established through external testimony we should not find in Kant's writings any cogent reason for assuming it. Judging only from Kant's line of thought as it was developed in 1762 and the following years, we should be able to understand that he would have had to come to that distinction between theory and practice which from that time — *i.e.*, long before he fixed it in his 'Critiques' — came to be of such importance to him"

that these two thinkers for whom Kant had so great an appreciation had come personally into close contact without ever having been able mutually to understand each other. Nor is it generally admitted that Kant himself succeeded in bringing into harmony the two sides of his thought which he himself associated with those names.

14. Formalism in Kant's ethics.

Dropping for the moment the special philosophical terms in which Kant clothed his Metaphysics and his Ethics, we may say that, following on the one side the criticism of Hume, Kant arrived at his special conception of the human Intellect or Reason as a form-giving principle in human knowledge; and that, following on the other side the suggestions of Rousseau, he arrived at his conception of the human Will as that principle which gave to the human mind its content and essential reality. On the one side he conceived the contribution of the human intellect towards knowledge as a mere form which had to be filled with content through the impressions of the senses. On the other side he conceived of all true morality as purely formal, receiving its true meaning and reality, its value and worth, only through a mental principle, and this principle was the Good Will. He is convinced "that the moral value of man springs from an original source of our nature which is independent of all intellectual culture, of all progress in science and knowledge, that the latter are not capable of making men good, that a man may

15. The "Good Will."

('Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie,' vol. vii. p. 451). The history of the rescued Notes referred to is given by Schubert in the 11th volume of his edition of Kant's 'Works' (part i. p. 218); for Kant's estimate of Rousseau, see notably pp. 240 *sqq*.

possess, in a low and uncivilised state, that which neither science nor knowledge can supply."

Thus we find in Kant's Ethics what we found already in his theoretical philosophy or Metaphysics, the conception of two kinds of reality, the phenomenal, practical, or everyday reality which surrounds us, and a higher reality which lies above or behind the other. In his theoretical philosophy he had suggested already that this higher reality, which he there termed the Thing in itself or the Noumenon, was known to us only in the single instance of our own will, and he had based upon this idea his conception of the Freedom of the Will, or as he termed it, of the intelligible, as opposed to the phenomenal, character of the human self. Accordingly, what in everyday life appeared to be most real, the things that surround us and the actions of men, would, from this higher metaphysical, ethical, or religious point of view, appear as comparatively unimportant and unreal; over and above it we find, within our own consciousness, a higher and more important reality. This view, he maintained, coincides with the general verdict of common-sense, which, under the names of conscience, moral sense, feeling of duty and obligation, moral and religious sanction, refers all human action to a higher standard, placing it under the dictates of a supreme law. This is usually expressed in the term: the autonomy of the human Will, its self-restrained or self-regulated freedom: the Good Will in fact is and has its own law.

The same dualism which in Kant's philosophy appears as two different worlds, as two realities, found, as we

have had frequent occasion to remark, its first expression in the philosophy of Plato, from which it has descended in various forms into all the more important subsequent systems of thought. And it is only to superficial observers and readers that it does not appear as prominently in the writings of many moralists in this country. As a matter of fact it existed, as I stated above, almost without exception in the minds of most British moralists as an underlying conviction, not always explicitly stated, of the existence of a natural, moral, or divine order. The reason why it is more explicitly dwelt on in those schools of thought which had their origin in the speculations of Kant, has to be looked for in two circumstances. First, all these thinkers felt, that owing to the spirit of scepticism and flippancy as well as through social anarchy and subversion, the higher or spiritual view was in danger of being lost, that an effort must be made to preserve or restore it. The second was, the contemporary appearance in Germany of a creative spirit in the realms of literature, poetry, and art, opening as it were, the view into a higher world. This was reflected in the philosophical thought of the period.[1]

[1] It is interesting to see how similar considerations led J. S. Mill to modify to a considerable extent the democratic principles with which he started and which are usually stigmatised as those of the philosophical Radicals. This later phase of his own thought has found expression in what he himself declared the most carefully written of all his treatises, 'On Liberty,' 1859. He "had become heretical . . . ; he had been alarmed by the brutality and ignorance of the lowest classes, and had come to doubt whether liberty, as understood by his masters, could not mean the despotic rule of the ignorant. The doubts which he felt were shared by many who had set out with the same political creed" (Leslie Stephen : 'The English Utilitarians,' vol. iii. p. 246). And Mill goes on to deplore, perhaps in an exaggerated way, the absence, in his time, of that individual and creative spirit which impressed the contemporaries of Schiller and Goethe so much, more than half a century earlier, in Germany,—a time which Mill himself mentions under the name of the "Goethean and Fichtean" period as "one of the three periods which have made Europe what it is"—the other two being the Reformation and the latter half of the eighteenth century. Leslie Stephen considers that Mill's individualism is extreme, and that he attached too little importance to the historical antecedents and surroundings of great personalities.

16. Gap in Kant's ethics.

In the further elaboration of his ethical doctrine, Kant was, however, hardly more successful than he had been in his metaphysics. The 'Thing in itself,' the Noumenon, had there remained as an empty abstraction, useless for the purpose of any philosophy which desired to understand existing things or phenomena. The supreme idea of his ethics, the idea of the self-restraining freedom of the Good Will, remained likewise an empty conception. It had indeed a character of its own, a peculiarity which separated it from every other reality; and that was, that it points to something which *ought* to be, in opposition to that which *is*. It finds its expression in language in the imperative mood, the voice of command. Thus Kant termed it the Categorical Imperative. And Kant went a step further, he conceived it as a law binding on all rational beings without regard for persons or circumstances. This constitutes its universality, and he expressed it in the well-known formula: "Act so that the maxims of your actions may be universally applicable for others as well as for yourself."

It has frequently been pointed out that the formula of Kant may do very well as a regulative principle, as a formal rule of conduct, but that it does not really define what is intrinsically good, that it does not deal

with the *summum bonum* or Highest Good. It might, at best, signify the aim at rationality of conduct, at a perfect reign of reason, but it contains nothing through which it recommends itself to our emotional nature, stirs our feelings, or engages our interest. Yet without this Kant saw quite well that practical morality would be impossible.

17. Separate questions involved in the problem of the Good.

It may be well now to point out that the supreme ethical problem, the problem of the Good, has presented itself, in the course of the history of philosophy, with increasing clearness and definiteness, as involving two entirely separate questions.[1] The first question refers to that which we call morally good in the actions of other men, as well as in reviewing our own conduct. This has usually been termed the problem of the Criterion of Morality. It corresponds to the definition of the beautiful in Æsthetics, and has not unfrequently been termed the Morally Beautiful. That in our judgment we distinguish between good and bad, is quite as certain as that we distinguish between the beautiful and the ugly. In both cases the one is the subject of approbation and pleasure, while the other is the subject

[1] It may be incidentally remarked that among modern moralists no one has more clearly pointed out the difference of these two distinct problems than Sir James Mackintosh in his well-known Dissertation published in the introductory volume to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (1829) and several times re-edited (by Whewell), most recently in 1873. Through its one-sided treatment of both Hobbes and Bentham it roused the indignation of James Mill and prompted his 'Fragment on Mackintosh,' which was suppressed owing to the death of Mackintosh and published only after the death of James Mill himself in 1836. Up to the appearance of Sidgwick's 'Methods of Ethics' the treatise remained the leading historical account of English moral philosophy, characterised as much by the absence of all reference to German philosophy as by the commendation of Butler as the foremost exponent of the best and also the most popular form of British moral philosophy.

of disapproval and displeasure. This correspondence or parallelism between the beautiful and the good fails, however, when we recognise that the contemplation of the good brings with it the sense of obligation, when the terms good and bad are changed into right and wrong, duty and neglect; in fact the morally beautiful does not remain merely a thing of disinterested pleasure, but becomes an obligation presenting itself in the form of duties which we have to perform. If the first question be answered, if we have arrived at a definition of what is good, or, in the highest sense, of the Good, we have only solved one half of the ethical problem; we have still to show that, and how, this highest good becomes or is to become a motive in our actions, how and why it attains a controlling power over our Will. Practical moralists, those interested mainly in the study of existing moral and social relations, in the maintenance or reform of the existing order of things, have usually started with the first problem and have solved the second by the appeal to some existing natural, moral, social or divine law or system of laws. Metaphysicians, on the other hand, have usually started with an analysis of the psychological fact that all men as rational beings experience, in a greater or lesser degree, a sense of obligation, a feeling of duty, that they listen to the voice of conscience, that they are possessed of a moral sense. The difficulty then has been to define more closely and for practical purposes what this sense of duty really means, to evolve a code of morality which may become of practical use and guidance.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Bentham

and Kant figure as representatives of the two main ways of approaching the ethical problem, the problem of the Good. It cannot, however, be said that either of them has been more successful than the other in bringing the two main questions of ethics together, in finding a principle which would lead to the solution of both. And thus we find that each of these thinkers stimulated inquiries which had for their object to complete the work which was left undone, or only partially done, in their respective systems.

18. J. S. Mill.

The disciple or follower of Bentham who attempted to give to Benthamism logical consistency and a psychological foundation was John Stuart Mill. The resources which he brought to bear upon the solution of the ethical problem in its various aspects were much greater than those possessed by Bentham. Though he was occupied, early in life already, with ethical problems, he did not attempt to bring the system of morality which through him has become current under the name of Utilitarianism into a focus, and to defend it against its enemies and critics, before he had matured his views by looking all round.

Mill was born in 1806. His 'Utilitarianism' appeared in 1861,[1] after he had published his more important works on 'Logic' in 1843, on 'Political Economy' in 1848, and the first two volumes of his 'Dissertations and Discussions' in 1859. His Ethical treatise was accordingly a matured exposition and defence of his ethical views. Mill has himself, in his Autobiography, given expression to his high appreciation of Bentham's teachings,[1] of the influence they had on him, as well as of various other influences, unknown or disregarded by Bentham, but which assisted to mould his own opinions. He was an early student of the ancient philosophers, notably of the writings of Plato; he recognised that an entirely different spirit breathed in them from that of the current philosophy which surrounded him in his own country. Of the latter, he assimilated the psychological views first propounded by David Hartley,[2] but made more accessible by his father James Mill in his well-known 'Analysis of the Human Mind.' Through this channel he acquired the habit of regarding mental states, moral emotions and feelings, as complex phenomena, formed by the combination of simpler elements[3] under the influence of various forms of association. Thus he regarded mental characters, such as sympathy, benevolence, moral sense, &c., not as prime factors of men's moral constitution in the way that many representatives of religious, common-sense, or intuitional ethics had

[1] In 'Fraser's Magazine,' reprinted in separate form in 1863. Mill explains (p. 9) that "he did not invent the word 'Utilitarian,' but that he believed himself to be the first person who brought it into use"; that he "adopted it from a passing expression in Galt's 'Annals of the Parish.' After using it as a designation for several years he and others abandoned it from a growing dislike to anything resembling a badge or watchword of sectarian distinction. But as a name for one single opinion, not a set of opinions—to denote the recognition of utility as a standard—not any particular way of applying it, the term supplies a want in the language." As a matter of fact, it had been used by Bentham himself.

[1] See *supra*, vol. iii. p. 313, note 2.

[2] See *supra*, vol. iii. p. 216, note 1 *sqq*.

[3] Nevertheless Mill betrays some suspicion that analysis into, and synthesis of, elements is not sufficient to explain the "concrete whole" which cannot be exhausted by these processes. See his remarks on Happiness, p. 55 of 'Utilitarianism.' Also the passage (p. 2) in which he explains that the relation of first principles to a science "is not that of foundations to an edifice, but of roots to a tree, which may perform their office equally well though they be never dug down to and exposed to light."

done. With the aid of this psychological instrument, the dissecting analysis of the Association-psychology, he approached the principles of utility, happiness, and pleasure, upon which the morality of Benthamism was founded. These terms, under his treatment, acquired a larger and higher meaning. In this way he also departed from the exclusively quantitative estimate of pleasure which was adopted by Bentham. Thus he added to the different sources of obligation or sanctions, as Bentham termed them, one of which the latter omitted to take note,—man's feeling of unity with his fellow-creatures.[1] He admits that in most individuals this feeling is much inferior in strength to their selfish feelings and is often wanting altogether, but it presents itself to the minds of those who have it "as an attribute which it would not be well for them to be without"; and "this conviction is the ultimate sanction of the greatest-happiness" principle in morality.[2]

19. Comte's influence on Mill.

Mill further came under the influence also of Auguste Comte, who gave prominence to this latter sentiment[3] under the name of Altruism, which he opposed to Egoism.

[1] Professor Sorley, however, remarks that Bentham did mention what he called the "sympathetic sanction." See Works by Bowring, iii. 290; cf. Halévy, 'Le Formalisme du Radicalisme philosophique,' i. 284.

[2] 'Utilitarianism,' p. 49.

[3] "If we now suppose this feeling of unity to be taught as a religion and the whole force of education, of institutions, and of opinion, directed, as it once was in the case of religion, to make every person grow up from infancy surrounded on all sides both by the profession and the practice of it, I think that no one, who can realise this conception, will feel any misgiving about the sufficiency of the ultimate sanction for the Happiness morality. To any ethical student who finds the realisation difficult I recommend, as a means of facilitating it, the second of M. Comte's two principal Works, 'Traité de Politique Positive'" (ibid., p. 48). Here, however, as well as in the Tract 'On Liberty,' Mill expresses "the strongest objections to the system of politics and morals set forth in that Treatise."

The influence of Comte as well as his own studies led Mill, moreover, a step further in the direction of modern ethics. He arrived at the recognition of progress, not only in public morality under the influence of law and society, but likewise in the individual moral character. This marks the intrusion of the idea of development even in that province where other thinkers or systems of morality have been wont to set up the doctrine of unalterable standards of good and right.[1]

20. The development from Kant.

Instead of following the further course which ethical thought took in this country after Mill, it will for the moment be more interesting to glance at the development which Kant's ideas underwent in Germany. This development was at that time, and for more than a generation after, quite independent of what took place in the neighbouring countries. For though the prominent thinkers in Germany up to and including Kant had come under the influence of contemporary English and French thought, this influence for the time being ceased completely with Kant on the one side, and with the original productive power which showed itself in general literature and criticism on the other. Kant succeeded in giving to philosophical thought in general, and to ethical speculation in particular, quite a new character. But this came out fully and clearly only as Kantian

[1] A very important passage in Mill's 'Utilitarianism' is that in which he speaks of the interest in a state of security; "to every one's feelings the most vital of all interests . . . this most indispensable of all necessaries after physical nutriment cannot be had, unless the machinery for providing it is kept unintermittently in active play" ('Utilitarianism,' pp. 79, 80). Compare what was said above at the beginning of this chapter on the existence and maintenance of order and the accompanying sense of security in this country as compared with the Continent (*supra*, pp. 129 *sqq*).

ideas were taken up, assimilated, and transformed, in the minds of other original thinkers, and this not always in the true Kantian spirit. But through this Kant became, on the continent of Europe, a far greater reformer than Bentham had been in England; for whereas Bentham devoted himself to practical and applied philosophy, Kant attacked the fundamentals, the inner sources of all our thoughts. Nor was it the Kantian school in the narrower sense of the word, comprising those who, like Reinhold, attempted to explain and popularise the Kantian philosophy, that brought about the great change in philosophical thought; this was rather effected by original intellects, by reformers and poets who had started on their career before they had become acquainted with Kant's teaching and who were in a state of ferment and unrest, which had its origin in quite different quarters.

21. Schiller.

The first of these who was deeply stirred by Kant's doctrine, especially by his ethical views, was the poet Schiller. To this I have had occasion to draw attention, in the last chapter, in treating of Schiller's Æsthetical theories;[1] there I also emphasised the fact that Schiller had given utterance to his views in important poetical and prose writings before he became acquainted with Kant's philosophy. He had then already come under the influence of what may be termed the Hellenic or Classical ideal, the ideal of humanity expressed in the harmony of the Beautiful and the Good. He had conceived of Art as the great portal through which humanity rises out of a purely physical material existence,

[1] See *supra*, p. 16 *sqq.*

into the higher region of culture, refinement, and social order. Impressed with this Hellenic ideal of culture as the union of the Beautiful and the Good, he became acquainted with Kant's doctrine of the Autonomy or Self-restraining Freedom of the human Will, and at once hailed it as an expression of a truth which had lain dormant in his own mind and in the minds of many other contemporary thinkers.

It was not, however, the purely practical or moral side of Kant's teaching, as contained in the second of his 'Critiques,' through which Schiller gained an entry into the world of Kant's ideas. It was first of all through some smaller and more popular writings of Kant, upon the methods of writing universal history, that the historian, Schiller, was attracted towards his thought. It was next Kant's third 'Critique,' which dealt with the Æsthetical problem, through which Schiller found himself at one with Kant. And it was lastly Kant's theological treatise, entitled 'Religion within the limits of Mere Reason,' which stimulated Schiller to original speculation: he not only assimilated, he completed a line of thought taken up by Kant. Kuno Fischer has eloquently pointed out the common ground on which both thinkers stood, as well as the direction in which Schiller's original contributions lay. "What he had long carried about within himself, and what he had so often experienced in his imagination, he found here (*i.e.*, in the third of Kant's 'Critiques') for the first time explained and illuminated out of the depths of human reason. His mental disposition, his way of thinking, had an inborn direction towards the higher, it was attracted by the

great and the powerful, in one word, it possessed the character of the Sublime. It was to him the greatest delight, internally to elevate himself and to see everything that was mean and little far below himself. This desire, this powerful impulse, constituted the natural pulse, the poetical throb of his whole being. . . . Now Kant had for the first time revealed to the world wherein the essence of the Sublime consists, that really nothing is sublime but our own elevation, the elevation of our supersensuous, free, moral self above our limited, sensuous, and small self. . . . Without these two human natures, without their connection and their contest, there is no elevation of the one above the other, of the higher above the lower, there exists nothing that is sublime. The words in which Goethe's 'Faust' describes how he felt in the presence of the earth-spirit are the most concise expression, the formula of all sublime sensations: 'I felt so small, so great.'"

Kuno Fischer further shows us how Schiller had already, in the character of the Marquis Posa in his 'Don Carlos,' personified his conception of the manner in which the idea of freedom and human dignity in thought and action constitutes the sublime character. Thus he saw in Kant's theory of the Sublime the light of his own aspirations and poetical creations. A series of æsthetical essays followed this discovery of the resemblance between his own and Kant's views. But he soon found himself driven to a further generalisation which was not in the spirit of Kant's philosophy, and which was repudiated by Kant himself in an appreciative criticism of Schiller's essay. Schiller's mind, filled with admiration for the

Hellenic ideal, the unity of the Beautiful and the Good, the harmonious fusion of the sensuous and spiritual elements of human personality, could not rest satisfied with the rigid contrast in which Kant had placed the moral sense of obligation to the natural inclinations of the human soul. Schiller arrived at the artistic conception of the Beautiful Soul. The beautiful soul, or the beautiful disposition, is characterised by the union of duty and desire, and there exists a moral grace which is the expression of the beautiful soul. This conception is characteristic of Schiller's combined ethical and æsthetical speculation.

Schiller's opposition to Kant's rigorism came out still more clearly when he read the last-mentioned treatise of Kant, that on 'Religion within the limits of Mere Reason.' He was deeply moved by it, but also repelled; he could not agree with Kant's conception of evil and sin. His whole nature revolted against Kant's theory of a radical base element contained in human nature. Although he declared himself incapable of refuting Kant's arguments, he could not reconcile Kant's doctrine of the Autonomy of the Good Will with this radical leaning towards evil. Should the latter really exist, then it seemed to him that the Autonomy, the self-restrained Freedom of the Will, would have to be given up, but with the freedom one would also have to sacrifice the possibility of its phenomenal appearance, the possibility of beauty and grace combined, the conception of the beautiful soul. He accompanied Kant a long way in his ethical expositions, he agreed thoroughly with him in expelling from Ethics everything connected with utility, happiness, or inclina-

tion, all utilitarianism, all eudæmonism or hedonism; morality was solely based upon duty and acted on principle. But Schiller in his essay on 'Grace and Dignity' conceived the union of duty and disposition in the graceful. Whereas Kant gave, in questions of morality, a voice solely to duty, Schiller desired that grace should say to duty, "I will obey you, but you must allow me to love you," but Kant would not allow this. To him it seemed that Schiller had sacrificed the majesty of duty by allying grace with dignity, and by changing morality into beauty, by establishing a friendship between the Rational and the Sensuous: wherever a question of duty presents itself the graces must stand aside. In this way Kant repudiated in the second edition of his tract, the compromise of Schiller.[1]

22. Fichte.

The next thinker of the first order who came under the influence of Kant's ethical doctrine, who felt the necessity of giving it a deeper metaphysical foundation, was Fichte. But Fichte developed also an entirely different element which was contained in Kant's theoretical philosophy. He took up that peculiar method introduced for the first time by Kant into philosophical speculation, the critical or transcendental method. As I have stated on an earlier occasion, Kant had found a new formula for attacking philosophical problems which had been pronounced insoluble by his predecessors such as Hume and others. Assuming that we could not psychologically explain how scientific knowledge originated and was maintained, that we were not able to describe the genesis of knowledge in the human mind,

[1] On all this see *supra*, p. 35.

we might nevertheless ask the question: granting that human knowledge does exist as a fact, what conception have we to form of the constitution of the human mind in order to explain this fact? In the same way we can treat the ethical problem: granted that morality, *i.e.*, conduct regulated by the sense of obligation, does exist, what conception have we to form of human nature so that this fact may become intelligible to us?[1] This way of putting the question, of formulating metaphysical problems, opens the door to a peculiar and novel form of speculation; it invites the thinking mind to go as it were behind the ultimate data of consciousness, to construe, so to speak, an ideal ground or process,[2] lying beneath or behind consciousness, through and out of which the ultimate

[1] The unique and original manner in which Fichte approaches the question of knowledge as well as that of activity is much more clearly and intelligibly explained in the Introduction to his most perfect work, the 'System der Sittenlehre' (1798). A great deal of the obscurity contained in his earlier Treatises on 'Wissenschaftslehre' is here removed and the fundamental problem stated very clearly. "How something that is objective can become subjective, how something existing for itself can become a presentation—to take up the problem of philosophy at this well-known end—how I say this remarkable change can take place nobody will ever explain, who does not find a point in which what is objective and subjective is indeed not differentiated but one and the same. Such a point our system establishes and starts from it. Selfhood (*Ichheit*), intellect, reason—or however we may name it—is this point. This absolute identity of subject and object in the Self can only be inferred, cannot be shown to be an immediate fact of actual consciousness. As soon as an actual consciousness arises, even if it is only the consciousness of ourself, the differentiation follows. Only in so far as I distinguish myself, the conscious, from myself, the object of this consciousness, am I conscious of myself. On the various aspects of this differentiation of the subjective and objective, and again of the reunion of both, depends the whole mechanism of consciousness" (Fichte's 'Werke,' vol. iv. p. 1). "As theoretical philosophy has to expound the system of necessary thought implied in the fact that our presentations correspond with something existing, so also has practical philosophy to show exhaustively that way of thinking which is necessary to explain how something existing can correspond to our presentations and follow from them" (p. 2).

[2] What Fichte terms a Pragmatic Psychology.

phenomena of empirical consciousness can be brought within the conceptions of our intellect. The door is again opened for constructive, as opposed to purely descriptive, thought, for metaphysics as opposed to mere psychology. If we join to this peculiar and novel attitude, to the critical or transcendental point of view introduced by Kant, the dualism inherent in his system which jarred upon his disciples and followers, we arrive at the root, at the elemental forces, which prompted Fichte's speculation, and carried it on through the whole idealistic school, notably through Schelling, Hegel, and Schleiermacher.

Fichte saw clearly and demonstrated with great force, that the empirical or individual self as revealed by introspection, always implies a Not-self, that it lives in an environment of other similar selves. In order to arrive at a unifying principle or aspect, we are bound to conceive, though we can never demonstrate, a condition anterior to and beneath the differentiation of Self and Not-self, of subject and object, and also what we may term a universal self in which the different individual selves are, as it were, united. He thus boldly grappled with the two great problems with which the nineteenth century has been occupied ever since. Popularly expressed, they are the problem of the soul in relation to the body, of mind in relation to nature—*die Seelenfrage*—on the one side, and the problem of humanity or society, the relation of the individual to the social mind—*die sociale Frage*—on the other. Unfortunately his earlier writings do not express his conception of the philosophical problem, which to him was not split up into

several problems as it was with Kant, in language free from possible misconstruction. He always spoke of the I, the Ego or the Self, meaning not only as Kant had meant, the individual mind as revealed to every one of us by introspection, but the universal Ego or Self, the universal mind which underlay and created the difference of subject and object, as well as the multiplicity of many individual minds.[1] It was therefore not before Hegel had dropped the terminology of Fichte and boldly placed the universal or absolute mind at the beginning of his speculation, that the real drift of much that Fichte had said before him became generally intelligible as a leading principle in philosophy, as a

[1] Fichte specially refers to the *Bewusstseyn überhaupt*. I suppose this is something similar to what in modern English philosophy would be called the "concrete universal" of consciousness as such. "The presupposition is that it [the conception of our activity] is implied in consciousness as such and is necessarily posited with it. We therefore start with the form of consciousness as such, and make deductions from it, and our investigation is finished if in the course of our deductions we come back again to the conception of a sensuous activity" (ibid., p. 4). It may incidentally be remarked that if Fichte had taken the psychological view and not, as Kant already objected, the purely logical, he might have brought out more clearly what is implied in the whole of his argumentation. Indeed, we may see in the latter foreshadowed what in the course of the nineteenth century has been more clearly brought out by such thinkers as Renouvier (see *supra*, vol. iii. p. 206, n.) and by Jas. Ward in his doctrine of the (sensory and motor) presentation-continuum (see *supra*, vol. iii. p. 280, n., 291). In fact, Fichte would have urged, more emphatically than he did, the fundamental synopsis in the development of the phenomena of consciousness. As it is, he, in many passages, insists upon *Anschauung, i.e.*, 'seeing,' 'sight,' or 'feeling,' as the fundamental fact of consciousness. This term has been unfortunately translated by 'intuition,' which suggests more than an immediate "awareness" (see *supra*, vol. iii. p. 612, n.). There is also no doubt that Fichte felt increasingly the necessity of a deeper psychological justification of his whole system, as is clearly seen from the latest work which he prepared for publication, the 'Thatsachen des Bewusstseyns.' The late Prof. Adamson in his 'Introduction' to Fichte's Philosophy ('Fichte,' Blackwood's Philosophical Classics, 1881) remarks that much of Fichte's penetrating analysis reminds one of similar work among British psychologists.

guiding idea in most of the philosophical and historical sciences ever since.

This obscurity Fichte removed to a great extent in his later writings where he adopted a phraseology which was more in harmony with common-sense. But already in his earlier deliverances his great enthusiasm, exhibited in a powerful personality and a fervid oratory, compelled the assent and admiration even of those of his disciples to whom his written word and doctrine must have presented insuperable difficulties. The governing thought which runs through all his elaborate expositions is that the character of the underlying source and principle of everything, of the Self before it is differentiated into Self and Not-self and into many individual selves, is Activity. It is in fact the autonomous Will which is the unifying principle before and beneath everything else.

Although, therefore, the whole of Fichte's earlier writings appear *primâ facie* as very little occupied with specific questions of moral philosophy such as had been elaborately discussed from all possible points of view by thinkers in this country, nevertheless the root and inspiration of all his thought is an ethical idea, the Kantian conception of an autonomous, *i.e.*, self-restraining Will or active power. And the whole tenor and object of his philosophy is to impress his age with a supreme reverence for duty and a confident self-reliance. To inculcate this he laboured unremittingly all his life, expounding his views in ever new and more intelligible expression and illustration. His was just the personality to teach what was then most wanted to raise thoughtful

young minds out of the state of depression and degradation into which Germany had been plunged through all the disintegrating agencies which had been at work for two centuries alike in politics, society, thought, and literature, but out of which also a new world of faith and hope was then springing up. And the success of Fichte's endeavour became evident by the fact that the closing years of the eighteenth century witnessed under his influence at Jena, that reform of German student life with its ideal of academic freedom which has become such an important power for good all through the nineteenth century and a characteristic trait in German culture.

In addition to this deeper personal and moral influence which Fichte exerted, his doctrine acquired popular notoriety through its bearings on the religious question, which were pushed into the foreground through the polemics and controversies[1] in which Fichte was entangled during that period, and which ended in his removal from Jena. With his departure the moral rigorism, the severity peculiar to Kant's and—though to a smaller extent—to his own[2] ethical views, gave way, at Jena,

[1] This was the notorious *Atheismus-Streit*.

[2] Kant had, especially in his later writings, included the doctrine of a radical evil propensity in human nature — a doctrine which we have seen was repellent to Schiller, though he did not feel able to disprove it. With Fichte this propensity acquires a different meaning; he liberates himself from the inherited theological view which has been pointed out as still lurking in Kant's ethical system. Fichte, though a stern and uncompromising character, was, after all, much more a man of general culture, and had moved in very different circles and come under the influence of many interests which stirred that age but which did not touch Kant. Probably even greater than the influence of the poetical surroundings in Jena and Weimar was that of Jacobi and Spinoza. It was Spinozism which formed the intellectual bond, if such existed at all, between him and Goethe, and gave to the whole of his speculation a direction quite different from that

to a more artistic and poetical view of life and culture, to a speculation more in harmony with the artistic spirit which permeated Goethe's and Schiller's creations.

23. Schelling.

In Fichte's successor, Schelling, the ethical was gradually replaced by the æsthetical ideal, leading with some of his friends and disciples to the vagueness and moral laxity of the romantic movement. The ethical problem as such fell into the background, making way for the æsthetical problem on the one side and the spiritual problem on the other.

24. Morality and Religion.

The controversies alluded to referred to the relation of morality and religion. I have already mentioned that all through the period which preceded the new philosophical movement, a tendency had grown up to rationalise the existing doctrine of the Church, the traditional articles of Christian faith, to establish a reasoned philosophical creed, not in opposition to, but in harmony with, the deeper sense and meaning of the teachings contained in the New as well as the Old Testament, the Mosaic and Christian revelation. The fundamental idea of these endeavours was the conviction that the Divine spirit revealed itself primarily to mankind in the recesses of the moral consciousness and

of the Kantian philosophy. Thus the evil tendency presents itself in Fichte's ethical system merely as a retarding influence: it is the *vis inertiæ* of all natural beings which has to be overcome by the propelling strength of the ennobling power of human character. "In this way," he says, "Kant's view receives greater clearness — viz., that the radical evil in man is inborn and that it has nevertheless its origin in freedom. It is quite conceivable that man should remain for some time, or perhaps during his whole life, upon a lower stage, inasmuch as nothing would propel him upward. . . . But it is not necessary that he should remain there. . . . It is just as possible for him to place himself at once at the highest point, and if he has not done so this comes from his not having made use of his freedom." ('Werke,' iv. p. 182.)

through the light of reason; these two sides of human nature had been brought together in the philosophy of Kant, and more perfectly in that of Fichte. Moreover, Fichte's doctrine gave a more satisfactory definition and explanation of the moral conscience which Kant had taken as an ultimate fact or datum. This explanation was traced in Fichte's system to the harmony between the empirical or individual and the underlying universal self. This harmony or unity afforded a special kind of assurance, the certainty of conscience, a guide for conduct. In his popular expositions Fichte termed this underlying or universal self, the Moral Order. With this conception he approached the position taken up by Spinoza, who conceived it pantheistically; but he was also not very far removed from the position taken up by many moral philosophers in this country, some of whom, with Shaftesbury, took this as the ultimate datum of their ethical system, whilst others, like Bishop Butler, went a step further in conceiving that this moral order had its centre in a personal Deity.

25. The Moral Order.

Thus it was quite possible to give to Fichte's exposition a twofold interpretation and development. It could either be construed pantheistically — indeed, as some said, atheistically—being as such opposed to the existing orthodox belief; or it could, on further reflection, lead to a belief in the existence of a Divine personality in the commonly accepted terms of the Christian faith. Thus we find, in the sequel, two opposite schools of ethical thought attaching themselves to Fichte as a leader in their speculation: the school of speculative

26. Twofold interpretation of this.

theology, more in harmony, as they would have it, with the later versions of Fichte's own doctrine, and the recent school of ethics in Germany, which aims at giving to practical morality a foundation independent of religious belief, and in doing so attaches itself more closely to the earlier phase or version of Fichte's philosophy.[1]

This latter interpretation of Fichte's ethical views

[1] The school of Speculative Theology had its main philosophical representative in Immanuel Hermann Fichte, the son; he was one of the first to define the principal problem involved, that of the idea of Personality. His earliest deliverance on the subject belongs to the year 1834; a second edition of his Tract appeared in 1855. The subject itself has an enormous literature, and is represented by the 'Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Speculative Theologie,' founded in 1837, and edited by I. H. Fichte himself; the principal contributors belonging not only to the Hegelian school, but also to that of Schleiermacher. In the mind of the editor himself the subject was more intimately connected with the ethical problem, and, as such, with the development which the same took in the later writings of his father, after Schelling and Hegel had started on a different course. It is also to be noted that he was the first among German philosophers of the nineteenth century to take in hand a historical and systematic study of Ethics ('System der Ethik,' 1850-1853). This led him on, as it has done more recent thinkers, to anthropology, and brought him into contact with Lotze, who addressed to him a polemical pamphlet. The problem of the Divine Personality belongs more properly to the next chapter, which will deal with the religious problem. I shall there refer to the extensive literature in Germany and also to a later and independent discussion of the subject in this country which was also, through T. H. Green, Bradley, and their opponents, intimately connected with the ethical problem. The best expression of the opposite or naturalistic view of ethics in recent German philosophy will be found in the writings of Prof. Jodl, to whose 'History of Ethics in Modern Philosophy' I am greatly indebted. Though the author closes the first edition of his work with what may be termed the Positivist Ethics of Feuerbach in Germany, Comte in France, and J. S. Mill in England, in whose writings he sees a firm foundation for the ethics of the future, one is still in hopes that the forthcoming second edition of the second volume will recognise that the teaching of these three representatives of Positivist or Naturalistic Ethics is now really antiquated, and that, pre-eminently in this country, but also in France, a new era of philosophical thought has been entered. It was opened in this country by the ethical treatises of Henry Sidgwick and F. H. Bradley, of whom more in the sequel. In connection with the elder Fichte's ethics the following closing passage from Jodl's discussion of the subject is characteristic of his own view as well as of his interpretation of the final phase of Fichte's system: "which more than any other has directed

was not popular at the time when the controversy arose as to the drift of Fichte's speculation. Moral philosophy had not then descended to the level of utilitarianism and naturalism. In abandoning to a large extent the formalities of the reigning orthodox belief, the enlightened thought of the age did not tend towards irreligion. It was rather deeply religious and spiritual, it did not aim at destroying the intimate connection of religion and morality, it regarded religion as the necessary metaphysic of ethics. Thus Fichte declared that: "From the beginning of the world down to the present day, religion, whatever form it may have assumed, has been essentially metaphysic: and he who despises and derides metaphysic —*i.e.*, everything *a priori*—either knows not what he does or else he despises and derides religion."[1]

man to his own independence, and has made the self-assurance of his own reasoning self the corner-stone of all his convictions, affording, at the same time, the view of a mysterious connection which values the individual with all the highest and best that it may succeed in only as a member in a series, only as an instrument in the development of an infinite life. The realm of reason and of moral autonomy is at the same time a kingdom of grace: herein Fichte's system mirrors the twin aspects of all moral experience, the last word of all the deepest thought on the ground of the world-process, and it does so more truly than any other system. We feel ourselves free and at the same time bound, we may and must trust our own power, and must, if we desire to be honest, regard with wonder as a mysterious gift this power itself which leads us towards success; we know that whatever exists in the way of reason, clarity, goodness, and beauty on this earth is our work and cannot be any one else's, and should still not know how to create reason and beauty were it not that something in our nature which we have not given to ourselves lends us its wizard's mantle. It is possible to understand mankind and its historical labour perfectly, as Positivism does, without having always in view that mysterious connection which joins it to the deepest root of reality; but something remains unexpressed in the background which no inclusive world-formula can well do without. Nothing can happen in this world that is not prepared and grounded in its innermost essence: and a world in which a realm of conscious reason is possible must count amongst its ultimate constituents reason itself." (F. Jodl, 'Geschichte der Ethik,' vol. ii., 1889, pp. 87 *sqq.*).

[1] Fichte, 'Werke,' vol. vii. p. 241.

The philosophy of the day thus aimed at basing ethics upon a religious foundation. But this religious foundation was not to be a mere blind and thoughtless repetition of the ruling theological dogmas, it was to be the spirit and not the letter of Christian faith, and this spirit was to be reached, the deeper understanding was to be attained, through a moral interpretation. If we desire to define the position of ethical thought of that age and school in terms which have become current in this country, we may say that Kant's and Fichte's ethics were intuitional. As such they were quite as far removed from the utilitarian ethics of the present day as they were from the dry formalism which prevailed in the theological schools, rationalistic and orthodox alike. But it was from the latter that the opposition first made itself felt.

The customary teachings of the Church were closely bound up with existing governments and state rule. The Church, with its catechism, was then, as it has been many times before and since, a powerful ally of bureaucracy and political intolerance. Fichte had shown that he stood on the side of social and political freedom. Though he held up the moral law as the highest revelation, as a sacred command, he held and preached enlightened views on social, legal, and political questions. The great success of his academic teaching, his personal influence on younger minds, had aroused many jealousies. Being moreover an assertive nature, he had made many enemies. In the more advanced universities of Germany '*Lern- und Lehr-Freiheit*' was then the order of the day; nowhere more so than at

Jena under the enlightened rule of Karl August and Goethe. Fichte's enemies did not dare to attack him in his academic freedom; but when, in the literary journal with which he was connected, articles appeared by him and followers of his which touched somewhat incautiously upon religious subjects, a cry was raised anonymously, fastening the stigma of atheism upon his philosophy. The whole controversy was maliciously handled on the one side, impatiently on the other. It resulted in Fichte's dismissal from Jena, and, as I stated above, in a decided change of the philosophy which was taught at that centre. The specifically ethical character disappeared in the systems of Fichte's successors, Schelling and Hegel, making room for the æsthetical and metaphysical.

II.

27. Schleiermacher.

The third important thinker who was stirred to an original development of Kant's ideas was Schleiermacher. It is only quite recently, and after the idealistic as well as the materialistic schools of thought in Germany have run their course, that the importance of Schleiermacher not only as a theologian but as a philosopher has gradually come to be recognised. As an instance of this I have already[1] had occasion to refer to the belated appreciation of his æsthetical speculations. But Schleiermacher occupied in every way a unique position. Although his mind was cast in an entirely different

[1] See *supra*, p. 122.

mould from that of Leibniz, he resembled him more than any other modern thinker did in occupying a central position, living in touch with many and opposite schools of thought. Thus he was unique also in being a representative alike of philosophy and theology. He was one of the first to study critically the writings of the ancient philosophers, and he was one of the founders of Biblical criticism.[1] With Fichte and Schelling he came under the influence of Spinoza no less than under that of Kant and Plato. He was brought up in, and remained in touch with, that peculiar spiritual form of Christian belief and religious life which in Germany was confined to some of the smaller and secluded sects within the Protestant Church.[2] He did not, like Fichte — and others[3] before and after — step out of theology into philosophy; he remained all through his life an active religious teacher, a famous preacher,

[1] See *supra*, vol. iii. p. 162.

[2] All the many influences which contributed to develop the individuality, originality, and many-sidedness of Schleiermacher's literary character and activity, are brought out in a masterly manner in Wilhelm Dilthey's 'Leben Schleiermachers,' a unique work, unparalleled, so far as I know, in any literature ancient or modern, and the only defect of which is that it has not been completed; alongside of it should be consulted the valuable account of Schleiermacher by the same author in the 'Dictionary of German National Biography.' The only volume which has appeared of the larger work, and which is now unprocurable, takes us into the first years of the nineteenth century and deals fully with Schleiermacher's childhood and youth, the religious atmosphere in which he was brought up, both in his family and in the Moravian Brotherhood, and then deals with the period of the gradual formation of his philosophical creed (1796 - 1802). Of literary productions it analyses exhaustively the 'Addresses on Religion,' the 'Monologues,' and the 'Letters' on Fr. Schlegel's unfortunate and notorious novel 'Lucinde.'

[3] Such as Reinhold, Strauss, Zeller, Leopold Schmidt (1808-1869, Archbishop-elect of Mainz, but repudiated by the Roman See, afterwards Prof. of Philosophy at Giessen), Wilhelm Bender (1845-1901, author of an excellent work on 'The Theology of Schleiermacher,' latterly Prof. of Philosophy at Bonn), and others.

within the established Church of his country. And lastly, he assimilated many of the artistic and poetical conceptions and ideals of the romantic school, going the length even of defending one of their more doubtful productions.[1] It is therefore not surprising that in the domain of ethics he developed original ideas: further, that with so many conflicting interests, his thought and his writings should exhibit a dualism similar to that which characterises many of Leibniz's speculations.

As was the case with Fichte, Schleiermacher's philosophical views underwent considerable changes in the

[1] The 'Confidential Letters on Fr. Schlegel's Lucinde,' published anonymously, form one of the most extraordinary incidents in literary and philosophical history, and Schleiermacher's biographers have found it difficult to explain how, prompted by a feeling of magnanimity to his much-reviled friend, Schleiermacher could write and publish these Letters. In the novel itself the libertinism which followed in the wake of the French Revolution was combined with the moral laxity which characterised the age of the Italian Renaissance. It treated in an extreme, not to say atrocious manner, of the relation of the sexes and of free love, and we are reminded of the somewhat later, but much less offensive, treatment of this subject in the circle to which Shelley belonged in England. Dilthey has said all that can be said—not in defence of the novel, which is indefensible, but in explanation of Schleiermacher's Letters. With many other literary productions of that period it forms a historically interesting episode, testifying to the violent ferment which was then working in philosophical, literary, and æsthetic circles in Germany and notably in Berlin. It is well summed up in a letter written by Henrik Steffens, thirteen years later, to Ludwig Tieck (quoted by Dilthey, *loc. cit.*, p. 509): "However true it is that the age in which Goethe and Fichte and Schelling and the Schlegels, the Novalis, Ritter, and I myself felt [ourselves united, was rich in germs of a manifold nature, there lay nevertheless in the whole something audacious. An intellectual Tower of Babel was to be erected which all minds should recognise from afar. But the confusion of tongues buried this work of vainglory in its own ruins. Are you the same with whom I dreamt to be at one? I no more recognise your features, your words are unintelligible to me. And every one separated into opposite directions —most of them with the insane idea of completing nevertheless the Tower of Babel after his own fashion."

course of his career as a writer and teacher. Thus we have in his earlier period an abstract philosophical or psychological conception of religion, approaching Spinoza on the one side, but assigning to religion on the other a special province in the human soul, conceiving it to be neither thought nor practice, but a matter of feeling, of intuition, an elevating tone of the whole mind. And on the other side we have, in his later writings, a definite appreciation for the historical or positive religions and their consummation in Christianity. So also he developed two independent views of ethics — a system of philosophical ethics in his earlier phase, and a system of Christian ethics in the later. In some of his earlier writings he coincides largely with Fichte, but he eventually separates himself from him, taking up, what we may term, the programme of Schelling, which—we may say in passing—the latter never carried out.[1] He did more than any other to realise what Schelling had put forward in one of his earliest essays when he was still under the paramount influence of Fichte. He there conceived the necessity of looking upon the moral law in its relation to the

[1] This is well brought out by Jodl, whose fairness in representing thinkers such as Schleiermacher, from whom he differs in principle, cannot be sufficiently appreciated. In his 'History' (vol. ii. p. 161) he explains the absence of an independent appreciation of Schelling as an ethical philosopher by the fact "that Schelling always slips away from this [the ethical] problem: it is first the interest in the theory of knowledge, then that in philosophy of nature which comes to the fore; and even where he deals with ethical questions he does not attain to real independence. Appearing first as an interpreter of Fichte, he later, after developing the system of identity, comes completely under the spell of Spinoza, reproducing luminously the main ideas of the 'Ethics,' but again without developing an independent theory." In a later chapter Jodl deals with the influence of Baader on Schelling. See specially note 2 to chap. iii. p. 511 *sq.*

individual self (or Ego) in the same light as we consider the natural law in its relation to the universal or absolute self. "We may say that the aim of the individual self should be to change the laws of its own freedom into natural laws and to change the laws of nature into freedom, to produce in the individual, nature, and in nature, individuality."[1]

But Schleiermacher's historical sense led him to conceive of the process of development in a more modern and realistic fashion than Schelling conceived of it in his various poetical, rather than genetic, expositions of the different stages, powers, or potencies, in the unfolding of the absolute mind. And through this historical conception Schleiermacher was induced to give a more concrete interpretation to the abstract scheme laid down in Schelling's somewhat fanciful deliverances.

28. Three aspects of his ethics.

There are three leading aspects peculiar to Schleiermacher's Ethics, through which the study of his writings still remains of great value. These three aspects are: the idea of Individuality, his doctrine of the Highest Good, and the relation of philosophical or abstract to positive or Christian Ethics. The philosophical systems which immediately preceded Schleiermacher had failed to attach due importance to the idea of human personality, to individuality of character.[2]

[1] Schelling's 'Werke,' vol. i. p. 198.

[2] This important point was referred to, *supra*, vol. iii. p. 255. Although Fichte's philosophy centred in the notion of selfhood, and as such gave great prominence to the conception of individuality, there was always a danger of dealing only with the general, abstract, or universal self, and of slipping back into the conception of the one or absolute self, there was not a sufficient interest in the actual existence of different individualities. From a psycho-

All purely abstract morality or ethics, dominated by the idea of duty, must fail to give due weight to the individual differences of human beings, to conceive of duty as something different for every rational being. These systems emphasise only what should be common to all, the universal law, whether of thought or of conduct, be it Natural, Moral, or Divine. Against this view Schleiermacher assimilates, from the monadology of Leibniz, the idea that the individual is, in every instance, an independent mirror of the whole universe, capable of reflecting in itself and destined to reflect the whole from an individual point of view, to realise in an individual example the common ideal.

In connection with this appreciation of individuality and personality, Schleiermacher attaches, in his ethical treatises, more importance to what the moral life should

logical point of view there was a want of empirical psychology such as has been all along cultivated pre-eminently in this country. It may incidentally be mentioned that this one-sided regard for the abstract, the pure, possibly the ideal self, is intimately connected with Fichte's autocratic and domineering character, which stands in marked contrast to the sympathetic and receptive mind of Schleiermacher. How this gradually led to an estrangement between these two great thinkers is brought out in a masterly manner by Dilthey (*loc. cit.*, pp. 334-348). He quotes the following passage from Fichte's 'Sittenlehre,' Werke, iv. p. 254: "Already we have separated clearly pure reason from individuality. The expression and realisation of what is pure in a reasoning self is the moral law, individuality is what distinguishes one individual from another. The connecting link of the pure and empirical lies in this, that a rational being must fain be an individual but not necessarily this or that one; that any one is this or that individual is accidental and of empirical origin. The empirical is the will, the understanding, and the body. The object of the moral law is distinctly nothing individual but reason in general" [*Vernunft überhaupt*]. ". . . The absolute annihilation of the individual and merger of the same in absolute pure reason or in God, is indeed the last aim of finite reason; only this is not possible in time." Dilthey communicates (Appendix, p. 123) a passage from Schleiermacher's 'Diary' as probably bearing upon this: "That one cannot have individuality without personality is the elegiac theme of true mysticism."

represent and realise than to the ultimate source and form of morality: the content, the realisable result of morality, is to him more interesting than the form. Thus he cultivates a chapter in Ethics which had been overlooked or forgotten, which in Kant's ethics notably had been treated as an appendix and of secondary consideration, the chapter of moral goods or of The Good, the *summum bonum* of ancient philosophers. This permits him to give much more attention, and to do much more justice, to the various creations and products of culture and civilisation, such as the Family, Society, the State, the Church, Science, Art, and the historical Religions. Many of the existing institutions, of the vehicles of culture, morality, and refinement, he looks upon as possessed of an individual character, as personalities. His idea of personality and individuality permits him to appreciate individual differences. In no one individual, in no one institution, can the whole essence and meaning of the absolute be realised, only in many individuals and individual creations and in their historical succession. The absolute is spread out, is realised in space and time. And here he takes up and appreciates, more completely than some of his forerunners, the idea of progress, the infinite process of realisation in history. This view leads him to a special understanding of positive religion as the complement, the fulfilment of abstract or philosophical religion.

Philosophical religion, the reasoned creed which the philosophy of his age was trying to find and establish, remained too abstract. Something more concrete was wanted for the practical religious teacher, something

more even than the conception of religion as an independent power in the life of the human soul, something more also than the feeling of absolute dependence, the definition with which his philosophical ethics started. The bringing together of reason and nature, of the divine and human, presented itself as an endless process, as an ideal, undefinable and realisable only in the infinite progress of human history, in the distant future of humanity. But this, which for the natural man would be an infinitely distant and not clearly defined aim and end, has been brought near and definitely fixed or revealed in the Christian doctrine and the person of its Founder. In spite of the endless process, of the infinite duration of human history, as the goal of which the union of the divine and human appears in the form of an ideal, we are in possession, through the historical Christian dispensation, of a living presentation of this union, of this ideal, in Christ. To Schleiermacher it is inconceivable that the Christian Church and Christian life could ever go beyond what was revealed in and through its founder.[1] In this way

[1] The principal passage in which this view is stated is to be found in a posthumous work published by L. Jonas (1843) from a manuscript left by Schleiermacher and notes taken of his lectures. In this work ('Die Christliche Sitte nach den Grundsätzen der Evangelischen Kirche im Zusammenhang dargestellt'), as the title shows, and especially also the standard passage (2nd ed., 1884, p. 72), two points are clearly brought out. First, the importance of taking note of an historically existing practical code of ethics as distinguished from philosophical ethics; and secondly, the fact that the principle of progress or development in ethical theory and practice is compatible only with the Protestant (or as the title says evangelical) conception of the Christian Church, and that this notion of a development is not compatible with the point of view of Roman Catholicism. "In the Catholic Church there can be no question of progress in the meaning we attach to it, as she does not believe in a development of her own ordinances, which she considers to be unchangeable, but only in a development in the exposition of them. So that it is evident that the same Christian morality can as little exist for different organically co-ordinated Christian communities as that it could exist for all periods of the Church. For the specially Protestant view of the Christian Church it is essential that we consider the same as a movable totality, as one capable of progress and development, only with this restriction, without which Christianity would collapse, that we can never imagine that in the Christian Church a state of perfection could be aimed at or realised which transcends that given in Christ, but that all progress can be nothing else than a more correct understanding and a more perfect assimilation of what is laid down in Christ." And in an earlier passage (p. 70) he says: "Progress in the community of the faithful cannot be conceived in any other way than that first in single minds a purer conception and realisation of the Christian idea is formed which in the sequel is communicated to others." It must suffice in this connection to give this distinctive utterance of Schleiermacher, whose religious philosophy will be more fully dealt with in the next chapter. It need only be mentioned here that the difference between theoretical (philosophical or abstract) and practical (actually existing) ethics has been variously dealt with by thinkers of very different shades of opinion in recent times; compare, *e.g.*, Herbert Spencer's characteristic view on this point.

Schleiermacher is enabled not only to interpret symbolically, as Kant and Hegel had done, but to adopt practically the positive or historical as the fulfilment, the consummation of philosophical religion and ethics.

Schleiermacher lived and taught at the same time and at the same university as Hegel. With him he never cultivated an intimate friendship. It was impossible to bring into harmony these two entirely different natures or the philosophies which sprang from them. Hegel's system was the final, and for a time triumphant, consummation of a great philosophical movement, of the attempt to make reason the supreme arbiter, the ruling power in the whole domain of human interests, to see in it the Divine spirit; in fact, to establish a completely reasoned creed. In it all other human aspirations were to be absorbed. Philosophy was the highest product of the human intellect, and

29. Hegel.

the intellect was the highest faculty of the human mind, through which the partial and lower realms and activities of thought, as well as of the will and the emotions, were to be comprehended and appreciated in their true meaning. Schleiermacher did not believe in this supreme and unique power of the intellectual or logical faculty in the human mind. Compared with the Monism of Hegel, his thought must have appeared dualistic.[1] In opposition to Hegel, who invited his hearers and readers to enter into a well-planned and strongly-built edifice of thought and knowledge, Schleiermacher would seem rather to detain them in the winding paths of an intricate dialectic, out of the labyrinth of which no clearly marked path led to a highest point from which a supreme and comprehensive outlook could

30. Contrast with Schleiermacher.

[1] Nevertheless Schleiermacher may be looked upon as one of the earliest representatives in recent philosophy of that tendency of thought which I have frequently referred to as the Synoptic. Especially in his earlier writings his antipathy to the atomistic dualism of the Kant-Fichtean philosophy is, as Wilhelm Bender ('Die Theologie Schleiermachers,' pp. 98 and 99) says, very clearly marked: "It may be regarded as an epoch-making event in the history of modern ethics, that Schleiermacher, in the 'Monologues,' as also in the later Lectures on the subject, through his enthusiastic proclamation of the unity of soul and body as also of mind and nature, has put an end to the dividing of man into a rational and a sensuous being. The ethical aspect considers the single individual always as a whole, as intricately interwoven in the whole of humanity, indeed of the world in general. . . . In urging the importance of individuality lies the real progress of Schleiermacher's ethics beyond Fichte; in the consideration of the moral activity of the individual in the totality of the moral task of mankind lies his progress beyond Kant. This moral task is defined as, first, the organising of nature, and, through this, secondly, the realising and perfecting of humanity in its infinite individualisations." If Hegel's philosophy aimed at monism of a logical order, Schleiermacher's speculations rested upon a primary synopsis of what, in the actual world, appeared so often divided and broken up into apparent opposites: "The tendency to bring into sight, through moral doing and thinking, an artistic whole Schleiermacher expressed in the idea of the Highest Good" (ibid., p. 101).

be gained. His philosophy was similar to that of Socrates, a method rather than a result, a search rather than a finding; whereas Hegel's system was more like the elaborate structures which Plato and Aristotle had reared upon the basis of Socratic teaching.

It was therefore natural that many young and ardent minds who flocked to the University of Berlin to imbibe the new philosophy, should turn from Schleiermacher to Hegel, if they had not, to begin with, already gone straight to the latter. But the cautious, searching, and less assertive character of Schleiermacher's thought was sure to be appreciated when once it had become evident to many that Hegel had promised more than he could fulfil. During his lifetime Schleiermacher attracted principally students of theology, among philosophers only a small number of select minds of a high order,[1] who took a special interest in the religious problem.

When, in a subsequent chapter, I shall deal with the latter, I shall come back to Schleiermacher as the most important figure in the whole of that province of modern philosophical thought. His philosophical contributions to the solution of what I shall then term the problem of the Spirit, formed a centre which gathered up many lines of thought from which as many have issued forth. Nor do I think it necessary for the moment to say much in connection with the ethical problem about Hegel's own teaching. For ethical problems, especially such as have occupied thinkers in this country, did not occupy

[1] Such as the pioneers in the study of the History of Philosophy, H. Ritter (1791-1860) and Chr. A. Brandis (1792-1873).

Hegel to any great extent. It was more by those who were inspired by the general tenor and tendency of his thought, than by himself, that the necessity was felt to tackle ethical problems specifically. And this has been even more marked among his followers in this country than it has been abroad. We shall therefore have to revert to him later on, when we shall try to understand some of the more recent ethical speculations peculiar to English thought. It will now be more interesting to cast a glance at that system of thought which in France —unknown for a long time to German thinkers—was slowly preparing the opposite forces which should gradually drive into the background that official philosophy which called itself Spiritualism and was largely indebted, notably through its great representative Cousin, to the teachings of Schelling and Hegel in Germany. This was the spirit of Positivism reduced for the first time to a philosophical creed by Auguste Comte.

31. Comte's Positivism.

In order to understand this independent counter-movement which was not confined to French thought, though it there received both a name and an ambitious systematic treatment, it will be of advantage to look upon the ethical problem from a somewhat different point of view. This suggested itself naturally in a country which had witnessed in succession the temporary downfall of two traditional powers, Religion and the State. The former had lost its spiritual centre and meaning, through the attacks of the prominent representatives of sensationalism and scepticism who dominated French literature during the second half of the

eighteenth century. Its collapse was followed by a temporary destruction of the other institution, the existing order of the State and Society, during the Revolution. Thus the two powers which hold human beings together, the common faith and the social order, had for a moment disappeared; human society had become disintegrated or atomised.

Now, we may look upon the ethical problem as the endeavour to get beyond the individual Self, beyond the human being as the atom or unit of humanity, to arrive at an aspect deeper and broader than that afforded by the study of the Self alone and its selfish interests. There are two ways of getting out of the Self, of transcending or enlarging it.

The first is the attempt made by German idealism, to look upon the individual Self as rooted in a deeper, a universal Self; this may be variously conceived as the Natural, Moral, or Divine Order, with a more or less clearly defined intellectual or spiritual centre. This view suggested itself under the still surviving influence of the traditional religious doctrine of the Church, which it desired to understand, to make more living and active.

But where, as in France, this friendly feeling towards the traditional faith had been destroyed, another way had to be found out of the narrowness of the individual mind with its purely selfish interests. This was found by the revolutionary thinkers in France, in the historical phenomenon of human society, widened to the idea of mankind or humanity.

32. The social Self.

Expressed in different words, the first movement

sought and found its supreme object of veneration in the God of the historical religion, which it philosophically conceived as the Absolute. The second sought and found its object of veneration in Humanity, in mankind at large and as a whole. The former was, as all popular and metaphysical religions have been, transcendental, opposing to the limited and lower world which surrounds us on this earth, the unlimited and higher region of heaven; this idea being expressed in the most varying forms, from the narrowest sectarian to the largest and deepest intellectual, religious, and poetical view of the Divine, and *vice versa*, from the vaguest and most abstract definition of the Absolute, to the most concrete and living Christian belief in a Heavenly Father. The other view naturally opposes all transcendentalism, destroys both the religious and the metaphysical aspects: it seeks and finds the object of its thought, and the region of its practice, on this Earth, within the conditions which surround us here in time and space.

33. Idea of progress.

This view had at the time received a great reinforcement and new resources through the idea of historical progress recently introduced into philosophical literature by some of the prominent thinkers in France. There then happened, what has happened before and after in dealing with smaller or larger problems: what had seemed insoluble, if one regards only the Here and the Now, acquired the appearance at least of being intelligible if traced into a remote past or projected into a distant future: in one word, if one adopts the dynamical, as opposed to the statical view. This attitude is in reality the same as that which Christian theology assumed

in the explanation of Evil and Sin; the same also as that adopted by the modern theories of Evolution when dealing with the problem of Life. A prolonged study, a deeper comprehension has, in every case, shown that the problem was not solved, but only for a time moved away from the centre of the field of reflection; the pressure was relieved, but this relief has proved to be only temporary.

34. Comte's positive view distinguished from German metaphysics and English psychology.

These remarks will lead us to understand easily the characteristic and original features of Comte's philosophy, of the positive view as distinguished from the metaphysical view of German Idealism, but also as distinguished from the psychological view peculiar to English thought. We can at once recognise that it is diametrically opposed to the former; but that, though different, it is not opposed, but complementary to the latter. And so it has also proved to be historically; in as much as it was first adequately understood in England where an amalgamation of the older psychology with Comtian ideas and the more recent theory of descent have led to the modern doctrine of Evolution. On the contrary, in Germany Comte got no hearing till long after the classical era of Idealism, and then only through the writings of English thinkers, notably of John Stuart Mill. This happened just at the time when, under the influence of Kant's and Hegel's writings, a countermovement arose in England in opposition to Positivism in its various forms such as Utilitarianism, Naturalism, and Agnosticism.

Considering now more closely the contribution of Comte's philosophy to the definition and the solution of

the ethical problem, we find that the whole tenor of his thought is more akin to that of the German idealists than to that of Kant or of English psychology or common-sense. His philosophy is dogmatic in the sense of being uncritical, forming thus an opposition to Kant's method, and his method is synthetic or constructive in opposition to the analytic method represented in English thought pre-eminently by the two Mills and by Alexander Bain. It also resembles the speculations of Schelling and Hegel[1] in this, that it has a profound

[1] Nothing is more striking than the similarity which exists in many respects between such opposite systems as those of Comte and Hegel. Not only the dogmatic, the architectonic, and the profound historical spirit are common to both, but even the abstract notions and the vocabulary of the idealistic system may be easily translated into those of the positivist. This has in fact been done already without any knowledge of Comte's writings, to a large extent by Ludwig Feuerbach in the expressive formula: *homo homini Deus*. And so far as Ethics is concerned the two systems agree in this, that their spirit is essentially ethical in the deepest sense of the term, but that, on the other side, the more specific problems of ethical science, as treated by ancient thinkers, by philosophers in this country and, quite recently, in all the three countries alike, receive in the two systems which represent two leading tendencies of modern thought no systematic treatment. We look there in vain for strict definition of such notions as the Good, Virtue, Duty and their relations. The ethical views of Hegel as well as those of Comte have to be collected from different passages and periods of their respective writings. But Hegel's philosophy sprang, as did that of Kant and Fichte, from the same root of a strong moral conviction regarding the task which philosophy, as the intellectual training and discipline of the mind, was destined to perform in his age and country. A similar intellectualism, joined to a deep moral conviction, is likewise characteristic of Comte. In both cases the intellectual principle, a definite theory of reality, being gained, the application to detailed problems such as those of religion and ethics, had to follow. The application was made by those who came after. In connection with Hegel's philosophy the religious problem was taken up in Germany and, a generation later, the ethical problem in England. Comte himself turned only quite late, as stated in the text, to Ethics, confining himself mainly to the development of the religion of humanity. Though this has been practically abandoned in this country, an important school of positivist ethical doctrine has sprung up with an increasing influence on French thought. Quite independent of the idealist and positivist conception of ethics the influence of Kant is also increasingly felt both in Germany and in France. It may also here be remarked that, as in so many other respects so also with regard to the ethical problem, Lotze occupies a peculiar and intermediate position. In his view metaphysics ought to be founded on ethics. He has not worked out this idea himself, but it seems not unlikely that the combination of psychology and ethics, so prominent with thinkers in this country, especially in so original a work as the 'Methods of Ethics' of Henry Sidgwick, is tending in the direction of a new metaphysic and a philosophy of religion.

ethical tone and bearing, though it does not, any more than they did, occupy itself specifically with the ethical problem in its various aspects as they had been elaborately defined and discussed by thinkers in this country.

Whereas the latter had clearly established, on new foundations and enriched with new matter, two philosophical sciences, the science of Psychology and the science of Ethics, the system of Comte disregards these sciences altogether. Certainly it does so in its earlier phase, though it appears as if, on more mature consideration and in the later stages of his thought, Comte had felt the necessity of making good to some extent what in the beginning of his career he had left undone. On the other side he not only gave to a large school of philosophical thought the special name and the distinctive character of Positivism, but he was also the founder of the modern science or doctrine of Sociology. He was so pre-eminently in virtue of the fact that the phenomenon which he studied was human society, humanity in its aggregate, human beings in their "together" and not isolated. From this as a datum he did certainly advance towards a conception of human nature as such; but he did not follow English thinkers by beginning with the study and analysis of the individual human mind, of the inner self, and by moving onward from

this to an understanding of the nature and life of society, *i.e.*, of a community of rational beings. In fact Comte opposed the sensational and analytic philosophy current in France before his time, which had grown up under the influence of English thought.

35. Influences that moulded his ideas.

Two main influences assisted in the moulding of Comte's ideas: he lived during the age of the great French mathematicians who brought about the consummation of the Newtonian system of mechanics applied to cosmic, molar and latterly also to molecular phenomena. He lived also in the age when the biological sciences had been reformed by such intellects as Cuvier, de Blainville, and Bichat. But he also came under the influence of historical philosophers such as Turgot and Condorcet, and of social reformers such as Saint Simon. The former influences taught him what he considered to be the final and correct method of thought, the mathematical or exact method; they also taught him the great difference between the phenomena of inanimate and animated nature. The latter directed his attention to the problems of the regeneration of society. This he looked upon as a phenomenon to be studied biologically and historically. As biology had been added to physics, so sociology had to be added to biology.

Comte did not accept the theory of descent then vaguely conceived by Geoffroy and fancifully elaborated by Lamarck, but he adopted the law of progress and of the perfectibility of the human race as put forward with eloquence and fervour by Condorcet. In looking for an explanation of this characteristic of the human as distinguished from the animal species, he fastened upon two traits of human nature, the selfish and the opposed instinct, Egoism and Altruism, the personal and the social factor.

36. Neglects philosophical ethics.

Beyond this statement, which recalls to some extent Adam Smith's theory of moral sentiments, Comte does not seem to have made any real contribution to Ethics, for he neither discusses the conception of duty and responsibility nor troubles himself to define the end and aim of moral conduct, be this conceived as consisting in virtue or in happiness. He does not seem to realise that moral goods or The Good can in reality only exist and be realised in individual minds by persons who, though forming a community or society, must nevertheless be possessed of an inner life and enjoy individual freedom. Discarding altogether introspection as a means of studying human nature, he directs all his attention to the external phenomena and events of history. It is in and through a review of this that he hopes to gain a knowledge of human nature. In fact he discards entirely the individual and regards exclusively the collective aspect. Society is an organism, and as little as we can study the phenomena of life if we lose sight of the fact of organisation, just as little can we study the human species if we lose sight of its existence in the aggregate of society and its historical development.

Two volumes of the first and most important of his larger works are thus taken up by a historical survey, by a philosophy of history. This he conceives to consist in the gradual ascendancy of the specifically human

over the purely animal attributes of human nature. As the highest among the former he counts benevolence, the habit of living for others: his moral ideal consists thus in complete self-devotion in which all personal or selfish considerations disappear. In addition to this Comte aims at a definite Order of society, based upon a philosophical creed and manifested in a hierarchy not unlike that which prevailed in the middle ages during the undisputed sway of the Roman Catholic Church. But the power which builds up and pervades this new Order is not the faith of the old religion, but the scientific spirit, the supreme control of the intellect which is to gain the same undisputed sway in the social as it has gained in the natural and especially the mathematical sciences and their applications.[1]

[1] Referring again to what was stated (*supra*, p. 186, note), the similarity or parallelism between an idealistic and a positivist attitude towards the ethical problem is strikingly brought out by Professor Jodl in treating of a thinker who may be looked upon as an extreme representative of the former school. This was Karl Chr. Fr. Krause (1781-1832) the propounder of a system termed Panentheism, the attempt to combine the pantheistic and theistic conceptions of the nature of the Absolute. His voluminous writings, of which only a few were published during his lifetime, had only a small influence on European thought, notable only in the philosophy of law through one of his disciples, H. Ahrens (1808-1874, Professor at Brussels and Leipzig). The passage is striking and instructive and worth quoting: "Involuntarily these views of Krause suggest a comparison with Auguste Comte. The ethics of both tend towards the proclamation of a religion of humanity which appears here in a metaphysical, there in a positivist clothing; confining itself there to the given world and the knowable connection of things, but extending here in bold flight the thoughts and deeds of man beyond the limits of the universe. The contrast of aspects which is here evident is in its innermost essence insoluble, as both sides are equally given in experience. . . . Human consciousness is not self-creative, it rests on a foundation which it has not made itself and which we may with equal justice call unconscious or superconscious. The positivist need not further consider it, it being for him a given fact, but he cannot wish to deny it; but this feeling of dependence upon vast mysterious powers . . . marks exactly that point of empirical certitude from which the speculative and religious aspect did, and will always, start. Disregarding this metaphysical difference through which the *Gottinnigkeit* of Krause becomes meaningless for Comte, being replaced by *Menschheitinnigkeit*, the similarity of the ethical temper and the intellectual attitude of the two thinkers is striking. *Vivre pour autrui* and *Vivre au grand jour;* these are the two precepts in which the founder of positivism sums up his ethics. 'You ought to further the perfection of all beings with all your might: and this intercourse should be such as it would be if we could contemplate each other directly as spirits': this may be said to be the kernel of the humane ethics of Krause. And not only in the belief in moral progress . . . but also in many externalities can we trace this analogy; the predilection for the didactic form of a catechism, for the elaboration of principles in the smallest detail, the repellently dry terminology surcharged with newly created technicalities. Both feel themselves to be prophets in this world, &c., &c." ('Geschichte der Ethik,' vol. ii. pp. 102, 103.)

37. A new social order.

It seems thus as if Comte is aiming at bringing about a generally recognised and accepted Order of things as the first requisite of further progress. As I stated above, the existence of such an order seems to have been tacitly or openly admitted by all moral philosophers in this country, forming as it were the background of their speculations and the object of their reforms. Comte thus aimed at providing by philosophical reasoning and instruction what in this country had unconsciously grown up under the automatic play of historical forces.

In the later phase of his philosophical speculations, which were much influenced by the peculiar conditions of his private life, he seems to have devoted all his powers to this scheme of social reconstruction and organisation, reviewing at the same time the principal points of his earlier doctrine as contained in the 'Cours de Philosophie Positive': the important change or addition, so far as the subject of this chapter is concerned, being this,—that he saw the necessity of adding to the six sciences classified in his earlier scheme, a seventh, that of morals, which is to follow the science of Sociology,

forming the highest step of the ladder. The remark suggests itself that Comte, at the end of his career, thus arrived at a truth which unconsciously formed the background of all ethical speculation in this country, and this is that profitable discussion of the principles of Morality and of their application can only be carried on where a more or less settled order of society, an organisation, already exists. As this, according to Comte, did not exist in his country at the time, all his later efforts seem to have been concentrated on devising a scheme for the reorganisation of society upon the basis of the positive philosophy. He really never got beyond this; he neither clearly describes by what means the great change has to be brought about, nor seriously makes an attempt to establish the principles of morality. Had he done so he would have been forced to bestow more attention and appreciation upon the labours of contemporary thinkers in this country.

The study of history formed the leading thought in Auguste Comte's philosophy, and it has been admitted even by those who do not agree with the latter, that his view of the historical development of modern civilisation contains many profound and many brilliant expositions. Somewhat earlier than Comte, Hegel had already in Germany given prominence to the study of history and incorporated this study as an integral part of his system. It is interesting to see to what this independent movement towards historical research conducted Hegel and his followers.

The interest with which Hegel approached the historical problem was not ethical in the narrower sense nor

38. Hegel and the historical problem.

even sociological, it was rather metaphysical. This enterprise was an attempt to see in the different stages of human culture, in the great civilisations of the East, of classical antiquity, of the middle ages and of modern times, the working of that larger and deeper intelligence which underlies and manifests itself in all that is living and moving. He did not therefore look at the events and phenomena of history from the outside; he did not study the life of mankind like that of an organism, as Comte did. He started with the conviction that the intellectual agency termed the Absolute, and ultimately identified with the Divine Spirit, was unfolding or realising itself not only in the minds of individual men (the Self of Fichte), nor yet only in the regions of nature and mind as two complementary opposites (as Schelling held), but that it manifests itself also and pre-eminently in historical creations such as the State, Society, the Church, Art, Religion, and Science: the last in its highest forms he identified with Philosophy.

Thus Hegel's first great work was a combination of psychology and history, throwing light into the recesses of the individual human mind as well as upon the life of humanity, of the objective mind. It was an interpretation of the facts of the mental life of man and mankind. Where Comte saw only the contest of two organic forces, Egoism and Altruism, not further to be explained, Hegel saw the manifestations of an underlying reality revealed and known to man primarily within his own self-consciousness: the life of the Absolute. From this point of view he wrote his Phenomenology of the Mind, and later on the different parts of his compre-

hensive System, all testifying to the same fundamental idea.

Now although, as I stated above, Hegel's philosophy did not deal with the Ethical problem in the stricter sense of the word, its fundamental aspects guided his followers into two diametrically opposite channels of thought, and these, in the sequel, led to important ethical theories. There is no doubt that Hegel himself adhered to the frequently expressed conviction that philosophy was the real and true Theodicy, the vindication of the ways of God to man; that conviction was the very soul of his teaching, it gave life and interest to his frequently abstruse and difficult expositions, it was this idea also which inspired the thought and research of many who carried the spirit, though not the letter, of his teaching into other regions of inquiry.

39. Divergent application of his thought.

But there were two other aspects of his thought which tended to start an entirely different line of reasoning and to nurse an opposition which was not in harmony with the origin and real tendencies of his doctrine.

The first was the direction which his teaching adopted in the last period of his career and in the only one of his larger treatises which dealt with a practical problem, a problem which may be considered as belonging to Practical Ethics — namely, the Theory of the State.[1]

Although the whole of Hegel's philosophy sprang from

[1] This was the 'Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts oder Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft im Grundrisse.' It was published in 1821 with a memorable Preface dated 1820.

the idea of freedom, it latterly, under the stress of political circumstances, emphasised the further thesis that freedom must stand under the control of reason and obey the commands of the intellect. For it was the intellect itself which was to supersede and control the other powers of the human mind, as that factor had moulded all human institutions, and, as it were, precipitated its very essence in the various forms of culture, among these, in the State and the Church. In the monarchical form of government, with the Sovereign as the head or personification of the State, with the union of the Church and the State, in its foundations and structure, Hegel saw the incorporation of the human intellect and carried on a virulent polemic against political and religious libertinism, against the fanciful and immature theories of freedom which, as a sequel of the revolutionary movement, were springing up all over the continent of Europe. The different governments of Germany looked upon the latter with suspicion, if not with horror, and embraced a reactionary policy which nevertheless—in a remarkable manner not easily understood by foreigners—permitted and even included a very high degree of intellectual freedom especially within university circles and in university teaching. This state of things which obtained in its purest form in the newly organised state of Prussia, popular sentiment characterised by terms such as: "Der Intelligenzstaat" or "der Polizeistaat." It is easily seen how many of the watchwords of German philosophy since Kant, such as the Supremacy of the Practical Reason, the Autonomy of the Will, the Rule of the Intellect, &c., could be

40. Used in the interest of conservative reaction.

twisted into a form convenient in the eyes of the leaders of reaction, and how, under the guise of the culture of the Intellect, an intellectual tyranny with all the accompanying evils of bureaucracy, officialism, and later on of militarism, could find a sort of philosophical support and speculative sanction. It would be unjust to accuse Hegel himself of using the watchwords and formulæ of his philosophy in this unphilosophical sense, but it cannot be denied that his teaching, precisely because it seemed to do this, found favour with some of the leaders of the reactionary movement in Berlin, and that in the same degree it was looked upon with disfavour by many youthful and ardent minds who were moved by ideals of political and religious liberty and of the intellectual enfranchisement of the human mind from religious and political bondage.

41. But also turned in the opposite direction.

Some of the latter were then not slow to discover that the formulæ of the Hegelian philosophy could just as easily be used in an opposite direction, that instead of leading to conservatism in Church and State, supporting orthodoxy in religion and absolutism in politics, they could readily be employed to support religious and political radicalism. This conviction forced itself gradually upon many who really started as orthodox believers, but had imbibed, through the study of philosophy, that very tendency which, as I have shown, constitutes the abiding feature in all German philosophical thought during the last century, the spirit of criticism and free inquiry.

Hegel himself, though not a critic in the narrower sense of the word, and impatient of the detailed verification of his profound generalisations, had nevertheless from the beginning of his academic activity encouraged the scheme of a critical review and discussion of contemporary thought and literature, and had latterly suggested the foundation of a philosophical and critical journal fortified by official support and authority from high quarters. Though this scheme, which would have characterised Hegelianism as the official philosophy in Prussia in like manner as "Eclecticism" became the official philosophy of the period of Louis Philippe in France, was not carried out, some of Hegel's disciples and friends started in the year 1827 a critical Review, which for a series of years was edited with great ability, but for want of the co-operation of other forces soon became the organ of a philosophical party. As soon, however, as this critical discussion by minds of very different stamp was once started, even within the school itself it could not fail to reveal great differences of opinion; this led to a secession of the more liberal-minded members, who in the year 1838 founded a new journal which was published at the neighbouring university town of Halle. Though it began as an organ of the centre party in the Hegelian school, it soon moved away, taking up with a new abode and a new title in the year 1841 a distinctly radical and anti-Prussian position.

This movement towards what is usually termed the left side or wing of the party was promoted by various ideas supplied in Hegel's writings themselves. Among these there is one which is very prominent and, in the light of the subsequent course of European thought, of great importance, and may be considered as the second

42. This movement promoted by the idea of Development.

leading aspect to which I referred above. It is the idea of Development, which underlies, as much as that of Freedom, the whole of Hegel's philosophy, and really unfits it in the eyes both of friend and foe to become the support of an immovable orthodoxy in religious, social, and political questions alike. This principle of development has, as I have had frequent occasion to remark, assumed many forms and appeared in many versions. In Hegel's philosophy it appeared as the movement and development of human thought itself, which was identified with the world-process. There can be no doubt that, to Hegel himself, it meant the movement of the Divine Spirit in the life of the individual and of humanity. But critical thinkers soon discovered that no logical proof existed for this interpretation, but that the idea that human thought in the individual or the race was expressive or symbolical of something underlying, was itself a purely human idea, a creation or fiction of the human intellect. The formula of Hegel, that philosophy was the true Theodicy, was therefore reversed, and it was taught that, on the contrary, the theological interpretation was merely an exaltation and idolising, an apotheosis of human thought itself.

43. Göschel, Strauss, and Feuerbach.

These two opposite interpretations of Hegel's system were given to the world, the former in 1832, within a year from Hegel's death; the latter not long after, in the year 1835. The former, representing the orthodox and conservative interpretation, was by K. Fr. Göschel, with the title 'The Monism of Thought,' the latter by David Friedrich Strauss in his 'Life of Jesus.' But the thinker who applied the Hegelian idea of development not only to a special question, that of the origin

of Christianity, but in general to a discussion of the religious problem, was Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872), who, in a series of writings, but notably in his 'Essence of Christianity' (1840), took up and established the anthropological view of the movement of thought in opposition to the theological. According to this view all development centres and is intelligible to us only within the limits of human experience,[1] be it physical or spiritual. This limit or circle we cannot transcend. All philosophy and all science is therefore doomed to be immanent and not transcendent; the centre is man and not God. The great influence of Feuerbach's earlier writings is not least to be attributed to the fact that he was the first[2] among German philosophers in recent times who expounded his ideas

[1] Anticipating what I have termed the "synoptic" view, he maintained that the object of thought must at the same time be an object of "sight." He does not use this term, but the word Æsthetic, taking it no doubt in the sense in which it was used by Kant in his First Critique. He maintained that you can convince man of a truth only if you change it from "a thing of reason, an *Ens rationis*, to a thing of sense." (Pref. to vol. i. of 'Collected Works,' 1846, p. viii.)

[2] This remark is hardly correct if we consider that Schopenhauer's great work, written in a splendid style, was published twenty years earlier. Remaining, however, quite unknown, it had no influence on German philosophical thought till much later. Feuerbach's earlier writings are mostly historical, on Bacon, Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, and Bayle. They were published between the years 1833 and 1838. They show, as he himself, in the Preface to the first volume of his 'Collected Works' (1846), points out, the gradual development of his own views from a pantheistic, through an individualistic, to a purely anthropological or naturalistic creed. He himself admits that in these works he developed, "under other names, his own ideas." He also confesses that the political state of Germany had "a great but by no means commendable influence" on his writing. This latter influence became still more striking when, at the request of his friend Arnold Ruge (1802-1880), he joined the staff of the 'Hallesche Jahrbücher,' the journal which had been started in opposition to the 'Berliner Jahrbücher,' and became the leading contributor. His earliest contributions, reprinted in the first volume of his 'Collected Works,' refer mostly to religious subjects and the Hegelian philosophy, and show how he adopted and perfected the pamphleteering style referred to in the text.

in an unacademical style, intelligible to the general reader; but also it is to be attributed to less commendable qualities—the pamphleteering, or as it has been termed, the 'Feuilleton-style.' The same had been introduced into political journalism by Börne, and had been adopted and perfected by Heinrich Heine. It unfortunately found its way into the discussion of philosophical subjects in the above-mentioned Review through prominent writers, among whom Feuerbach was the most original. It was adopted also by Schopenhauer in his later polemical writings, by E. von Hartmann, and in the most extreme form in recent times, by Friedrich Nietzsche; it has done incalculable harm, and disturbed the calm judiciousness of philosophic discussion, by introducing the element of personal abuse, invective, and irritation.[1]

Nevertheless it must be admitted that Feuerbach did great service to German thought by lucidly presenting to thinking readers the anthropological, as against the theological standpoint in all philosophical problems, and this as a possible conclusion to be drawn from the

[1] On this subject a great deal has been written by German historians such as G. G. Gervinus in the 8th volume of his 'Geschichte des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts' (1866, p. 180 *sqq.*), where he contrasts the political and literary satire in Börne's and Heine's writings with that contained in those of Lord Byron, who, as he shows, had an enormous influence on the Continent. See also on the political side of the Hegelian philosophy and the deterioration of literary style through Reviews, pamphlets, and Feuilletons, the pretty exhaustive treatment in the 3rd volume (pp. 714 *sqq.*) and 4th volume ('Das Junge Deutschland,' pp. 407 *sqq.*) of H. von Treitschke's 'Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert' (1885 and 1889). Also Richard Meyer's 'Die Deutsche Litteratur des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts' (1900, pp. 52 *sqq.*) To an English reader these and many other utterances and criticisms of eminent German historians will lose some of their effect through an unfortunate admixture of a more or less patent spirit of anti-semitism.

premises of the Hegelian philosophy. In him a conclusion or consummation of a certain line of thought was attained similar to that which Auguste Comte had reached about the same time and from quite different beginnings in France. What Feuerbach did not see as clearly as Comte did, was the necessity of establishing, on this new anthropocentric foundation, the whole edifice not only of theoretical but also of practical philosophy. For this purpose his writings contain only hints but no attempt towards systematic completeness. He was too much a child of the age of the German Revolution; this was characteristically much less a political than an intellectual revolution; for in the same degree as the former was incomplete and abortive, the latter has turned out to be consummate and radical, a complete subversion of the older foundations, a "revaluation," as it has been termed, of all existing values. And this has been popularly brought about not so much by a slow process of critical sifting and mental discipline such as always had its home in the German universities, as by the hasty steps and brilliant flashes of an extra-academic literature, by writers who addressed mature as well as immature intellects, and did not feel the responsibilities imposed upon the teachers and educators of young and impressionable minds. Thus we find that a large portion of the philosophical labours within the universities has, during the last third of the century, been directed against the pernicious effects of a popular philosophy influenced and inspired by otherwise, and deservedly, celebrated names, such as Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Haeckel.

44. Feuerbach and Comte compared.

I have pointed out in an earlier chapter how the disintegration of philosophical systems, the contradictory conclusions which were drawn from apparently identical premises, led to an abandonment of the central philosophical problems, to a distaste for metaphysics: further, how a new line of research and study took its place under the name of the Theory of Knowledge or Epistemology—a genuine outcome of the critical spirit as it lived in Kant's philosophy. We have now to note a still more important consequence of this disintegration of systems, of this collapse of metaphysics.

45. Revival of ethical studies.

This was the gradual revival of ethical studies in the narrower and more practical sense of the word. As in antiquity the larger and more comprehensive metaphysical systems of Plato and Aristotle were followed by the ethical speculations of the Stoics and Epicureans where the problem of the Good, of the *summum bonum*, was pushed into the foreground, so it has again happened in recent times that when the foundations of knowledge became shaken, the principles of action attracted once more the attention of foremost thinkers. With this difference however: that whereas during the decline of classical culture the problem seemed to be how, amidst the disturbance of external political and social events, the secluded thinker could preserve his moral dignity and philosophic calm, in modern times the teachers of philosophy have more and more realised that, amidst the collapse of creeds and systems it must be their task to provide a firm foundation, not so much for private morality as for the reconstruction of society and the enlightenment of the masses.

I have also pointed out, on several occasions, that the great forward movement which began in Germany during the second half of the eighteenth century and has continued up to recent times, started from two independent beginnings, which we may define as the higher educational movement emanating mainly from the north of Germany with its ideal of classical and humanistic studies and culture, and the popular educational movement which started in Switzerland under the influence of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and their followers. Its foundation was not classical studies, but a simple and enlightened Christian belief which allied itself with realistic rather than classical teaching.

When, in the course of the nineteenth century, owing to the critical spirit on the one side and to political and ecclesiastical controversies on the other, the religious foundation of popular education became shaken, it was felt by many that moral teaching and discipline not only among the higher, but also among the lower classes, should be placed on an independent basis, that the ideas of right and wrong, of justice and of moral dignity, must be saved from a disintegration and internal conflict such as had been the fate of religious and intellectual creeds alike. And to force this still more strongly upon the teachers of the younger generation, a real danger seemed to present itself in the growing influence of that extramural philosophy to which I referred above. For there had crept in, mainly through the philosophy of Schopenhauer, the spirit of pessimism. The optimism which formed so distinguishing a feature of German philosophy since

the time of Leibniz, and had been heightened by the productiveness of art and literature during the classical period and the enthusiasm of the anti-Napoleonic revolt, had been followed by widespread discouragement and indifference which prepared many youthful minds for a pessimistic view of life and its goods. This view found a speculative formula and brilliant exposition in the systems of Schopenhauer and von Hartmann. The writings of the former had been before the world for more than forty years. The time seemed now to have arrived for an appreciation of ideas which were quite foreign to the spirit of the classical period, but which were not unfamiliar to the leaders of a section of the opposition literature, such as had sprung up, all over Europe, as a consequence of the Revolution and the subsequent reaction, with the celebrated names of Byron in England, de Musset in France, Leopardi in Italy, and Heinrich Heine in Germany.

Feuerbach had already clearly recognised that it was the practical and not the metaphysical problem which was most pressing, — questions which interested the masses even more than the educated classes. But his whole literary activity moved too much on the purely destructive side and, like a great deal of the literature of the day, was too easily satisfied with mere outlines, with sketchy programmes of the creed of the future, to yield any positive gain. Consistent constructive efforts dealing with the many difficulties in the working out of the various schemes were to be found chiefly among writers who still maintained the ground of traditional belief. Of the latter, who belong mostly to the school

of Schleiermacher, I shall have to say more in the sequel.

Of philosophers who stood upon independent or, as it is frequently termed, purely scientific ground, there are before the middle of the century only two or at most three names to be mentioned who seriously and systematically attacked the problems of moral philosophy; these were Fries, Beneke, but more than any other, Herbart. We need not linger over Fries, although he formed to a certain extent a school of his own, nor over Beneke, though he was the first who possessed and introduced an adequate knowledge of the labours of English psychologists and moral philosophers. His writings had little influence at the time and received due appreciation much later. Herbart is a much more important name in what we may term the reform of ethical philosophy in Germany. He had the merit of introducing into German philosophical thought a line of reasoning which was not unfamiliar to some of the moralists in this country, but for which he was the first to coin a distinctive term, through which this special way of attacking the moral problem has found currency in recent ethical treatises, not only in Germany, but also in England and other countries. He maintained that ethics had to deal with judgments of value, not with judgments of fact. In doing this, he perpetuated, though in a different form, the dualism which existed already in Kant's philosophy between theoretical and practical reason. He separated ethics completely from metaphysics, and opposed all attempts, suggested by Kant himself, and still more by his

46. Herbart.

successors, to give to morality a metaphysical foundation, to absorb ethics in metaphysics, or to neglect it altogether, which, as it seemed to him, meant to misunderstand fundamentally the ethical problem.

47. Lotze's doctrine of values.

Herbart did not do much to elaborate this fruitful and, to a considerable extent, novel aspect. It was elaborated by a thinker who for some time was counted among the disciples of Herbart, but who distinctly repudiated this honour, though much of his thought recalls the influence both of Herbart and Leibniz. This thinker was Hermann Lotze, in whose system the conception of value or worth assumed a commanding position and received a definite expression. To this I have had occasion to refer already in the last chapter, in dealing with the problem of the Beautiful.[1] Lotze did not confine himself, as Herbart did, to a registration of our æsthetical or ethical judgments of value, he gave to the conception of value a place in his metaphysical system, differing in this fundamentally from Herbart; he maintained that by the human mind the actual world is comprehended by contemplating it from three logically independent aspects, which in experience and practice are intricately interwoven: the world of facts or things, the world of laws or relations, and the world of values or worths. Although subsequent speculation has not, either in Germany or in this country, adopted verbatim this formula of Lotze's, there is no doubt that, as in many other respects, modern thought in both countries is knowingly or unknowingly indebted to Lotze for a special expression and revival of the

[1] See *supra*, p. 64 *sqq.*

Platonic idea: that there exists an independent and higher reality which may be most adequately defined as the region of values, the realm of Goods or of 'The Good.'

48. Metaphysics based on ethics.

In his earliest writings, Lotze had already made the idea of the Good the ultimate thought of his metaphysics; not, however, as if it were a logical outcome of metaphysical reasoning, but rather as the necessary presupposition, as the *prius* which we must place at the entrance and uphold as the background of all speculation. It not only, according to him, denotes the end towards which the world-process tends; it also forms the only conception through which we can, to some extent, comprehend and interpret this process itself,—it comes even before Truth. "Truth is not the *prius*, but depends upon this, that the realm of the Good produces it as a necessary condition alike in its existence and its definition."[1] The key to the world of things that *are*, is the conception of that which *ought to be*. Thus the beginning of metaphysics does not lie in metaphysics itself, but in Ethics.[2] This view expressed in the year 1841 was repeated by Lotze nearly forty years later, in the second part of his system. Students of Lotze's philosophy must regret that he was prevented from writing the concluding volume. There they might have hoped to find what indeed is missing—

[1] 'Metaphysik' (1841, p. 328).

[2] Ibid. (p. 329). It is significant that in this connection Lotze points to a task which has always been prominently before thinkers in this country, and which is characteristic of some of their most recent work. Excusing the aphoristic statement of his views he maintains "that psychology with its mystery of the Self and the unity of its movements must lead to more perfect clearing up."

viz., a more detailed definition of what this ethical conception, the Good, really is; for it is not philosophically satisfactory to be merely referred, for the solution of all the higher problems, to a conception expressed by a word which has so many unreconciled meanings: not even in the face of the fact that it has served as an ideal which has governed through thousands of years the speculations of thinkers and the efforts of practical reformers alike, without ever having received a clear definition. This latter task is exactly what thinkers not only in Germany but still more in this country, and latterly also in France, have set themselves to perform, and this not only as a scientific problem but as a growing practical desideratum of the thought and culture of the age. To this age with its more practical tendencies Lotze did not belong; he still remained with one foot in the purely speculative, or as Germans would say, the purely scientific age of philosophical thought, and spent many years of his life, partly in refuting the errors of scientific materialism, partly in saving from complete loss the great inheritance of the idealistic systems of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. The moral danger to society which lurked not so much in scientific as in commercial materialism and in pessimism became glaringly visible only when Lotze was half through his academic career. After the death of Schopenhauer in the year 1860 the writings of this thinker and those of Hartmann and later of Nietzsche became for a time the all-absorbing subject of popular philosophical interest. This explains why the philosophy of Lotze has remained more in the

background than that of many other recent thinkers who, though much inferior to him in subtlety and originality of thought, have more directly and straightforwardly attacked the burning problems of the age. The history of philosophical thought, however, must recognise in his many-sided speculations and discussions, not only the first comprehensive application of the critical principle to all the great and abiding philosophical problems, but also the first distinct evidence of that philosophical tendency of our age which has, under the modern watchwords of voluntarism and pragmatism, notified its break with the more contemplative and abstract philosophy of the past. Modern thought is fully realising what was only suggested by Lotze, that Ethics must precede Metaphysics, that the practical problem is more important than the theoretical, that it has in fact been solved to a large extent by anticipation in the existing codes of practical morality. The genesis and history of these must, according to one largely prevailing notion, be made the basis of all theoretical reasoning on the subject; a definite ethical creed or conviction must, according to another view, stand at the entry of all useful speculation.

49. Evidence of recent tendencies.

This conviction that Practical Reason or the Will, as Kant had already stated and Fichte more strongly urged, is the primary factor, not only in human culture, but likewise in abstract thought, was put forward also by Schopenhauer, though from a different point of view and with very different logical consequences. There is also no doubt that Schopenhauer's philosophy was much influenced by Fichte, although he himself would

50. Schopenhauer's doctrine of the primacy of the Will.

not fully admit this. But the fact that Schopenhauer in the title of his principal work placed the Will before the Intellect, shows his antagonism to the one-sided intellectualism or panlogism of Hegel, and marks an important feature in the change which has come over philosophical speculation during the last fifty years, a change which may be defined as the temporary abandonment of metaphysics and the disintegration of systematic philosophy in favour of separate pursuits, which, under the names of Psychology, Theory of Knowledge, Ethics, and Anthropology, are tending to establish themselves as independent sciences, attacking by separate methods the various problems into which the great world-problem has been broken up. Among these, Anthropology has received great attention through another influence which made itself felt about the time when the "Will-philosophy" of Schopenhauer, with its special pessimistic inferences, first attracted popular attention. And in general it may be admitted that this new and suggestive line of research, opened out from an entirely unexpected quarter, did much good in counteracting the unhealthy and unfruitful attitude which the philosophy of pessimism would have still more largely produced, if it had been alone in the field. These remarks refer mainly to Germany, as it is only in that country that in recent times pessimism has commanded much attention and exerted a widespread influence on national thought. A similar danger hardly exists either in France or in England. In the former country it was not pessimism, but for a time indifferentism, that blighted philosophical speculation, whereas in this

country the philosophic mind has always restored its vigour by returning to the datum-line of common-sense.

The influence I refer to is the special expression and exact definition which the idea of development, long familiar to German thinkers, acquired through Darwin's 'Origin of Species,' and the support it received in Herbert Spencer's philosophy of Evolution. The principle of natural selection, suggested to Darwin by Malthus' 'Essay on the Principles of Population,' joined to the facts of variation and inheritance, was the spark which was to illuminate and give life to Spencer's long prepared system; it was to convert in Germany the vague indications contained in the writings of Leibniz, of Lessing and Herder, of Kant, Schelling, and Hegel, into useful formulæ which could guide research as much in the fields of nature as in those of history; it furnished a constructive principle and broke the one-sided and depressing rule of the purely critical spirit which was becoming more and more negative and unpromising. Thinkers in Germany who coined the name of Darwinism, with Ernst Haeckel at their head, infused a spirit of hopefulness and cheery confidence into German thought, and this operated in many instances as a wholesome and effective antidote to the deadening ravages of scepticism and pessimism; in fact it worked, though in a one-sided way, a restoration of faith in the powers of the human mind to attack afresh the eternal problems.

51. Darwinian evolution as a corrective of pessimism in Germany.

There were three principal features in Darwinism which influenced philosophical thought in Germany. The first was the study of the genesis of natural

things. It is true that in the sequel this turned out to be more a study of genealogies than of origins, of historical development than of beginnings. The second important feature was that phenomena were studied not in their isolation but in their 'Together,' great stress being laid upon environment. These two aspects through which—as I have shown in an earlier part of this work — Darwinism revolutionised the natural, and especially the biological sciences, were now pushed into the foreground in philosophical studies likewise; they had already characterised, though in a less defined manner, German philosophical thought, the historical view mainly under the influence of Hegel's philosophy, the notion of environment ever since Herder published his 'Ideas towards a History of Mankind.' Lotze had taken up this study in the most popular of his works, the 'Microcosmus,' significantly adding to the word History in the title of Herder's book, the word 'Natural' history. A third feature of Darwinism had a still more direct bearing upon ethical questions. Not only were human ideas conceived as having a history and development in time, further as being largely influenced by environment, but man was brought into a closer relation with the rest of animated nature. This was the third important point of view urged by the Darwinians.

52. Anthropology.

A considerable literature, all tending in the direction of Anthropology as complementary or opposed to Psychology, sprang up in the middle of the century in association with the names of I. H. Fichte, Waitz, Lazarus and Steinthal, Wundt, &c. About the same

time there also appeared in this country the important works of Tylor and Lubbock, which soon became known in Germany. The sense of perplexity which had come over students of the ethical problem seemed for a time relieved when a much larger field of research was opened out through these anthropological studies. To these was joined the new science of Sociology, created by Comte in France, the study of humanity or human society, in opposition to Psychology, the study of the individual human mind.

The general tendency of all these studies was to give a more emphatic meaning to the dictum of Hegel, that the Real is the Rational. But it had the further effect of toning down the rigour, of relaxing the discipline which had found expression in the Categorical Imperative of Kantian Ethics. In fact it became more and more difficult to explain, from the historical point of view, according to which everything was in a state of flux, the sense of duty, the facts of the moral conscience; still more the inviolability of a supreme moral law and order which could be followed or otherwise, constituting the difference between Good and Evil. Into the place of the sanctity and holiness of a moral order which could be realised or violated but not altered by free agents, there tended to slip the idea of a purely natural law and order, which could not be broken, and left no room for distinction and choice between good and evil. This meant the ultimate destruction of the conception of human freedom and human responsibility. Thus for the philosopher who would still uphold these conceptions there arose the task: to build up a

53. Antithesis between fixed moral ideals and the study of the genesis of morality.

system of morality on an independent basis, reconcilable with a purely biological, anthropological, or naturalistic point of view.

III.

54. Herbert Spencer.

The only consistent and comprehensive scheme which professed to solve this problem does not belong to German philosophy, but is the work of Herbert Spencer, who, prompted by social and political interests, made an attempt to work out the idea of evolution or development through all the different regions of nature and mind, of intellectual and moral life. To this task he brought uncommon power of penetration, of description and analysis, but also a remarkable self-reliance which permitted him to pursue the line of thought he had chosen without being disturbed by the arguments of other contemporary or earlier thinkers, most of whom he entirely neglected and refused to understand. It is not necessary here to dwell on the fundamental formulæ of his philosophy such as the persistence of force, the transition from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, his special doctrine of the unknowable, &c. All these would, to a large section of thinking readers, appear even more obscure and unintelligible than the fundamental conceptions of the Hegelian system, were it not for an abundance of illustrations and analogies drawn mostly from the biological sciences which, mainly through Darwin, were then flourishing with new vigour. On the other side,

poetical, artistic, and purely literary productiveness, by which Hegel's abstractions had been suggested and supported, had for the time being fallen into the background in this country as well as on the continent of Europe.

The fact that Herbert Spencer, as well as his forerunner John Stuart Mill, had been led from the study of social problems to that of Metaphysics and Ethics, was not only in harmony with the traditional spirit of English philosophy, but it also reacted powerfully upon moral philosophy itself. The latter has, as we have had ample opportunity to observe, always been a favourite and independent subject of speculation. At the same time another influence made itself felt in English thought: the influence of those very systems of German idealism which sprang from Kant, but which had apparently been abandoned by German thinkers. Several works written in an incisive spirit appeared about the time when Herbert Spencer was publishing the foundations of his system. Among these, two gave a great impetus to philosophical thought — namely, Mansel's Bampton Lectures on 'The Limits of Religious Thought' (1858), and Hutchison Stirling's 'The Secret of Hegel' (1865). The former renewed attention to the philosophy of Kant which had so far affected English thought mainly in the interpretation of Sir William Hamilton; the latter inaugurated an appreciative and long-continued study of Hegel's writings at a time when they were wellnigh forgotten in Germany.

55. Influence in England of Kant.

It was recognised by some of the foremost thinkers

of the day in this country that the philosophy of Kant as well as that of Hegel deserved to be appreciatively studied, and that no progress could be expected in philosophical speculation without understanding, assimilating or disposing of, the position taken up by these two thinkers who formed the beginning and the consummation of a special line of criticism and construction. Little attention was given to the intermediary stages of thought represented by Fichte and Schelling, nor did Schopenhauer's writings attract any attention in this country before they had produced abroad that elaborate literature of pessimism which was a prominent but perhaps not the most important outcome of his philosophy.

56. T. H. Green and Ed. Caird.

The thinkers to whom we are most indebted for an independent and stimulating account of Kant and Hegel are Thomas Hill Green, who published his Introduction to Hume's 'Treatise of Human Nature' in 1874, and Edward Caird, who brought out his first work on Kant in 1877 (it was followed by a larger work in two volumes in 1889). To followers of Green we are also indebted for translations and expositions of most of the principal works of Hegel.[1] It is characteristic of Green that his principal work, posthumously published in 1883, the 'Prolegomena to Ethics,' betrays again

[1] In 1874 there appeared the 'Logic' of Hegel, translated by William Wallace; a new edition in two volumes included 'Prolegomena to the Study of Hegel' (1892-94). From 1886 dates 'Introduction to Hegel's Philosophy of Fine Art,' by Bernard Bosanquet. The 'History of Philosophy' was translated by Miss E. S. Haldane in 1892. Other works are: Hegel's 'Philosophy of Mind,' with introductory Essays by Wallace (1894); Hegel's Lectures on 'Philosophy of Religion,' translated by Spiers and Sanderson (3 vols., 1895); Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right,' translated by Dyde (1896); lastly, the 'Phenomenology of Mind,' translated by Baillie (2 vols., 1910).

the ethical interest prominent in all the best English thought.

57. Green and Lotze.

Students of Lotze's philosophy, when taking up the writings of Green, will be struck by a certain resemblance, especially in the metaphysical section of the 'Prolegomena.' This resemblance exists also as regards certain forms of expression used by both writers—such, for instance, as the definition of Reality as a system of relations.[1] To what extent—if at all—Green was in-

[1] Three thinkers, though probably none of them of the very first order, have nevertheless the merit of having thrown into the mass of philosophical thought, which in their time had become somewhat stagnant, a ferment which produced new life. All three belong to what we may term the transition period of nineteenth-century thought, or, borrowing a term of Niebuhr's, to the *vorbereitende Zeit*. They are Hermann Lotze (1817-1881) in Germany, Jules Lachelier (1832-1875) in France, and Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882) at Oxford. Of these, only Lotze has attained to what may be termed a European reputation, having produced, as we have seen, some standard works; but in personal influence on a large number of gifted disciples Lachelier and Green far surpassed Lotze, whose attitude was extremely reserved and whose influence has only slowly and gradually grown. All three have certain traits of resemblance; to begin with, they take up the same position to the Kantian philosophy, they discard the doctrine of the 'Thing in itself' or the Noumenon as put forward by Kant and in a cruder form by the earlier Kantian school. With Lotze and Lachelier this means an approximation to the position of Leibniz; with Green an approximation to that of Berkeley. All three are conspicuous in reviving or perpetuating the study of metaphysics in an age and in surroundings which discouraged and denounced it; but in Lotze and Green this metaphysical tendency has a distinct connection with the ethical interest, with this difference, however, that apparently for Lotze an ethical conviction should precede metaphysics; whereas for Green the ethical problem cannot be solved without a preliminary metaphysical discussion. The ethical bearing of the metaphysical position taken up by all three alike is not to be found in Lachelier's own scanty writings (see *supra*, vol. iii. p. 620); but those who followed or were influenced by him have, in more recent times, devoted increasing attention to the ethical problem. With Green and Lotze alike there is in addition a distinctly religious interest, taking this term in a broad and liberal sense. They both relied on convictions gained early in life and maintained in all their later utterances. This in Lotze's case is very evident from the personal explanations contained in his 'Streitschriften' (1857); and, as to Green, it is clearly brought out by R. L. Nettleship's valuable "Memoir" prefixed to the third volume of Green's 'Collected

fluenced by Lotze has not been cleared up by his critics and biographers. It is, however, more likely that both thinkers were influenced by the same study, that of the writings of Kant and Hegel,—that in fact Green arrived independently at certain conclusions through which the apparent resemblance with Lotze was brought about.[1] The resemblance moreover which is, *prima vista*, so striking turns out to be somewhat external as soon as we become more intimately acquainted with the whole tenor of Green's thought, with the genesis as well as with the purport of his speculations. His whole position in distinction from that of Lotze may, it seems to me, be expressed as follows: Green was one of the first thinkers in this country who felt the necessity of arriving at a reasoned creed at a time

Works' (1891). Instead of dwelling further upon the resemblance of Lotze and Green in this respect, I confine myself to translating a passage from Lotze (*loc. cit.*, p. 57) which, it seems to me, might be applicable likewise to Green's frame of thought: "I know only one content of the Highest, and this, expressed in the form of human thought, is the complex of our moral ideas joined to an enjoyment of their worth: the combined conception of holiness and blessedness. I know only one form of existence which is adequate to this content; that of a personal Deity from the clear image of which I should like carefully to remove every mystery, the interest of which would attach merely to its obscurity. Out of the content of this conception alone I should desire to deduce also that formal necessity of a general and absolutely valid complex of laws which governs the world, not as a limit imposed upon the activity of God . . . but as His self-chosen and eternal foundation for the manifestation of His essence in finite form; . . . giving to His activity an unalterable law of inner consistency."

[1] Both thinkers were also confronted with the philosophy of naturalism: Lotze in the earlier form which it presented in the writings of German materialists, Green in the later and more modern form which it assumed notably in the writings of Herbert Spencer. The formula with which the materialism combated by Lotze worked was purely mechanical and chemical: matter and force and the transformation of energy. The naturalism which Green combated was that which he conceived to have been more logically stated long before in the writings of Hume.

when thinkers of an entirely different school, such as Spencer and Lewes, realised the same want. It is highly interesting and significant to see how this growing want was experienced not only by thinkers who, like Mill, Spencer, and Lewes, had been early liberated from the influence of the existing religious solution of the world-problem, but also by a thinker like Green, who, as it appears, never seriously doubted the truth of what we may call Christian metaphysics, but revolted only against the intolerant and uncompromising manner in which they were expressed in orthodox literature. He recognised that a time was coming when even the genuine believer would desire that his religious convictions be brought into harmony with the results gained by independent and unfettered research in the regions of science and history.

Now I have had frequent occasion to remark that this necessity had been felt on the Continent ever since the time of the Reformation, also that the great systems of German idealism never actually broke with the Christian doctrine but only desired to interpret it philosophically, to arrive at its real purport and deeper meaning. It is therefore natural that Green found himself attracted by prominent thinkers of that school, notably by Kant and Hegel,[1] and that he searched, with

[1] "We hardly need to read between the lines in order to see the prominence of the moral interest in all that Green wrote; and it was after he had shown the inadequacy of the empirical method, in the hands of Hume, to give any criterion or ideal for conduct, that he made his significant appeal to 'Englishmen under five-and-twenty' to leave the anachronistic systems hitherto prevalent amongst us and take up the 'study of Kant and Hegel.' His call to speculation has been widely responded to." (W. R. Sorley, 'Recent Tendencies in Ethics,' 1904, p. 123.)

their help and guidance, after a metaphysical foundation for his religious and moral convictions. Thus we find that he started, as Kant did, with the study and refutation of Hume's doubts, and that, in the 'Prolegomena,' he founded the solution of the ethical problem on a metaphysical basis.

If we now look at Lotze's attitude we find externally some similarity, inasmuch as Lotze published various treatises on Metaphysics, Logic, and Psychology before he ventured on a treatment of the central philosophical problem which to him presented itself as the problem of the "Connection of Things," not as the specially ethical problem, which, in fact, was never adequately discussed by him. But if we regard more closely Lotze's position, we really find that he had advanced a step beyond the position taken up by German idealism, that he had in fact arrived at the conviction suggested already by Kant and still more by Fichte, that a firm moral conviction must precede metaphysical inquiry, that Ethics or a moral conviction is not a conclusion to be drawn from theory, but that it is the *sine qua non* of such a theory itself that, as he expresses it, the world that *is* must find its interpretation, its *raison d'être*, in the world that *ought* to be. I need only further point out that a similar step beyond the position of Green has been taken up in English speculation since his time.[1]

[1] "There is one thing which all reasoning about morality assumes and must assume, and that is morality itself. The moral concept—whether described as Worth, or as duty or as goodness—cannot be distilled out of any knowledge about the laws of existence or of occurrence. Nor will speculation about the real conditions of experience yield it unless adequate recognition be first of all given to the fact that the experience which is the subject-matter of philosophy is not merely a sensuous and thinking, but also a moral, experience. The approval of the good, the disapproval of the evil, and the preference of the better; these would seem to be basal facts for an adequate philosophical theory." (Sorley, *loc. cit.*, p. 131.)

Green's writings, though not voluminous, gave a great stimulus to philosophical thought in this country, especially to Ethical studies,[1] in fact they formed for a time quite as important a feature as Herbert Spencer's philosophy of Evolution. Both were to the English mind thoroughly original and modern: they were modern in this respect, that they both assimilated and gave a distinctive expression to the idea of development. Both systems had also this in common, that they attacked the burning problems of the age and that they stimulated their disciples to take a prominent part in the furtherance of practical aims and ends; both thinkers had abandoned the purely contemplative position occupied by some of the leading thinkers on the Continent, neither of them had any appreciation for the quietism, still less for the pessimism, which was then becoming a prominent feature of philosophical thought in Germany. The difference between the two English schools, represented by Green on the one side and Spencer on the other, was this, that the Ethical problem was identified by the former with the progress of the individual, the idea of consciousness or personality being the central and leading idea of its metaphysics as well as of its

58. Green and Spencer.

[1] One of the earliest fruits of the new spirit was F. H. Bradley's 'Ethical Studies' (1876), in which the definition of morality, as equivalent to self-realisation, also used by Green, is prominently put forward in comparison with other definitions. These brilliant Essays, though the teaching contained therein differs materially from the author's later doctrine, are nevertheless a landmark in modern British ethical philosophy second only in importance and in the interest they created to Sidgwick's 'Methods of Ethics,' the first edition of which appeared in 1874.

ethics. On the other hand, the central idea with Spencer as with Comte and the utilitarians before him, was the welfare of human society, its progress towards a greater common good or general happiness and the obligations which this end imposed upon individual members; though Spencer also insisted on the rights of the individual, which with him remained prior to the society of which it is the unit. If with the latter school the dominant thought was the end to be attained which the study of nature and history alike helps us to define, the great event which casts its shadow before; with the former it was the perfect personality of the Divine Spirit which stood at the beginning; it was the sustaining ground of everything, the principle which was realising itself by an endless process in the gradual development of finite human minds towards fuller consciousness and more perfect personality. The idealists were, at the same time, too much interested and impressed by the social and political reforms which had emanated from the utilitarian school to confine themselves as much to individual ethics as had been the case with many of the leading German thinkers; this circumstance may explain why they were specially attracted by Hegel, whose ethics, though not embracing sociology, moved more in the region of objective morality (culture, society, and the State), and why the writings of Lotze, in which this interest never made itself prominently felt, did not fully satisfy the speculative need of his English readers. These might perhaps have found what they looked for in the writings of Fichte and Schleiermacher, had it not

been that these two eminent thinkers were too much enveloped, the first in the political, the second in the literary and ecclesiastical atmosphere of their age and country,—conditions which have never been adequately understood in England. A similar fate, for similar reasons, has fallen *vice versa* upon the works of Butler in Germany.

The defect of the utilitarian school, that it attached a one-sided importance to social ethics, neglecting somewhat the problem of the individual moral character, was, however, soon to be exposed and to some extent remedied by the appearance of a treatise which may be considered as marking an era in ethical thought. It not only attracted the attention of thinkers of the most different schools in this country, but likewise that of thinkers abroad. It is perhaps not too much to say that next to the 'Critique' of Kant, it is the most important ethical treatise of modern times, and that no student of this subject can afford to ignore it. This is Henry Sidgwick's 'Methods of Ethics.' It appeared in 1874, and has run in twenty-seven years through six large editions, marked by important additions and modifications. It took some time before the contents of this book were sufficiently understood, before representatives of the various schools were able to take up a definite position to it or to answer for themselves the different questions which it put before them. For it was less by any constructive effort towards solution than by dividing the ethical problem into its different aspects and clearly defining them, that it has secured and maintained its

59. Sidgwick's 'Methods of Ethics.'

influence on British thought and that its importance is also being gradually recognised on the Continent.[1]

60. Sidgwick and Lotze.

While recognising the importance of the 'Methods of Ethics' for English thought, those of us who know about Continental philosophy cannot help being again struck by the similarity of the position of Lotze's writings in German thought; bearing in mind, however, the characteristic difference, that German thought, in spite of temporary fluctuations, always gravitates towards the metaphysical problem, whereas English thought always gravitates towards the ethical problem. But both

[1] The 'Methods of Ethics' presents as much difficulty to the beginner as Kant's First Critique must have presented a hundred years earlier, but for very different reasons. Sidgwick's Treatise is infinitely superior to Kant's in point of style and clarity of exposition. Every sentence is clear in itself and leaves little room for doubt as to the author's exact meaning. Yet it is difficult to arrive at a definite final conclusion, as indeed the author himself admits that the conclusion is not to him satisfactory but requires a further discussion. But he "published nothing expressly treating of the ultimate problems which always occupied his mind. He perhaps felt that he had no definite help to give to the solution of the final difficulty suggested in the conclusion of the 'Ethics,' or hoped that he might be able to utter his convictions more fully . . . if not by offering a full answer to his doubts, yet by indicating the best method of approximating to such a result" (Leslie Stephen in 'Mind,' N.S., vol. x. p. 16). As to Kant, it is not too much to say that most sentences in the First Critique require to be read over and over again, and that even then many remain hopelessly obscure. But on the other side he crystallised his views in certain watchwords easily caught up by his disciples and strung together in an impressive manner though by no means always expressive of the deeper meaning of the master. The 'Methods of Ethics,' however, have become in course of years much more accessible through friendly and opposed criticism, through the Prefaces to the later editions, notably through the 'Brief History of the development in his thought of the ethical view which he [Sidgwick] has set forth,' published by Miss E. E. C. Jones in the Preface to the 6th (posthumous) edition, 1901. I may also refer to Leslie Stephen's Obituary Notice just quoted, and Prof. Jas. Seth's Article in the same volume of 'Mind' (p. 172 *sqq.*) A very useful treatise on 'Sidgwick's Ethical Philosophy' has been published by F. H. Hayward (1901). It contains a complete literature of what had been published by Sidgwick himself or by his critics up to that date.

thinkers—Lotze a generation earlier than Sidgwick—recognised the necessity of a minute investigation of the existing and frequently conflicting trains of reasoning supplied by different schools of thought as well as by common-sense. Both thinkers, though not sceptics in the current sense of the term, were sceptical in so far as they entertained but small faith in the capacities of the human mind to solve the fundamental philosophical problem as this presented itself to them.[1] Both attached much value to faithfulness in detail and to appreciative criticism: both also agreed in this, that they opposed the exaggerated pretensions of the historical and critical schools of philosophy; that to them an account of the history, genesis or origin of existing notions, even if it could be correctly given, furnished no clue for deciding the correctness or otherwise of such notions; for in fact statements of being and becoming cannot furnish reasons for that which ought to be. Lotze on his side, as we have seen, found the key to the understanding of what is and has been, in that which ought to be; whereas Sidgwick maintains that it is quite illegitimate to infer that a moral judgment is valid because it exists, because it is original or innate in the individual, or to discredit it because it is evolved. Thus he maintained that we cannot get behind our ultimate intuitions; something among these must be accepted though unproved. From their respective positions both thinkers likewise object to the main drift of the critical philosophy—viz., that before starting to reason, the

[1] "On the whole I harbour only very modest expectations as to the power of human thought to solve these problems completely" (Lotze. 'Streitschriften,' 1857, p. 58).

mind should investigate the extent and validity of its own reasoning powers. To get out of the dilemma, Lotze reverts to a conviction of the ultimate truth underlying the whole of the idealistic philosophy of Germany, the reality of Spirit to which he gives, with Plato, the ethical character of the Good. Sidgwick on the other side inclines more towards the position of common-sense, of experience, a position taken up before him both by Reid and Butler.[1]

There is a third point upon which we find an agreement between Lotze and Sidgwick, though the idea is differently expressed. Lotze cannot conceive the beginning and centre of all human action to be anything else than something which affects the individual soul, filling it with interest and joy or the reverse. Sidgwick's criticism of different ethical theories leads him back to the Self, to what must still be called Hedonism, but a Hedonism made "universalistic" as distinguished from "egoistic" by the intuition that its being achieved by this rather than that person makes no difference to the value of the end in itself: the moral process seeming to consist in removing the centre of interest from the narrow field of the moment and the individual, to a prospective and wider field of social interests. Through this reconciliation of the intuitional and utilitarian positions Sidgwick seems to have criticised, as well as done justice to, two distinct and important lines of ethical thought in this country, which before him appeared to be irreconcilable,—the intuitional or personal and the utilitarian or social systems.

[1] But Prof. Seth points out that Sidgwick's "attitude to common-sense must he carefully distinguished from that of the Scottish School, which refuses to go behind the explicit statements of common-sense or to systematise these statements by reducing them to their ultimate presuppositions. In Sidgwick's own terminology, the true attitude to the intuitions of the ordinary conscience is not the dogmatic, but the philosophical attitude" (*loc. cit.*, p. 175). This reminds one of Lotze's definition of the formal task of philosophy as quoted at length, *supra*, vol. i. p. 65, n., and frequently referred to in subsequent passages of this History.

61. Do not sufficiently appreciate Evolution.

Both Lotze and Sidgwick, consistently with the limited importance they attach to the historical method for the solution of fundamental philosophical problems, do not show in their writings that extreme appreciation of the theory of Evolution, especially in its Darwinian form, which has become popular in Germany as well as in England; both thinkers may therefore be termed pre-evolutionary. Although Lotze lived and wrote for twenty years after the appearance of the 'Origin of Species,' it cannot be said that he did full justice to the philosophical ideas contained in it, or that he realised the important part which these ideas were going to play in modern thought. Sidgwick's main treatise was published fifteen years after the appearance of Darwin's work, but it was only in preparing the second edition that he became aware of not having taken sufficient note of the importance of the theory of Evolution. We therefore look in vain for a full statement and adequate criticism of the Ethics of Evolution either in Lotze or in Sidgwick. So far as the former is concerned, the very fact that he never dealt adequately either with the ethical problem in detail, or with the most recent version of ethics, explains to a great extent why his writings have fallen temporarily into the background and behind the interests of the age. On the other side, Sidgwick's

treatise certainly stimulated the followers of Evolution to elaborate more fully the ethical bearings of their creed, whilst opponents prepared a fuller criticism of what they termed the Ethics of Naturalism, meaning by this denomination the peculiar development and amplification which utilitarian Ethics had received by assimilating the aspect of Evolution. The first or constructive task was performed on a large scale by the philosopher of Evolution himself, Herbert Spencer; the second or critical task has been taken in hand by several thinkers who came under the direct personal influence of Sidgwick as well as of his writings. Their work is by no means completed; I confine myself to mentioning Professor Sorley's 'Ethics of Naturalism' (1885, second edition 1904)[1]

[1] To this must be added three Lectures delivered by Professor Sorley at Cambridge in 1904, entitled 'Recent Tendencies in Ethics,' dealing mainly with the ethical views of Nietzsche in Germany, of Darwin and Spencer and of Green and Bradley in this country. A significant remark is made in the introductory pages of the first Lecture. Contrasting the ethical question of to-day with the same ethical question as conceived by earlier thinkers in the course of the nineteenth century especially in this country, Prof. Sorley lays it down as a fact "that the ethical question is no longer so purely an academic question as it was some years ago" (p. 13). As I have had occasion to state repeatedly in this and former chapters, the idealistic philosophers in Germany had no intention to combat or change the existing ethical and religious doctrines traditionally handed down, but rather to understand, to rationalise, or to spiritualise them. So also Prof. Sorley refers to "the large amount of agreement between the two [earlier prevailing] schools regarding the content of morality. The Utilitarians no more than the Intuitionists were opponents of the traditional—as we may call it—the Christian morality of modern civilisation" (p. 7). The change is shown by a growing alarm, abroad even more than in this country, that practical morality itself is really in danger. This apprehension is certainly most distinctly alive in France, as I shall have opportunity to show later on. It contrasts markedly with what, as late as 1878, Mr Balfour stated—but could hardly repeat to-day: "Ethics is a subject which has suffered a somewhat singular fate; for whereas on its practical side there has been a more perfect agreement about it than about any other important branch of human knowledge, on its speculative side it has been, and still is, the centre of apparently endless controversy—the subject of every species of confusion" ('Mind,' vol. iii., 1878, p. 67). And about the same time Huxley ('Nineteenth Century,' vol. i., 1877, p. 539) could state: "For my part I do not for one moment admit that morality is not strong enough to hold its own. But if it is demonstrated to me that I am wrong, and that without this or that theological dogma the human race will lapse into bipedal cattle, more brutal than the beasts by the measure of their greater cleverness, my next question is to ask for the proof of the truth of the dogma. If this proof is forthcoming, it is my conviction that no drowning sailor ever clutched a hencoop more tenaciously than mankind will hold by such dogma, whatever it may be. But if not, then I verily believe that the human race will go its evil way; and my only consolation lies in the reflection that, however bad our posterity may become, so long as they hold by the plain rule of not pretending to believe what they have no reason to believe because it may be to their advantage so to pretend, they will not have reached the lowest depths of immorality."

[1] A second series, less critical and more constructive, has appeared in 1911, under the title 'Pluralism and Theism.' I shall have an opportunity of referring to these Lectures, which are not exclusively occupied with the ethical problem, in a later chapter which will deal with recent attempts in the direction of systematic philosophy.

and Professor James Ward's "Gifford Lectures" ('Naturalism and Agnosticism,' 1899).[1]

62. Spencer's acknowledged disappointment.

The positive outcome of Herbert Spencer's application of the canons of the Philosophy of Evolution to the ethical problem is characteristically and candidly expressed by himself when he confesses that Evolution has not furnished for Ethics the results which he had hoped.[2] A similar failure of the mechanical theory to explain the phenomena of life was admitted by him after the revision of his 'Principles of Biology' and referred to in a characteristic statement.[3] There are

[2] 'Principles of Ethics' (vol. ii., 1893, Pref.): "Right regulation of the axioms of so complex a being as man, living under conditions so complex as those presented by Society, evidently forms a subject-matter unlikely to admit of definite conclusions throughout its entire range." Prof. Sorley in quoting this passage remarks that "the lack of confidence which the author [Spencer] himself felt . . . there is good reason to extend to the whole structure of evolutionary ethics" ('Recent Tendencies, &c.,' p. 123).

[3] Referring to Prof. Japp's and Pasteur's opinions on 'Stereo-Chemistry and Vitalism,' discussed in 'Nature' (Oct. 1898), Herbert Spencer concludes his remarks: "My own belief is that neither interpretation [the physico-chemical or that of Prof. Japp] is adequate. A recently issued, revised, and enlarged edition of the first volume of the 'Principles of Biology' con-

also indications in the writings of Mill as well as in those of Spencer, that he was not unaware of the insufficiency of what we may now term the purely naturalistic or mechanical view of things; both thinkers somewhat vaguely recognised the existence of an agency for which they could find no room or no name in their systems, an agency which thinkers of a different school regard as fundamental, and introduce from the start under the designation of Mind, Spirit, or some cognate expression. What Spencer merely hints at is more clearly stated by Professor Sorley in the concluding pages of his book, as a result of a careful analysis and criticism of the older utilitarian and the more recent evolutionist forms of the Ethics of Naturalism. The great advance which the latter form marks in comparison with its predecessor is that it puts in the place of statical or fixed conceptions the dynamical conditions and conceptions of progress and development, thus giving in many ways a better account of the movements in nature and human society. But this advantage of being better able to understand the changes which have taken place and are still taking place around us, is to a great extent balanced by the inability of all evolutionary theories to arrive at a definite standard, be it for our estimation of human action or for the definition of the *summum bonum*, the Good. We may perhaps look on with indifference or with resignation at the destruction of the hope and faith in some ultimate truth which animated

tains a chapter on the "Dynamical Element in Life," in which I have contended that the theory of a vital principle fails and that the physico-chemical theory also fails; the corollary being that in its ultimate nature Life is incomprehensible" ('Nature,' 20th Oct. 1898).

the earlier philosophies, both of Nature and of Mind, admitting that research in both regions can neither find a beginning nor define an end which is not subject to doubt, that its correctness is merely a question of method; we may be able to lower the ideal of truth, from being a definite axiom with which we start, or an end which we reach, to that of being merely a correct process of thought; but we cannot, without the risk of losing all hold and support, give up the belief in the existence of a supreme and unalterable moral standard, from which we are able to judge the value of actions, the motives as well as the aims of human conduct. It seems contrary to human nature to rest content in the region of practice with a fluctuating and merely temporary rule, however much modern science and modern philosophy have combined in shaking our faith in the capacities of the human intellect to arrive at any permanently truthful statement of ultimate facts. The modern definition of scientific or philosophical truth, as consisting merely in the correct method or in the logical consistency of ideas, has in fact made science, in the wider sense of the word, apparently incapable of affording a foundation for morality, of formulating a creed that can deal adequately with the principles of action. To express it in other words, we may say that science in the larger sense of the term has gained, in the course of the nineteenth century, very largely in ideas and aspects, in canons and methods of thought, but that it has, in proportion, lost its older axioms as well as its ideals: the fixed foundation on which to build and the fixed end to be kept in view. But these two data form

the *sine qua non* of morality, of ethics and all practical philosophy.

63. Mill and Huxley on the cosmic process.

So far as the ethics of naturalism are concerned, the processes of nature, as conceived by the older utilitarian school, were condemned already by Mill as ethically insufficient; and as conceived by the modern evolutionist school they have been still more drastically condemned by Huxley, who says: "The practice of that which is ethically best—what we call goodness or virtue—involves a course of conduct which, in all respects, is opposed to that which leads to success in the cosmic struggle for existence. . . . The ethical progress of society depends, not on imitating the cosmic process, still less in running away from it, but in combating it;" [1] or, as Huxley's position has been paraphrased by Sorley: "The cosmic order has nothing to say to the moral order, except that, somehow or other, it has given it birth; the moral order has nothing to say to the cosmic order, except that it is certainly bad." [2]

64. Hypothetical Idealism.

Professor Sorley has, at the end of his 'Ethics of Naturalism,' suggested that the facts brought out by the sciences of natural as well as of mental evolution, leave room for, though they may not demonstrate, an idealistic interpretation, seeing in the history of nature as well as in that of mind the existence of a definite purpose. He does not attempt a justification of such a view, but merely remarks "that it enables us to avoid both the fruitless efforts of the naturalists to derive an ethical doctrine from the history of development, and the antagonistic view, urged by Huxley, that the cosmic and moral orders are in hopeless conflict. It avoids the latter view because it regards the moral ideas and institutions of man as part of the complete process, as factors in the movement which leads in time from nature to spirit. And it avoids the former view because it holds that the ethical element which is manifested latest in the temporal process, is presupposed from the first and necessary to the understanding of the whole. The ideal of goodness may contribute towards the interpretation of evolution, but its own explanation must be sought by another method." [1]

[1] Huxley in the "Romanes Lecture" (1893), "Evolution and Ethics," republished in vol. ix. of 'Collected Essays.'

[2] Sorley, 'Recent Tendencies in Ethics' (p. 47).

65. Attempts at synthesis of idealism and naturalism.

Attempts to arrive at a synthesis of idealism and naturalism have formed the characteristic feature of French philosophy in quite recent times. Forty years ago it looked as if France had lost for a time its international influence on philosophical thought, the philosophy of Comte having been its last contribution. In a similar way the philosophy of Germany had already before that time, with the collapse of Hegelianism in its own country, ceased to exercise a leading European influence. In both countries philosophical thought seemed to have spent its creative power. Being at home fully occupied with criticising, assimilating, and modifying the new matter and novel ideas contained in those two great systems, it could not settle down and concentrate itself upon any definite and commanding idea. Each of these two systems had also bequeathed to the age that followed them a definite task which planned out the work for many minds and many years. This task was

[1] Sorley, 'Ethics of Naturalism' (2nd ed., 1904, p. 332).

suggested by the historical spirit and interest in Hegel and by the social spirit and interest that dominated Comte's system. In other respects the two systems which we are now accustomed to consider as respectively and specially characteristic of German and of French thought, acted differently upon the generation that followed them. Hegelianism suffered under a reaction, produced by the spirit of exact research, the scientific spirit; Comtism, itself a bastard child of this scientific spirit, made its influence felt first of all in England and only later in its own country, where, reimported under the name of Positivism—rather than Comtism—it has now become a generally accepted and stable trait of French thought.

In distinction from Hegel, Comte never professed to arrive at a monistic view. He always moves closer to facts, remains more in harmony with actual experience, and retains many of the dualisms which abound in the latter. Thus he emphasises the inherent difference of the mathematical and the biological sciences, he bases his sociological theory upon the existence of two distinct tendencies in human character, the egoistic and altruistic. Still more glaring are the contradictions which seem to exist between the earlier and the later phases of his philosophy, which prompted his followers and admirers, in several instances, to accept the one and reject the other, although the germs of the later developments in the 'Politique Positive' have been traced by attentive students in the earlier 'Philosophie Positive.' The existence of these dualisms in Comte's philosophy induced his disciples to embark upon a search for a

unifying principle which would allow the phenomena of life to be mechanically explained and altruism to be deduced from egoism. To do this they had recourse to the principle of transformism, the potency of which had not been recognised by Comte himself. This led them to study more closely the philosophy of Evolution as it had been elaborated in this country by Darwin and Spencer.

The disciple of Comte who went the greatest length in this direction was Littré; but it was also much strengthened on one side by several eminent leaders in the natural and medical sciences, and on the other by two of the most brilliant writers of the last generation—Ernest Renan and Hippolyte Taine.[1] They introduced the positive spirit into history, æsthetics, and general literature, cultivating fields of research such as Psychology and Æsthetics, which had met with very insufficient attention in Comte's own writings. They emancipated positivism from Comtism, from the letter and canons of its founder's system, and it is doubtful how many of those who now so glibly use the term have ever read a line of the 'Philosophie Positive.'

But for philosophical thought in their country, Renan and Taine did more than this: they were quite as much students of Hegelianism as of Positivism; they combined

[1] "Hippolyte Taine, encore dominé, à vrai dire, par des théories métaphysiques, telles que le monisme logique de Spinoza ou de Hegel, après être descendu analytiquement des signes aux images, des images aux sensations et de celles-ci à leurs éléments constitutifs, qu'il trouvait dans des sensations élémentaires, homogènes et imperceptibles, correspondant à des ensembles de réflexes du système nerveux, essayait, à partir de la sensation ainsi conçue, de reconstruire synthétiquement, sans rien emprunter qu' à l'expérience, tout le mécanisme de la connaissance." E. Boutroux in "La Philosophie en France"; 'Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale' (1908, p. 690).

in their personal, though unsystematic, creeds the three different forms of evolution, the more narrowly positive as it existed already in Comte, the naturalistic as it existed in Darwin and Spencer, and above and behind both, the larger spirit of development as we meet with it in Hegel. The latter they had learnt in the eclectic school of Victor Cousin, from which they retained the interest for historical studies, though they opposed its vague and rhetorical spiritualism. This school of historical and critical studies, extending over oriental as well as classical culture and literature, was likewise that which trained the later generation of thinkers in France, who infused into philosophy a new spirit and new interests, attempting to effect a fusion of idealism and naturalism through a larger conception of the evolutionary idea.

The three names of this later generation which have become, or are daily becoming, influential in moulding contemporary philosophical thought in Europe are: Alfred Fouillée (1838-1912), Jean Marie Guyau (1854-1888), and Henri Bergson. The two former come especially under the heading of this chapter, as their interest is centred in the ethical problem, which rises with them, as it had only tardily risen with Comte, out of the larger sociological problem. Comte recognised only late and incompletely the existence of Ethics as an independent science, and never that of Psychology as it had been cultivated by the introspective school in this country, and as it lay hidden as one of the most characteristic features in modern French poetry and fiction. But the strength of the two contemporary thinkers I

refer to lies just in this, that they base Ethics on Psychology, and that they depart still further from Comte in finding it necessary to seek for a foundation of Sociology, Ethics, and Psychology alike, in the reconstruction of Metaphysics. Both Fouillée and Guyau began their career with the study of ancient philosophy, Fouillée characteristically with that of Plato's ideology, for which he retained a lasting appreciation, Guyau with that of Epicureanism in its ancient and modern expressions. The former never lost an idealism nourished by his early studies; the latter does not conceal the sceptical trait which pervades the eudæmonistic as distinguished from the stoical outrunners of the post-classical philosophy of the old world.

66. Fouillée's Idées-forces.

The principal novel conception which pervades Fouillée's philosophy is this, that the ideas of the human mind (using the word idea in the larger sense of Locke and Berkeley) are centres of force, active elements. For these he had coined the term "Idées-forces." With this conception he combats many of the older theories both in psychology and ethics. That the ethical problem is with him the central problem is shown by two of his earlier works, the treatise 'La Liberté et le Déterminisme' (first edition, 1872) and his 'Critique des Systèmes de Morale Contemporains' (first edition, 1883): both have run through many editions. The theory of the "idées-forces" or of the activity of ideas is the formula in which Fouillée gave expression to the conviction he had early arrived at, that the ideas of the human mind are not merely epiphenomena, passive reflexions of the physical process in the organism, as

they appear, *e.g.*, in the system of Spencer, but that from them proceeds an initiative, not only in the inner, but also in the outer life of the human mind. He further maintains that all psychical states, be they sensations, thoughts, emotions, or desires, are intimately connected, that they cannot be isolated and treated as independent elements of the inner life. He thus opposes likewise the older psychological atomism, maintaining that we feel, think, and react in every instant of our conscious inner life; only it may happen that, in this fundamental and united function, either feelings and emotions, or definite thoughts, or activities of the will, step into the foreground. In fact, "every state of consciousness, by reason of its proper intensity or of its force, tends to determine movements more or less intensive and extensive." Thinking, feeling, and willing are therefore always connected with some movement, and this is both an internal change and an external motion. The partial separation of thinking and motion, of thought and action, is acquired under the influence of education and culture both of the individual and the race. With children and savages this distinct separation is rare or altogether absent. Further, "every idea is an image and in consequence a 'Together' of recalled sensations and movements." [1]

Fouillée begins his criticism of the Ethics of Natural-

[1] As already stated there is no equivalent in English for the word *ensemble*. Fouillée is one of the most prominent representatives of the tendency of thought repeatedly referred to in these volumes, a tendency which I have defined as "the synoptic aspect of reality," and of which I have treated separately in two papers published respectively in the 3rd and 5th vols. of the 'Proceedings of the University of Durham Philosophical Society,' 1910 and 1913.

ism by showing that the systems both of evolution and of positivism are in need of a psychological complement. The earlier positivist view he identifies with the names of Littré and Taine, and characterises it in the following graphic manner: "Not to be surprised at anything, not to be indignant at anything, to understand everything; then when we have understood it to put the knowledge of laws to good use in order to control the phenomena; to guard ourselves against the return of harmful acts, as we guard ourselves against fire and water; to secure on the other side the return of useful acts as we prepare that of harvests which are to feed mankind; to realise, first of all, principles, in order to secure results, and, if these do not answer our expectation, not to blame the results themselves—things or men,—but to attack the causes and modify them; thus to reject the unchangeable Good of the philosophers, to be content with the true as wise men, and to be persuaded that the great Evil is error or ignorance; to reach the useful with the help of the true and to profit thereby; to enjoy at the same time the beautiful in the order of habit and custom as well as in the order of visible forms; to turn away from the ugly, to shelter ourselves from brutality and ferocity without hate or anger; to say to oneself that every being is that which it can be, that the tiger is according to the saying of a French positivist, 'a stomach which has much demand for flesh,' the drunkard a 'stomach which has much want of alcohol,' the criminal a 'brain which is influsedwith blood'; in the face of everything to preserve the calm of positive science, which accepts phenomena without abusing them, which classifies without con-

demning them, which does not know in mathematics propitious or fatal numbers, in astronomy, friendly or unfriendly stars, in meteorology, clement or inclement skies; lastly, to steep our active power in the calm of contemplation, which is not indifference, and remember that, if the wise man observes, compares, experiments, this is not only in order to *know* but also to *act*,—this is the attitude which, according to French positivists as well as English evolutionists, man has to preserve in the face of nature and in the face also of humanity, if he wishes to know and put to profit reality, instead of following phantoms of abstract metaphysic or of blind mysticism." [1]

In order to get beyond this purely contemplative, dispassionate, utilitarian or prudential point of view which reduces everything to necessity and leaves no room for free action, naturalism according to M. Fouillée requires a complement both psychological and cosmological. It has to recognise that this necessary process of evolution itself produces a new beginning, new centres of action, as soon as out of the chaos of inanimate and unconscious existence there emerges the world of ideas, of new moving forces. The ethical problem thus demands a psychological and metaphysical inquiry. M. Fouillée supplies this in his Psychology and Metaphysics of the Idées-forces.[2] These prepare the ground for the

[1] 'Critique des Systèmes de Morale Contemporains' (5th ed., 1906, p. 39).

[2] "L'idéal moral n'est pas une pure chimère si je parviens à lui donner une existence, d'abord dans ma pensée, puis dans mes actions, qui ne sont que ma pensée continuée à travers mes organes et se propageant dans le monde extérieur. L'idée, étant l'action commencée, est efficace et productrice; la pensée humaine peut devenir par elle, au sein du déterminisme même, créatrice d'un monde nouveau. Un disciple de Descartes et de Platon tout ensemble a dit: 'Dieu ne pense pas les choses parce qu'elles sont, mais elles sont parce que Dieu les pense'; à l'homme on peut appliquer cette parole" ('Critique des Systèmes de Morale,' p. xiv.)

ethics of the idées-forces, the subject of his latest publication.[1] Long before M. Fouillée returned again to the ethical problem which prompted his original speculations, another thinker of great originality, influenced by and connected with M. Fouillée himself, took up the ethical problem in a series of writings which combine originality and depth of thought with a marvellous power of literary

[1] 'Morale des Idées-Forces' (2nd ed., 1908). The leading ideas of his ethics had been already expounded in a series of works, systematic, critical, and historical, of which the principal are the following: 'L'Évolutionisme des idées-forces,' 1890; 'La Psychologie des idées-forces' (2 vols., 1893); 'Le Mouvement Positiviste,' 1896; 'Le Mouvement Idéaliste,' 1896; all of which have appeared in several editions. In the preface to his latest work (p. iii.) mentioned in the text, he defines very clearly the position of his ethics as follows: "Ces théories peuvent se résumer, quoique d'une manière bien insuffisante, en quatre propositions essentielles: 1. l'idée-force de moralité est liée à la primauté de la conscience de soi: *Je pense, donc j'ai une valeur morale;* 2. l'idée-force de moralité crée des valeurs objectives et les classe: *Je pense, donc j'évalue les objets;* 3. l'idée-force de moralité s'actualise en se concevant: *Je pense, donc je réalise l'idéal;* 4. l'idée-force de moralité fonde la vraie société: *Je pense, donc je commence à creer, dans et par la société humaine, la société universelle des consciences.*" Fouillée is well aware of the practical importance at the present day of a new and solid foundation of morality where all the older foundations are crumbling away: "Il est facile de prêcher la morale, a dit Schopenhauer, difficile d'en établir les fondements. La crise actuelle de la morale en est la preuve. Tout est remis en question: aucun principe ne paraît encore solidement établi ou du moins à lui seul suffisant, ni celui de l'intérêt personnel, ni celui de l'utilité générale, ni celui de l'évolution universelle, ni l'altruisme des positivistes, ni la *pitié* et le nouveau *nirvâna* des pessimistes, ni l'impératif des Kantiens, ni le bien en soi et transcendant des spiritualistes; la morale du libre arbitre et de l'obligation semble près de disparaître pour faire place à la 'physique des mœurs,' soit individuelle, soit sociale. On a écrit jadis des pages émouvantes pour montrer comment les dogmes religieux finissent: on pourrait en écrire aujourd'hui de plus émouvantes encore sur une question bien plus vitale: *Comment les dogmes moraux finissent.* Le devoir même sous la forme suprême de l'impératif catégorique, serait-il donc un dernier dogme, fondement caché de tous les autres, qui s'ébranle après que tout ce qu'il soutenait s'est écroulé?" (Preface to 'Critique des Systèmes de Morale Contemporains,' p. i.)

67. J. M. Guyau.

exposition enriched by a vein of genuine poetry: this was Jean Marie Guyau (1854-88). Like Fouillée, but some years before him, he began his studies in contemporary ethics with a criticism of the English school (1879). His first constructive effort which followed is characteristically an æsthetical treatise, with which we have already become acquainted in the last chapter, which dealt with the problem of the Beautiful.[1] He there treats of art from the ethical and social point of view. This treatise, which appeared in 1884, was immediately followed by a treatise on Ethics (1885), and then by one on the Philosophy of Religion (1887).[2]

In spite of the critical position he took up to the Ethics of Naturalism as developed in this country, Guyau was much influenced by the writings of this school. He has notably recognised the great difficulties which beset all naturalistic ethics—viz., that they fail to explain the facts of obligation and sanction, of 'the Ought' as distinguished from that which is. Similarly he recognises in all religious philosophy the difficulty of explaining or justifying the existence of a definite religion, with creed and dogmas, as the outcome of the religious temper or spirit. His method of meeting these difficulties, of solving the antinomies and dilemmas, the dualisms and paradoxes, is a much shorter one than that of Alfred Fouillée. It consists in eliminating them; he does not want to destroy morality or faith; he wishes to

[1] See *supra*, p. 113 *sqq*.

[2] The ethical works of Guyau are: 'La Morale d'Épicure et ses Rapports avec les Doctrines Contemporaines' (1878); 'La Morale Anglaise Contemporaine' (1879); 'Esquisse d'une Morale sans obligation ni sanction' (1885); 'L'Irréligion de l'avenir (1887). All these works have appeared in many editions.

establish a morality without obligation and sanction, and to preserve the religious spirit without a positive religion; he proclaims, not the absence of religion or anti-religion, but Irreligion, the absence of a dogmatic or mystical religion, as the faith of the future.

The conception which Guyau places in the centre of his speculation is, as I have had occasion to state in the last chapter, the idea of Life. It is with him a moving and expanding principle. Ethics becomes with him the doctrine of the ways and means adopted of necessity by nature herself, in order to secure the growth, the greatest development of life. Moral conduct becomes with him identical with that kind of activity which furthers the expansion of life to its fullest extent. It is thus opposed to every narrowing conception, such as Egoism, and culminates in a highest virtue which is generosity. But in the same way as with Fouillée, for whom the active principle is inherent in the world of ideas, itself a product of natural development, so with Guyau, the active or propelling force is the principle of life, which rises out of the unconscious into the region of consciousness. Both thinkers thus reduce the process of evolution to the existence of a moving principle, inherent in the inanimate as well as the animated world, in the unconscious as well as the conscious regions of existence. While they emphasise the active side of the mind in opposition to the purely intellectual or contemplative, they are unable to offer an explanation of the difference of value which the human mind attaches to certain developments, such as the Beautiful

and the Good, as distinguished from their opposites. They have no definition of the highest Good, which seems to consist only in a process, be this set going by the motive power of the world of ideas or the propelling force of the principle of life. Both end by appealing to an ideal or 'the Ideal,' of which they can nevertheless give neither a definition nor an interpretation. With this view they come near to the position of other thinkers, such as F. A. Lange in Germany, or T. H. Green in England; perhaps without recognising that they entangle themselves in the same difficulties and dilemmas which we meet with in those other speculations.

68. Indefiniteness of 'the Ideal' as conceived by these thinkers.

The fact that there are psychological data involved in moral judgments and crystallised in certain current words and phrases which we continually use in everyday life, and can as little dispense with in the philosophy of mind as we can find room for them in the philosophy of nature, has prompted a school of thinkers in Germany to take up a purely descriptive or analytical position in Ethics, combining this frequently with historical studies: they propose to give a phenomenology of the moral consciousness in the individual as well as in the race. The beginnings of this, as I have already had occasion to mention, are to be found in the writings of Herbart and Beneke, which are accordingly now more frequently referred to. This school studies pre-eminently what it calls judgments of value as distinguished from judgments of fact, norms of conduct as distinguished from norms of thought, prescriptive laws of what ought to be, as opposed to constitutive laws of what is.

69. Theories of value in Germany.

What is peculiar to the school is, however, the limitation to the purely psychological or anthropological aspect, the metaphysical being discarded. It is owing to this circumstance, to their distrust of metaphysics, that these thinkers show little sympathy with, and little appreciation of, the system of Lotze, which they mostly ignore. To Lotze, nevertheless, is due the merit of having for the first time clearly distinguished between the three seemingly independent, but interwoven, aspects which the world presents to the contemplating mind: the world of things or facts, the world of relations or laws, and the world of values or worths. Lotze is at the same time the first thinker who has coined a fairly comprehensive vocabulary wherein to express the doctrines of a science of value, or, as it has been more recently termed, of Axiology.

Although this school has opened out and is cultivating a new region in Psychology—a region in which individual and social interests, the ethics of morality and of legality meet—and has thus enlarged the aspect of one side of moral philosophy, it has not so far succeeded in establishing any new conceptions regarding the central ethical problems: the problem of Good and Evil, the problem of Duty and Obligation, the problem of Virtue and Happiness, the problem of Ends and Motives of conduct; nor is it likely that the purely descriptive, analytical, or historical method will take us any further as regards those fundamental questions. It is therefore not surprising that another direction of thought has sprung up which shows little appreciation for these purely descriptive, analytical, and historical

70. Reaction against these analytical researches.

researches conducted in the dispassionate spirit of the natural sciences, extending though they do the meaning of the word nature so as to comprise the phenomena of the individual as well as those of the collective mind in society and history. This opposition to the Ethics of naturalism in the widest sense of the word, to the systematic as well as critical studies within the schools, has been vehemently proclaimed by a thinker whose teachings attained popular influence and renown long before historians and professors of philosophy condescended to take serious note of his writings. In fact the increasing attention latterly bestowed upon them is largely due, as was formerly the case with the writings of Schopenhauer, to this: that their influence, especially on young minds, has become clearly pernicious and alarming.

71. Fr. Nietzsche.

The thinker referred to, though we can hardly call him a philosopher,[1] is Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-

[1] The influence of Nietzsche on European thought is quite as important as that of Schopenhauer, and more so than that of von Hartmann, but it cannot be satisfactorily dealt with in the History of philosophical thought; it belongs to that larger and deeper-lying region of what I have variously termed subjective, individual, or spontaneous thought, which is not reduced to any system or subjected to scientific, critical, or logical methods. The treatment of this region of thought should, according to the programme of this History, form the third and concluding section in which such names as Herder and Goethe in Germany, Victor Hugo and some of the great novelists in France, Scott, Wordsworth, Carlyle, and Ruskin in England, would stand out prominently, their works containing or revealing the origin of the characteristic traits of philosophical, and, in some instances, even of scientific, thought in recent times. To this class of thinkers Nietzsche likewise belonged; not least on account of the excellence of his style, which gives him a place in the general literature of the age and in the history of literary taste. So far as the strictly philosophical value of his writings is concerned it seems to lie especially in this, that he has demonstrated the necessity of arriving at a definite creed or basal conviction on ethical and religious questions before a philosophical systematisation and application to separate philosophical problems can be attempted. That he had arrived at this, the *sine qua non* of all useful speculation, can hardly be maintained even by his greatest admirers, but he was in search of it. He belongs to that line of thinkers during the nineteenth century, beginning with Schopenhauer and represented, in the middle of the century, by Feuerbach in Germany, by Comte in France, and by Mill and Spencer in England, who had completely broken with that body of traditional Christian thought which lay in the background of the great idealistic systems, and contains still, in its core, the basal conceptions of the transcendental and spiritualistic schools, wherever they are to be found. In this quest for a new faith and a firm but novel foundation Nietzsche's writings deserve to be fully appreciated as a characteristic sign of the times. From being extolled mainly by ardent young minds, whom he not infrequently unsettled, and denounced by mature thinkers, he has risen to the position of being considered by some as worthy to be placed in the company of the small number of great original thinkers of modern times from which others, such as Lotze, Schleiermacher, and Spencer, have been excluded: thus, *e.g.*, by E. von Aster in the important collection of essays entitled 'Grosse Denker' (vol. ii.). This contains an excellent characteristic of Nietzsche's thought, by Prof. A. Pfänder, dwelling mainly upon the successive stages in his mental development.

1900), who stands in a certain historical connection with Schopenhauer. From him he adopted the habit of unmeasured denunciation of the views and persons which he opposes, and a fundamental dislike for all that is traditional, conventional, and generally accepted. But whereas the line of Schopenhauer's thought found its consummation and end in his own teaching, beyond which no important step could be taken without abandoning the master's central position, the writings of Nietzsche, through their very absence of consistent reasoning and logical conclusiveness, have acted greatly as stimulants, and certainly have tended to reveal and make plain to ordinary readers the unsatisfactory and lifeless condition of the current philosophy of the day. Moreover Nietzsche has succeeded more than any other contemporary thinker in coining for his ideas watchwords and incisive expressions which have become

incorporated not only in German, but also in the languages of other European countries, rousing, especially young minds, to individual thought and action. He has tried to impress his age and the youth of his country with the conviction that something radically new is going to happen or is already happening, and that an understanding of, as well as a participation in, this new movement is a matter of individual effort, of ruthlessly sweeping away, not of patiently enduring, the evils of the day as well as the generally accepted methods for combating them. Thus it is not the greatest happiness of the greatest number, but the favouring of the selected few, which is to be of importance and value; not the elevation of the masses, which would end only in a general levelling down to mediocrity, but the existence and encouragement of exceptional ability and force, constituting what has been termed the "overman," which is to be the gospel of the future; in fact an accentuation and encouragement of the struggle for existence and the supremacy of the individual over the masses.

In coining and scattering broadcast these incisive phrases, Nietzsche not only showed his radicalism but also embodied ideas and tendencies which surrounded him, some of which were especially characteristic of his country and its recent history. Thus the alliance of radical and—as it seems to many—ruthless activity with essentially conservative and aristocratic leanings was to be found in Bismarck, the hero of the day: a real type of the overman. The impotence of democracy and of philosophical radicalism with its

socialistic proclivities to bring about what the German nation had written and sung about for two generations —the unity of the German empire—appeared in glaring contrast to the success of the policy of blood and iron; whilst the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest, proclaimed by the Darwinians, found a ready response in the exaltation not only of individual talent, of the military virtues of courage and self-control, but also of individual ferocity and aggressiveness.[1]

Thus we have two distinct and novel developments in the ethical province of philosophical thought in Germany, characteristic of academic and extra-academic, of professional and non-professional thinking: a differentiation which has made itself felt in German philosophical thought much more than in that of any other country in modern times. On the one side we have a new field of research, the general theory of value, a practical acknowledgment and appreciation of Lotze's idea of an independent realm of values or

[1] "Nietzsche is most convincing when the *Uebermensch* is left undefined. Imagined as ideal Man, *i.e.*, as morality depicts him, he becomes intelligible; imagined as Nietzsche describes him, he reels back into the beast, and that distinction which chiefly separates man from the animal world out of which he has emerged, viz., his unique power of self-consciousness and self-criticism is obliterated" (H. H. Williams, Article, "Ethics," 'Encyclop. Brit.,' 11th ed., 1910, vol. ix. p. 842). Besides drawing the extreme conclusions of a theory of natural selection which prompted T. H. Green on the other side to seek for a not merely "natural" explanation of the facts of morality, Nietzsche has the merit of taking special note of the difference of individual ability and occupation and of facing the question of practical morality. Once sweep away the idea of equality of all men before a Higher Tribunal and the greater part of moral theory which deals with human nature in general and not with human nature as existing in different classes of society, in different peoples, nationalities, and races of mankind, becomes purely academic, particularistic, or parochial, and a relapse into the ancient difference of *Herrenmoral* and *Sklavenmoral* becomes almost inevitable.

worths; on the other we have a brilliant and emphatic proclamation of the claims of individuality and personality, of a phenomenon which in many modern scientific and economic theories has been pushed into the background and lost sight of. But neither of these two interesting lines of thought has really done much to attack the central ethical problem—the problem of the Good. This still stands before us in its two-faced aspect: first, the Good as a thing to possess or to strive for (*Güterlehre*); and secondly, Good as a predicate of human will and conduct (*Tugend- und Pflichtenlehre*) and of everything connected therewith: on the one side the purpose, on the other side the character of human activity. It is, however, perhaps not too much to say that this dualism, this twofold aspect of the moral problem, has been more clearly defined in recent ethical literature in Germany as well as in this country; it has been brought more closely home to the philosophical consciousness of the age. In this country the task has been performed, as I stated above, by Henry Sidgwick[1] in his 'Methods of Ethics,'

72. Two theories of the Good: ends and duties.

[1] During the last years of the century and since that time a large number of treatises on the subject of ethics have appeared in all the three countries, testifying quite as much to the interest taken in the subject as to its intricacy and to the inherent, as it seems to many, wellnigh insoluble paradoxes and dilemmas which reveal themselves to closer critical study such as has been started in this country by Sidgwick in the 'Methods of Ethics' and by Bradley in 'Ethical Studies.' The psychology of the moral sense is not so simple as it appeared before these two thinkers took up the subject, nor even as Paulsen has put it in the article referred to in the text. This must become abundantly evident to readers of German ethical literature in the important work of Prof. Geo. Simmel, whose 'Einleitung in die Moralwissenschaft' (2 vols., 1892-1893) may be singled out among a great many other publications mostly belonging to the present century. Indeed there is perhaps a danger of casuistry forming too prominent a chapter of ethical theory.

and by some of those influenced by him, among whom I have specially noticed the lucid expositions of Professor Sorley.

Similar good work in clearing the atmosphere and bringing home to thinking readers of a larger class the ethical problems of the day, has been performed in Germany by several writers of eminence—by none better, as it seems to me, than by the late Professor Friedrich Paulsen of Berlin. Although more explicit than the two English authors just mentioned in the enunciation of his own ethical standpoint, which he has in fact expounded in a 'System of Ethics,'[1] he nevertheless shows a very clear and impartial understanding of the two positions open to the ethical philosopher of to-day. Of this he has given proof in the latest of his writings: the chapter on Ethics contained in a volume entitled 'Systematic Philosophy,' which forms a section of a large encyclopædic work with the general title of 'The Culture of the Present Age' (1907). In this short but well-filled chapter Paulsen shows that ethical philosophy, what I have termed the systematic treatment of the problem of the Good, may start from two independent facts—the fact of the Will, which strives to attain something; and the fact of the Ought, the obligation or duty imposed upon human action. The former beginning leads us to define the Good as the end of our actions, and in a more detailed treatise the Good would divide itself up into a number of separate goods or good things, corresponding to the many-sided nature of human

73. Paulsen's Ethics.

[1] 'Ethik' (2nd ed., 2 vols., 1893; trans. by Thilly, 1899).

activity; the latter refers to an impelling or prompting force through which good actions are produced and regulated, the source out of which they flow: this is usually termed the feeling of duty or the moral conscience. Coherent systems of ethics can be constructed from either of the two beginnings; both have special difficulties to solve. The philosopher who starts with the contemplation of the end or ends to be realised by human action, must define these ends, and must further explain how it comes that they recommend themselves to the individual human will and become obligatory: the dicta of conscience. On the other side, the systematic thinker who starts with the facts of duty and conscience will have to explain not only what dutiful conduct consists in and what it leads us to, but he will also be confronted with the difficult task of assigning to the fundamental fact of moral conscience its meaning and origin, especially as it seems confined to the narrow region of human consciousness, which forms, after all, but a small, an almost infinitesimal part of the great visible world, the Cosmos.

The two positions thus clearly indicated by Paulsen have found representatives in modern German thought. Paulsen himself declares unmistakably for the former. According to him, Ethics is *Güterlehre*. He also explains that in the history of philosophy this is the older of the two, having found its first systematic exposition in the 'Nicomachean Ethics' of Aristotle. Paulsen also explains how what was originally the theory of the Good or of Goods, as the ends to be secured by moral conduct,

has in recent philosophy, under the influence of a deeper and wider view of the phenomena of Life, been developed into a teleological and energetic conception of the moral problem. This conception has received in Germany the name of Voluntarism. In this country it has, under the further influence of Professor William James, reacted upon the theory of knowing and being (Epistemology and Metaphysics), producing a special school of thought termed Pragmatism. The opposite school of ethical thought which starts from the sense of obligation and the conception of duty (*Pflichtenlehre*) has, according to Paulsen, its beginning—so far as European civilisation is concerned—in the Mosaic Decalogue. It has been deepened and enlarged in the moral code of Christianity, and has found its most adequate philosophical expression in the Kantian Ethics, or what is generally called the Critical school of Ethics. Accordingly we find that its representatives all more or less go back to Kant, who has elaborated the philosophical conceptions and fixed the vocabulary for this form of modern ethical thought.

In another recent German publication which aims at giving a view of the position of philosophy at the end of the nineteenth century, connecting itself with the celebrated name of the first comprehensive historian of modern philosophy, Kuno Fischer, a recent thinker, Bruno Bauch, deals with the ethical problem from a somewhat different point of view. He takes more note than Paulsen does of the subjective or individualistic tendency which threatens in Germany to destroy or subvert the traditional morality of common-sense, putting

in its place not the fatalism and indifferentism of a purely naturalistic teaching, but the extreme self-assertion of human personality culminating in what he terms the 'Immoralism' of Nietzsche. Both these tendencies, the naturalistic and the immoralistic, have—so we are told—to be combated by a critical examination of the data of the existing ethical consciousness. Such an antidote is to be found in the Ethics of Kant which start from the fact of obligation: the Categorical Imperative and the autonomous, *i.e.*, self-restraining character of the human Will. It is interesting to note that Paulsen's Ethics are largely influenced by the conception of life, by a biological conception; whereas the representatives of the other school rest more upon historical studies such as have emanated from the idealistic philosophies of Germany. An intermediate position which aims at doing justice to the spirit of the natural as well as to that of the historical sciences, is taken up by Professor Wundt, so that the representatives of both schools in Germany are able to refer with approbation to his treatise on Ethics as a standard work.[1]

74. Return to Kantian Ethics.

Professor Wundt is a foremost representative of voluntarism in Ethics as well as in general philosophy. He has moreover introduced into Psychology and Ethics a valuable idea which deserves special recognition and attention. As I have already had repeated occasion to remark in former chapters,[2] he makes the difference between psychical and physical phenomena this: that the latter consist only in a rearrangement of an unalter-

75. W. Wundt.

[1] Wilhelm Wundt, 'Ethik' (1886; trans. by Titchener, 1897).

[2] See vol. ii. p. 526, n., and vol. iii. pp. 396 and 397, n.

able amount of material, but that the former are characterised by what he terms a creative synthesis; the psychical or inner world is continually growing, whereas the physical world is ruled by the conservation of matter and energy or of what other primary elements we may assume. This conception, extended into the field of moral life, appears there as the "Law of the Heterogony of Ends," which signifies that acts of the Will produce effects which greatly extend beyond the impulses or motives that prompt them, creating hereby new values, an increasing manifold of the phenomena of moral life or of moral goods. Through this process there is created an objective world of morality or of ethical goods which themselves again react upon the individual consciousness.[1] By this conception and from this point of view the ethical philosopher is driven on to a study of the universal or collective mind as distinguished from the individual. A similar tendency existed, as we have had occasion to note, in the Hegelian philosophy: to seek and find the realisation of the ideal or spiritual forces in the historical creations of culture and civilisation. Similarly Wundt has been driven, by an independent course of thought, to the study of mankind, combining the interest in the more advanced products of culture with that for more primitive and elementary forms: the history of advanced societies and their culture with that of primitive peoples and their customs: Sociology and Anthropology in the widest sense of the word. In attaching great importance to these anthropological studies, the

[1] Compare with this Fouillée's theory of the *Idées-forces* and Guyau's conception of Life as an expanding principle referred to above (pp. 237 *sqq.*)

ethics of voluntarism unite with the ethics of naturalism as represented notably by the later speculations and labours of Herbert Spencer and his disciples.

Neither is the opposite or the critical school in Germany content with founding Ethics on purely psychological data, on the intuitive facts of consciousness such as the feeling of duty and the moral conscience. Though this school holds firmly to the undeniable existence of these data, holding sometimes with Kant that they form a sufficient basis for the construction and maintenance of practical morality, it nevertheless desires to utilise these facts for the construction of a reasoned Creed or theory of the general Connection of Things, which should justify the conviction familiar to common-sense and confirmed by exponents of almost every school of thought, that the moral Ideal or the Good is not only the greatest concern of man and mankind, but that it also somehow reveals to us the nature of the truly Real, the spiritual Power which underlies and sustains everything. The ethics of the critical school thus lead to a religious conception; they did so with Kant and with most of his followers, though in very varied forms and versions.[1]

[1] It may be well here to refer to the important work of Charles Renouvier in France, notably to his 'Science de la Morale' (2 vols., 1869), which is in the main a development of Kantian ideas attempting to lead out of the pure formalism of Kant's individualistic ethics to a practical system of morality by insisting on the fact that the moral idea is only possible in a community of free agents, *i.e.*, in human society. In quite recent times, since the secularisation of public instruction and the foundation of the *Écoles laïques*, the teaching of morals has become a difficult problem; teachers in the primary and notably in the higher normal schools are face to face with the question: on what foundation moral teaching is to be placed, recourse to religious sanctions being discarded, or even prohibited? There remain then, as it seems, two distinct lines of thought, the one pointing to historical development of human culture in the spirit of Comte enlivened by the doctrine of evolution: the law of progress is, as it were, that of a mathematical curve, or of a sidereal orbit, the future tracings of which have to be deduced from a formula or law established by past experience, Comte's idea of altruism gaining, with the aid of the intellect, the upper hand over egoism. Fouillée's doctrine of the increasing sway of ideal forces, and Guyau's doctrine of life as a propelling and expanding principle, represent various forms of evolutionist ethics. On the other side, we have the growing recognition of the necessity of referring to some ultimate and supreme moral law as the source and centre of appeal for righteous conduct. Kantian rigorism, as explained through Renouvier, is gaining increased attention, a new edition of his treatise having become necessary in 1908. Foremost thinkers in France, however, no less now than in time past, do not rest content with detaching morality from a religious or metaphysical creed. This is shown very emphatically in Renouvier's own later writings, it remaining doubtful, however, whether the somewhat fantastic character of his latest philosophy termed "Personalism," with its cosmological speculation, has not temporarily obscured the importance of his really great moral Treatise referred to. The earnest spirit which permeates so many articles in the 'Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale' testifies also to the felt necessity of spiritualising the moral teaching in the present age.

76. Necessity of going beyond pure ethics.

There is thus one trait common to both schools of ethical thought: both see the necessity of going beyond the limits of Ethics in the narrower sense as the doctrine of private morality; both seek a wider horizon, a larger or deeper view beyond that of the individual mind, its nature and interests. The great thing for systematic as for practical morality is, after all, to overcome, to lead out of, the Self. Anything less than this would, in the opinion of either school, hardly deserve the name of the Good, be it in theory or in practice. This way out of the self the naturalistic and evolutionist schools of Ethics find in the study and interests of Humanity, of the *civitas humana*, the human city; the critical and introspective schools attempt a further step: they hold that the real root of human good and goods is their spiritual nature, that the human is rooted in the Divine, the *civitas humana* in the *civitas Dei*.

We are then face to face with the two new problems

77. Problems of the Spirit and of Human Society.

which have grown out of the problem of the Good and which lead back to it: the problem of Humanity or human society on the one side, the problem of the spiritual world, or the Spirit, on the other. The latter is the older of the two; for although the problems of human society have always been before the minds of law-givers, statesmen, and reformers, it is only since the nineteenth century began that the sciences of Sociology and Anthropology have received special attention and been placed upon an independent basis. The other problem, that of the Spirit, or as we may also call it, the religious problem, is, as has been said, much older, at least so far as its systematic and philosophical treatment is concerned. In fact it has been observed with some justice, that an exclusive occupation with things of another world, with transcendent problems, has at times unduly diverted the attention of foremost thinkers from the important questions which lie immediately in front of them; the solution of these having frequently been left in the hands of casual and untrained thinkers who, through premature conclusions, through startling, plausible theories, attained popular favour and passing notoriety. It is only since the great popular movement, which began with the Reformation and culminated in the French Revolution, has brought into the foreground the rights, the demands, and the interests of the masses, as against those of the aristocracy on the one side, and the literary and learned on the other, that a systematic attempt has been made to understand, to define, and to solve the social problem. In the two following chapters I shall accordingly deal with these two distinct problems, first with the older, and, as it seems to

many, the fundamental and more important problem: the problem of the Spirit. After we have learnt how philosophical thought in the nineteenth century has dealt with this problem, we shall be better prepared to deal with the second problem: the problem of human Society. For this has been considered by some thinkers to be soluble only after the former problem has been satisfactorily dealt with, whilst another and growing school of thought is labouring to place it upon an independent foundation as an inquiry to be carried on inductively by the combined methods of the natural and the historical sciences.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE SPIRIT.

I.

1. Internationalisation of Thought.

THROUGHOUT this history it has been my endeavour to look at European thought from an international or cosmopolitan point of view. I have first tried to show how Scientific Thought has become more and more a subject of general and world-wide interest, national differences gradually disappearing, or, where they existed, contributing nevertheless to that universal body of thought which, at the end of the century, had become the property of all civilised nations. I have secondly shown how, to a lesser extent, though still very markedly so, Philosophical Thought during the nineteenth century emerged from the narrower limits of national or local interests or of special schools and became a subject of universal importance; the speculative interest being everywhere centred in the same definite problems. That this is so is not only the consequence of the increased facilities for intercourse and communication: it has been mainly brought about through the working of two marked tendencies

which have, as we have seen, dominated scientific thought on the one side and philosophical thought on the other. These tendencies are the mathematical spirit and the critical spirit: there the exact methods of counting, measuring, and calculating; here the general canons of logical, philological, and historical criticism.

2. More marked in Science than in Philosophy.

Nevertheless it is well to remark that this characteristic of universality, of cosmopolitan interest, has become less conspicuous as we have progressed in our review of the different problems which have engaged philosophical as distinguished from scientific thought. These problems have indeed been recognised everywhere as of paramount importance, but the recognition even of their existence has come about slowly and gradually in the instance of some of them, and still more slowly and gradually has the right manner of treating them been recognised. Thus, for instance, the problems of the soul, of knowledge and of the good, have all through the century occupied thinkers in all the three countries to which our survey is mainly limited; whereas the problem of reality and the philosophical problems of nature as a whole, and of the beautiful, have only quite recently become everywhere objects of systematic and methodical reflection. And further, if we have to note that it is only within the last generation that some of these problems have been everywhere admitted into philosophical treatises and systems, we are still more interested to see how much more the methods and points of view adopted by prominent thinkers belonging to the three nations vary with regard to some of the problems than they do with regard to others.

To begin with, Psychology, the science which deals with the problem of the soul, is now quite international, the contributions of European and American thinkers being speedily and easily absorbed everywhere; the Theory of Knowledge also is now studied and discussed much on the same lines, exhibiting everywhere similar differences or contrasts of view; English, French, and German thinkers have contributed equally to a correct understanding of the methods of the natural sciences and especially of their limits. In Ethics also the theological and anthropological views are represented everywhere. But when we come to Metaphysics and Æsthetics we find that much greater differences characterise the philosophical literatures of the three countries. Metaphysics has almost disappeared in Germany, its doubtful revival being of quite recent date; whereas Great Britain, and latterly France, can in recent times boast of an increasing and original metaphysical literature. On the other side æsthetics, as a philosophical discipline, is hardly as yet domiciled either in Great Britain or in France.

3. Especially as the problems become more speculative.

Coming now to the problem which will occupy us specially in the present chapter, the problem of the spirit, we find that national and local influences have here more than anywhere kept the philosophical literatures apart. The very name of the philosophical discipline which deals with this subject—viz., Philosophy of Religion—has only quite recently become current in French and English literature: in Germany it formed the central and most important subject of philosophical thought during the earlier half of the century. Even at the present moment it is considered difficult, and by some impossible, for thinkers of different nationalities to understand each other thoroughly in this innermost region of speculation. That this is so can be shown in various ways and explained through various causes. Among these it will be useful to take special notice of two, leaving out other and minor influences which have worked in the same direction. Of the two points I wish to refer to, the first concerns the words and terms of the language, the philosophical vocabulary in which the speculations I am now dealing with have found expression. The second is not concerned with the medium through which philosophical thoughts have to be communicated: it has to do with the actual historical interests which, in the three different countries, have formulated the problem in question. To give at least a preliminary definition of what I mean, and to help us to fix our ideas, I may say that what I refer to is the relation which, in each of the three countries, has existed between Philosophy and Theology, between traditional belief and free inquiry.[1]

4. Least of all in the religious problem.

5. Relation of Philosophy and Theology.

Now so far as the philosophical terms are concerned through which in the three languages and literatures I am dealing with, religious speculation has found expression, we have first of all to note that the word "spirit" has no complete equivalent either in the French or in the German language. The word "*Geist*" in German is used both in the sense conveyed by the word "mind" and in that conveyed by the word "spirit" in English. Thus Hegel's use of the word in his system has been variously translated by the two English synonyms.

6. *Geist*, Spirit and Mind.

[1] See *supra*, vol. iii. p. 466 n.

The two German adjectives derived from the noun, "*geistig*" and "*geistlich*" correspond somewhat to the English "intellectual" and "spiritual"; "*geistlich*" being opposed to "*weltlich*" as "spiritual" is to "worldly." But the fact that the German noun refers equally to the intellectual and spiritual sphere of ideas is one of the reasons why religious (spiritual) and philosophical (intellectual) interests have not been kept strictly apart in German literature. This has led to much confusion and to misunderstandings, especially for foreign students.

It would lead too far were I to dwell with any completeness on these verbal differences; it may suffice to point out that they not only create a difficulty for the general point of view which I am everywhere trying to introduce, but indicate also an important difference in the positions taken up by German and English thinkers with regard to the problem we have in view. I will for the moment leave out of consideration the terms used in French philosophical literature when dealing with the present subject: this for reasons which will become clearer later on. And also in dealing with the second point mentioned above, the relation of philosophy and theology, we will confine ourselves for the moment to this country and Germany; for it can hardly be maintained that there has existed in France, during the nineteenth century, any prominent school of theology outside the confines of Roman Catholicism. Now, as far as this country is concerned, we have to note that there has not existed a science of theology as comprehensive and self-contained as we find in Germany ever since the end of the eighteenth

century.[1] This does not mean that the religious literature in both countries has not been equally important and equally original, nor does it mean that there has not existed in both countries an equally original philosophical literature in which religious questions have been discussed. But owing to the fact that, till quite recently, theological as well as philosophical literature in Germany emanated from the universities, with their separate faculties, theological and philosophical studies were kept apart; with the result that the same subject, the problem of the spirit, or the religious problem, has been attacked from two distinct points of view and discussed in two distinct interests,—in the interest of the Church and in the interest of free inquiry. Accordingly we find in Germany two distinct literatures, a theological and a philosophical literature, both dealing more or less with the same problem,—the religious problem. In general, and until quite recently, these two literatures have marched separately and been cultivated without sufficient mutual recognition. We find that many theological works on Dogmatics treat of the same subjects as philosophical works under the title of Philosophy of Religion; we also find in German literature the remarkable fact that histories of philosophy for a long time took little or no notice of important philosophical speculations simply because they emanated from professional theologians and not from professional philosophers. Thus many important and

7. Distinction in Germany between theological and philosophical literature.

[1] Nor as it has existed in the Roman Church since the middle ages, having been systematised in the 'Summa Theologica,' and revived under the name of "Thomism" in Belgium, France, and Germany in the course of the nineteenth century.

standard works on the history of philosophy at one time scarcely mentions the name of Schleiermacher, still less that of Rothe or of Ritschl, although each of these authors developed an independent and original principle in dealing with religious or spiritual phenomena.[1] On the other side we find the religious speculations of Schelling, Baader, Weisse, and Lotze more or less exhaustively dealt with, though their knowledge of certain important regions of religious life and thought was much less comprehensive and thorough than that of the others. It is as well to remark that this particularistic spirit was not displayed only in this department of philosophic thought, but that it existed also in other

8. As also between scientific and philosophical literature.

[1] The progress towards a more general conception of the philosophical interest is nowhere more conspicuous than in the changes which have been introduced into the subsequent editions of that most indispensable historical work, the 'Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie,' founded by Fr. Ueberweg (1862-1866), and re-edited on a broad basis and large principles by Dr Max Heinze. The fourth volume, containing the 'History of Philosophy since the beginning of the Nineteenth Century,' reached, in 1906, the tenth edition. The names mentioned in the text, together with many others formerly omitted, are now introduced, and their works adequately referred to. The more rigid division of the subject which kept philosophy and theology apart during the earlier portion of the century was probably largely owing to two distinct causes: first, to an opposition to the popular philosophy of the eighteenth century, and to a desire to introduce a strict method and logical discipline into the philosophical teaching at the universities; and, secondly, later on to a secret tendency nursed in the school of Hegel to transform theological into philosophical dogmatics, also to look upon the line of reasoning which runs through the idealistic systems as the true backbone of all philosophy, compared with which other speculations, naturalistic on the one side, theological on the other, have only collateral, but no truly systematic, importance. The latter tendency is probably most distinctly evident in Kuno Fischer's great History. It was, however, considerably mitigated in the later editions, and is, so far as one can see at present, gradually disappearing among those numerous scholars whom he inspired with a truly historical spirit. My friend, Pastor O. Zuckschwerdt (Glasgow), remarks, however, that in Würtemberg (Tübingen) philosophical and theological studies were always cultivated together.

departments, as shown, *e.g.*, in the attitude which professional philosophers for a long time took up to the natural sciences. There also an opinion once prevailed that the speculations of professional naturalists were of little or no philosophical value, and might be disregarded.[1] In the philosophy of nature, however, this attitude has entirely disappeared; some of the best philosophical contributions to the subject have of late admittedly come from the pen of physicists and naturalists; and even the more superficial speculations of the materialists in the middle of the century, and of Haeckel in recent times, now find a place in hand-books of the history of philosophy. Still more recently we find that professedly theological speculation is receiving more adequate recognition from professional philosophers. This more generous tendency goes hand in hand with the breaking down of that exclusively professional spirit which marks the strength as well as the weakness of German academic learning, and which, for a long time, prevented German philosophers from recognising, *inter alia*, the importance and originality of modern philosophy in foreign countries, especially those in which the academic system is less developed.

Of the great number of writers who have treated the religious problem in Germany during the nineteenth century there is only one who was equally equipped by disposition and learning on the theological and on

[1] A prominent example of this has already been given (*supra*, vol. iii. p. 519 n.). I refer to the philosophical writings of Fechner, who was not taken *au sérieux* by philosophers, except perhaps by Lotze, till his ideas fructified in the writings of Wundt and Paulsen, and his system was expounded by Lasswitz.

the philosophical side, who had, in fact, given as much attention to the religious problem, viewed from the side of the religious teacher, as he had given to it viewed from the side of the philosophic thinker. This was Schleiermacher. But the very fact that even he thought it necessary to keep the two aspects separate, as, *e.g.*, in his Philosophical and Christian Ethics, did much to confirm that dual position in the treatment of the religious problem which is such a characteristic feature of religious philosophy in Germany. With this we may contrast the position of religious speculation in this country: here we find that fully one-half of those thinkers who have moulded the philosophical thought of their age and country were theologians. At the head of all stands George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, perhaps the greatest speculative genius which this country has produced; and only second to him in importance come names like Bishop Butler, Samuel Clarke, Thomas Reid, Dean Mansel, and James Martineau. No such array of important theologians exercising decisive influence upon philosophical thought can be shown in Germany, in spite of the very much larger number of original thinkers—both religious and philosophical—which that country can boast of. The theological profession has in this country never stood in the way of recognition of genuine and unbiassed philosophical thought,[1] and it is perhaps not too much to say that the religious problem will never be adequately appreciated and treated by thinkers who stand intentionally outside of the practical religious interest and life of their day and country. In this respect we only claim for such religious life and work the same recognition which we claim in other departments, denying—*e.g.*, the right of discussing philosophically mathematical or legal problems to any one who has not moved to some extent in the sphere of these respective interests. This may make the task of the philosopher more difficult, but it is no reason to argue against the correctness of the observation.

9. Schleiermacher.

10. Absence of dualism in England.

For the development of philosophical thought the divisions which all along existed in Germany, the somewhat rigidly defined landmarks of the sciences and their sub-sections, have, however, been of considerable advantage. As human thought, be it scientific or philosophical, can only methodically advance through definitions and limitations, always running the risk of forgetting or losing the unity of its subject and the more comprehensive or synoptic view, we find that more progress has been made in Germany in dealing with our problem than either in France or in England. In the former country,[1] till quite recently, the religious problem was, for political reasons, identified with the interests of the Roman

11. Advantages and disadvantages of rigid lines.

[1] "En Angleterre . . . la théologie naturelle est une science classique qui n'est pas négligée un instant. Elle y est regardée comme indispensable à la théologie chrétienne, qui sans elle languirait." (Charles de Rémusat, 'Philosophie Religieuse,' 1864, p. 4.)

[1] "En France, par exemple, la politique dispose en grande partie de la religion et de la philosophie; l'une ou l'autre est en crédit suivant que la politique est à l'espérance ou au découragement. De là vicissitudes des choses éternelles." (Rémusat, *loc. cit.*, p. 3.) The influence of the political interest referred to in this passage is quite as evident at the present day, but shows itself in a different direction. The political secularisation of the whole of instruction in the graded schools of the country has provoked by contrast an enormous literature dealing specially with the ethical and the religious problem, and this as much by thinkers who aim at keeping the two interests apart as by others who think them inseparable.

Catholic Church. This position, whatever its defects may be, has at least this advantage, that it deals with a compact phenomenon, with an organised and unified body of thought.

In this country, on the one side, the religious problem has been attacked and treated by writers of all shades of opinion, possessing all possible qualifications; but none of their theories or discussions have combined in distinct schools of thought centred around prominent names. Each writer has generally been content to state his view independently, disregarding usually historical continuity and the opinions of friends as well as opponents. The historical and critical treatment of the problem has thus been very inadequate.[1] To note that this is to a large extent owing to the preponderance of extra-academic thought and learning is only to repeat what I have had frequent occasion to mention in other fields of thought and research.

In trying, therefore, to attain to some clearness as to the progress of philosophic thought on religious matters one is almost compelled to follow the better defined lines on which such thought has marched in Germany. These

[1] This is fully confirmed, even in stronger terms, by the author of, so far as I know, the only history of our subject written in the English language: "The century now behind us has teemed with new ideas and fresh methods, and in some quarters it is closing in a mood of depression through our failure to secure a commanding and dominant result for Philosophy of Religion after so much mental activity has been applied to it. A survey of the past and a comparison of the methods which compete for our acceptance in the present may be the remedy needed by the tendency to Agnosticism, on the one hand, and the apparently chaotic advocacy of incompatible systems on the other." (Alfred Caldecott, 'The Philosophy of Religion in England and America,' 1901. Preface.) A glance at the body of the work and at the number of separate headings under which the different writers are classed is the most impressive proof of the correctness of the contention.

lines have been to some extent indicated already in the preceding chapters of the second part of this history. I will now enumerate them with special reference to the problem before us.

12. Metaphysical point of view.

The *first*, and perhaps the most prominent, point of view from which the religious problem or the problem of the spirit has been studied during the nineteenth century may be termed the metaphysical point of view; it deals with certain truths commonly called spiritual truths; they have been formulated by dogmatic theology, and are termed spiritual truths to distinguish them from the truths of nature. They are, therefore, also termed supernatural truths. They are three in number—God, Freedom, and Immortality; to these must be added the fact of Revelation and the problem of Sin and Redemption. All philosophical speculation on these truths and facts has centred in Germany during the nineteenth century in the teaching of Kant, which other thinkers have either adopted, rejected, or modified. This teaching is based upon the peculiar position which Kant occupies in his critical and metaphysical writings.

13. Psychological point of view.

The *second* point of view may be called the psychological; it deals with the manner in which the human mind approaches spiritual truths. It was provoked through opposition to Kant's doctrine, and may be, in its origin, identified with the names of Herder, Jacobi, and Fries, but it really centres, so far as all subsequent thought is concerned, in the teaching of Schleiermacher. It is remarkable that the first great contribution of German thought in the nineteenth century to the province of psychology was the doctrine of the independence of faith

or religious belief as a peculiar side of the inner life. This point of view deals not so much with spiritual truths as with the nature and essence of religion and spiritual life as subjective mental phenomena.

These two prominent positions, identified with the names of Kant and Schleiermacher, were taken up before the historical spirit and philological criticism had attained that great hold upon German research and learning which has been such a characteristic feature of them during the later and greater part of the nineteenth century.[1] When this influence had been firmly established, a *third* point of view was gained from which to study religious and spiritual phenomena. From this point of view was conducted that enormous volume of research into the history of religion and of religious

14. Historical point of view.

[1] These two aspects of the religious problem may be identified respectively with the two terms Religious Philosophy and Philosophy of Religion. The distinction implied is analogous to that in ethics, which may be considered either as the exposition of a code of morality or as a doctrine and theory of the moral sense, the feeling of obligation. If, with Kant and others, we define the moral sense as the sense of obligation, and with Schleiermacher the religious sense as the feeling of absolute dependence, then a further question arises in both instances. In the first, the question would be: To whom or to what are we under the sense of obligation? in the second, on whom or on what are we absolutely dependent? And this question leads in both cases to a systematic or metaphysical treatment, whereas the investigation of the moral and of the religious sense is mainly psychological. In both cases we have a further and more recent development: the historical account of the moral and of the religious consciousness of mankind, and, following out of this, a tendency, rightly or wrongly, to decide as to the validity and value of moral and religious doctrine through an investigation of their origin and beginnings. It seems that in France Philosophy of Religion, as distinguished from Religious Philosophy, is of quite recent date, almost synchronous with the existence of the 'Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale.' Earlier writings, such as de Rémusat's little treatise on 'Religious Philosophy in France and England,' quoted above, identified religious philosophy with what is otherwise termed Natural Religion or Natural Theology, a philosophical treatment of fundamental religious beliefs.

institutions. Whereas the second view dealt mainly with the phenomena of individual and subjective belief, this new view deals with religions as objective phenomena in the life of civilised as well as savage nations and in the progress of culture; it deals with the spiritual life of humanity on a large scale. In this country these studies, since the time of Max Müller, have been known as Science of Religion.

These historical studies have been conducted from many sides and by adherents of very different and opposite schools of thought. All schools agree in maintaining that historical facts in great number and on a large scale must first be collected and correctly established, before any valuable inferences can be drawn. But in spite of proclaiming this purely inductive position, they have, without exception, had to start with certain preconceptions gained by theory or imported from other fields of research. Philosophical criticism has latterly been much occupied in showing both that such preconceptions have here as elsewhere existed, and what they have been. This produced a tendency to admit frankly that some principles and general points of view are required, and should be clearly stated and not tacitly or surreptitiously introduced. Thus has been brought about a reversion from the so-called historical method to logical, metaphysical, and psychological positions, with the desire to gain from them some basis or some well-defined lines on which the enormous accumulation of historical facts and details can be arranged and their significance estimated.

This tendency has gone hand in hand with other influences, and has led back to a study of the position

taken up by Kant. His philosophy—as we have had repeated occasion to observe—had a dual aspect: a purely intellectual and a pronounced ethical side. The latter had been forcibly and independently urged by Fichte with very definite practical results, but I have had occasion to show in former chapters how this practical and moral interest was pushed into the background by the intellectual or æsthetical interests which for a time supervened and dominated philosophical speculation during the first third of the century. It ended and in a manner collapsed with the romantic movement.

The greatest example we have of a re-establishment of the stricter ethical view in dealing with the religious problem in opposition to the purely logical and the freer æsthetical aspects, is to be found in Schleiermacher's later treatment of the subject as compared with the earlier, which is contained in the celebrated 'Reden über die Religion.'

15. Union of Kant's ethics and Schleiermacher's psychology.

All this indicates a *fourth* point of view, which we may call the ethical, gained by a union of the positions of Kant and Schleiermacher.

To this we must add a *fifth* aspect which has been urged from the side of psychology, but not of that older psychology which was known and familiar to Kant and Schleiermacher, the introspective analysis of the human mind. It has been urged from the side of that other and modern psychology which calls itself an exact or a natural science. Herbart started it in Germany in opposition to Kant, but it received its great development from the twofold influence of English psychology on the one side and of the mathematical and physiological studies of Fechner and Wundt on the other. What this school has to say regarding religious life and phenomena is introduced through the conception of value. The fundamental psychological fact upon which ethical and æsthetical judgments depend is the value which the contemplating mind attaches to certain things and processes of nature, and still more emphatically to certain forms of human conduct. This conception admits of a spiritual as well as a naturalistic interpretation. It can be enlarged into the conception of a world of values or worths, of things which are valuable in themselves and deserve to exist as such. They may be conceived either—in the spirit of Plato—as ideals, as things of supreme worth which human beings have to accept as standards of judgment and aims of conduct, or, they may consist merely in norms or rules of conduct to be consciously or unconsciously abstracted out of the natural development of the human race and human society, in the same way as what we call laws of nature are gained by reflection and abstraction from the region of observed phenomena.

The former, the ideal or spiritual, view was in recent times distinctly proclaimed by Lotze, and has from him been introduced through Albrecht Ritschl into theological literature. The latter, or naturalistic interpretation of the ideas of value, forms a characteristic side of Positivism, and still more so of that recent school of ethics which has adopted the modern canons of development as established by the theories of descent and the philosophy of evolution.

We must now trace somewhat more in detail the

arguments and speculations which have been put forth from these different and distinct sides. They comprise the philosophical treatment of the problem of the spirit or the religious problem.

Recent studies in Kantian philosophy, notably those of the late Professor Paulsen of Berlin, have emphasised the fact that Kant's primary interest in the whole of his philosophy was a religious interest, the reconciliation of faith and knowledge, of religion and science.[1] This is acknowledged, as Paulsen has shown, not only by those who with him esteem the labours of Kant, but also by those who condemn him, be it that they, with Haeckel, consider that Kant has sacrificed the philosophical to the religious, or, with Willmann, that he has sacrificed the religious to the philosophical interest.[2] The religious interest for Kant

[1] See *supra*, vol. iii. pp. 340-342, and especially the quotations given in the notes.

[2] The following extract from Paulsen's Introduction ('Immanuel Kant,' 4th ed., 1904, p. 8 *sqq.*) is interesting, and may serve in the place of fuller references to the two writers named in the text: "The negative dogmatism or naturalism with its verdict on Kant is represented in our times by E. Haeckel. In his 'Welträtsel' Kant appears as the genuine representative of a retrograde academic philosophy which coquettes with the supernaturalism of an obsolete clerical belief; depending upon the latter in order to find in the dark regions of transcendental philosophy a hiding-place from the intruding natural sciences, the ultimate compelling motive being found in a regard for the 'powers that be,' who see in pure truth, as naturalistic monism teaches it, a danger for the State or for their own governing position; 'the fear of the Lord,' not of the Heavenly One, is considered to be the original source of a favoured 'dualism'; as also Kant is said to have been brought, in his later days, to reintroduce the three main spectres—God, Freedom, and Immortality—after having, in his younger days, already recognised the truth of 'Monism.' . . . Not less contemptuous is the verdict of positive dogmatism. Especially scholastic philosophy, roused again into a semblance of life, directs its many-voiced chorus of attack against the critical philosophy as the root of unbelief and of all evil. Criticism as the fundamental form of subjective, erroneous, and destructive idealism is contrasted with Thomism as the fundamental form of constructive idealism. Thus, quite lately, O. Willmann in the three volumes of his 'History of Idealism.' The history of philosophy is there represented according to the following scheme. First, the ascending branch; from Plato to St Thomas, we have an ever richer and deeper development of genuine idealism which considers ideas to be the objective constitutive principles of reality. With Thomas Aquinas the summit is gained. Then comes with the intrusion of nominalism the descending development, followed by the fall of the Reformation, which leads further on to *Aufklärung* and Revolution. In the philosophy of Kant the spirit of negation has found its most perfect expression; it forms the opposite pole of Thomism. In it the false idealism finds its last consequences: the subjectivity of all ideal principles. The subject posits itself with unlimited self-exaltation as the bearer of all reality, as the creator of natural as well as of moral laws. The autonomy of reason is the true nerve of Kantian philosophising: Kant the absolute freethinker 'a predicator of the collapse of faith, morals, and science.' 'The attempt to praise Kant as a true German philosopher is quite absurd. Kant is a cosmopolitan, follows the English, is enthusiastic for Rousseau, raves for the French Revolution; to German truthfulness Kant's subversive sophistry stands in complete opposition.'" The last quotations are taken from Willmann's 'Geschichte des Idealismus' (vol. iii. pp. 503, 528); the matter is more fully dealt with by Paulsen in his 'Philosophia Militans' (2nd ed., 1907).

reduced itself ultimately to a philosophical interpretation of the three verities of the traditional Protestant religion of his age; the existence of the Divine Being, the Freedom of the Human Will, and the Immortality of the Soul. Although Kant did not enter upon a psychological analysis of the difference between the way in which natural and supernatural truths are borne in on the human mind, he distinctly apprehended that there existed a twofold order of ideas, distinguished by him as empirical and transcendental. The former had its origin entirely in the world of the senses, the latter in the original constitution of the reflecting mind; the former supplying the material, the latter the form of knowledge. By this formula Kant acknowledged the correctness of Locke's position, as well as of the position of Leibniz.

16. Kant's three verities.

17. Twofold order of ideas.

In the well-known dictum of the latter, in which he opposed Locke, we have the first terse and pregnant expression of a truth of common-sense which is continually overlooked in science as well as in everyday life—viz., that one cannot have a spectacle without a spectator.

The interests of science as well as those of common life are frequently better served by regarding only one side of the dualism, or by regarding the two sides alternately; but it is the object of philosophy, *inter alia*, ever and again to remind us that in reality the two sides are always present, that the twofold order of things inherent in the human constitution is indissolubly intertwined. It is perhaps not too much to say that the whole of nineteenth century philosophy is an attempt to give a clearer expression to the fact that this twofold order exists, and further to support the conviction that this dualism is resolved and has its source in some initial and underlying unity.

In the first of his three 'Critiques' Kant lays bare the intellectual process, showing that sensuous knowledge is alone constitutive, and that the transcendental element only comes in as a unifying and regulative principle. But what is a matter of mere order and arrangement in the intellectual process of the human mind becomes a constitutive principle in the sphere of action and moral conduct. In this sphere the transcendental or higher order asserts itself, not only as the rule or formula of existence, but as a distinct command or law: what Kant termed the categorical imperative, the fact or sense of moral obligation.

It was the latter part of Kant's doctrine which not only attracted a large number of his followers and disciples, but also gave it special value in the eyes of Schiller and Fichte, who were the first to attempt a further development of Kant's teaching on original lines. Unfortunately, however, Kant had not put the dualism which is inherent in the human aspect of things quite in the right light. This dualism, in the course of further criticism, especially through psychological analysis, has been more correctly expressed than Kant was able to express it.

We now understand that the twofold aspect is owing to the difference of what may be termed external sensations and the inner sense of a combining unity. Now, although this distinction, which has been much more rigidly adhered to in British philosophy, was recognised by Kant, it was unfortunately mixed up with another distinction which tends to obliterate it, and to shift the whole problem on to a different ground.

This second formula was introduced into Kantian philosophy from the Leibniz-Wolffian school. It is the supposed difference between a sensible and an intelligible world or, as Kant expresses it, between the phenomenal and the noumenal order of things. This distinction implies that there are things of which we can become immediately cognisant through our senses, and that there are other things which we know of only mediately through thought, and it was accompanied by the tacit assumption that the former things constitute, as it were, a lower order as compared with the others which constitute the higher order of things; thus in-

18. Mixed with duality of sensible and intelligible world.

troducing a difference of subordination in the place of that of co-ordination. In the course of subsequent thought and analysis it has become gradually clear that the difference is not one of higher and lower, nor of more or less certainty, but that the difference is one of exactness or of definition.

Some of our sensations appear to be localised in space, and are accordingly capable of greater definition and exactness. They form a large portion of what we term the experience of our outer or bodily senses. Compared with these, the remainder of our experience of the outer or bodily senses, as well as the whole of the experience of our inner sense, is less defined and less permanent, but all experiences are equally immediate and self-evident: in fact, they together form our world of experience or the phenomenal world; all that we know of reality. Neither of the two, neither the defined nor the undefined, ever occurs alone: they are continually inter-mixed, forming, as it were, the warp and woof of our mental structure; and it is only for very special purposes that we pluck them asunder.

The object of science and philosophy being to make things clearer, more definite and communicable, progress depends to a large extent upon eliminating, in our picture of the world, those traits which are not capable of exact definition, reducing the actually knowable more and more to a small number of exact and well-defined differences.[1]

[1] It is a process of selection which begins in our infancy with the aid of memory, attention, and intersubjective intercourse. These break up what James Ward terms "the original continuum of presentations" (sensory and motor), and William James the "stream of thought." With most persons this breaking up of the original synoptic aspect, the primary self, is carried as far as intersubjective communication with other persons through the aid of language, and the interests of life and practical work make it necessary. Science only carries this process a step further through what is termed "analysis and synthesis" of ideas, using ideas in the sense of Hume. This process of analysis or synthesis reaches perfection only in the notions of number and space, and in the sciences that work with these notions.

This process was first introduced in the mathematical and dynamical sciences, and in the more or less successful attempts to reduce other branches of natural science such as acoustics, optics, thermotics, electrics, chemistry, and biology, to a study of mechanical processes, which possess merely quantitative (easily measurable) in the place of qualitative differences. It went hand in hand, in the region of psychology, with the distinction of primary and secondary qualities: the former, such as size, figure, and resistance being measurable, more permanent and objective, as compared with the latter, such as colour, sound, and heat, which are subjective and difficult to fix. Being objective, *i.e.*, the same or similar to different observers, the former acquire the character of greater reality, whereas they only possess, in the world of our experience, more definiteness, more stability, and more permanence; they can also be easily reproduced in diagrams and models and recalled by the powers of memory. All these advantages make them more thinkable or intelligible, for they do not disappear so easily out of our mental field of vision as the sensations of colour, heat, taste, smell, or the numerous and ever-changing inner sensations, such as those of effort and emotion.

Thus it came about that the so-called primary quali-

ties were looked upon as the true characteristics of an objective and real world, whereas the secondary qualities were looked upon as the evanescent, changing, and subjective appearance of this real world. Now for those who believed in spiritual realities, *i.e.*, in a higher super-sensuous region of things, it became necessary in some way or other to explain the relation of this super-sensuous world to the actual world with which mathematics and mechanics are concerned.

As Paulsen has clearly shown,[1] two views existed when Kant approached the problem—the view of the mathematicians, headed by Newton and more or less adopted by English philosophers, and the view of the metaphysicians, headed by Leibniz.

The first view considers time and space (these being the quantities with which mathematics and dynamics operate) to be the actual receptacle of things. The second view looks upon time and space, not as actual things, but only as relations between things. This latter view is intolerable to the scientific mind; but it allows us to reduce reality to something quite different beneath and beyond the apparent forms of existence, and this may, in thought, be identified with the supernatural. It thus saves the great spiritual verities, relegating them to an order of things which we can think but not directly experience.

The other, or mathematical view, made natural theology impossible, or reduced the theistic conception of the Divine Being to a sort of pantheism, which collapsed before the scepticism of Hume.

[1] 'Immanuel Kant' (4th ed., 1904, p. 171 *sqq.*).

19. The reconciliation.

These being the two views which Kant found current[1] in the philosophy of his predecessors, he set to work to reconcile them, his object being to vindicate the belief in the supernatural (or what he terms the transcendent) whilst at the same time admitting the correctness of the mechanical or mathematical view. The reconciliation is attempted by the celebrated doctrine of the ideality of time and space, *i.e.*, the view that time and space are the necessary forms inherent in the human intellect in and through which it arranges and conceives the manifold data of the senses. Being inherent in the human mind, the science which deals with the forms of time and space is a necessary science; necessary to us thinking beings and inseparable from our knowledge of external things which we see only in and through them. At the same time this view, which implies the subjectivity or unreality likewise of the primary qualities, leaves over, as the real but unexplained kernel of reality, the conception of a something which we can only think but not describe: the "thing in itself," the celebrated X of Kantian philosophy.

This conception of a "thing in itself," incorrectly

[1] "The two discarded views are those through which Kant himself had passed. . . . He stood originally in the position of German metaphysics: space an empirical conception, abstracted from the relations of external things. He then went over to the second view (Newton-Clarke): space the pre-existing form of the physical world. This view, which he still distinctly defends in 1768, he suddenly drops, evidently as metaphysically insupportable, and places himself in the new position: space and time are *a priori* forms of the physical world (as Newton has it), but, together with the physical world, existent only in the sensuous aspect, which was really also Leibniz' opinion, as Kant himself remarks." (Paulsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 172 n.)

extended to the conception of "things in themselves," has dominated a large portion of German speculation ever since Kant. It has never been really accepted as a workable view either in England or in France. It has indeed cropped up in English philosophy in the "Unknowable" of Herbert Spencer, where it was arrived at by a different line of reasoning, but—be it noted—likewise in an attempt to reconcile science and religion.

Many of the arguments directed against Spencer's position are merely reproductions of the polemics directed nearly a century earlier against Kant. There are, accordingly, some opponents who maintain that it is illogical to speak of the existence of an unknown thing if you really know nothing whatever about it, for its existence can only be known to you through some kind of property or relation. There are others who maintain that this underlying ground or kernel of reality, though unknown so far as the outer world is concerned, is not unknown to us so far as our own subjective or inner world is concerned; for we ourselves are not only a succession of sensations, but are conscious of the connection, unity, and continuity of that succession. This view (which for a moment would pass through an impracticable and untenable solipsism) is at once expanded into the conception of a larger consciousness which embraces other minds besides our own; as we exist and think to a large extent only in, through, and with them.

A third class of thinkers deny the correctness of the whole reasoning, be it the older of Kant or the more modern of Spencer, and think it necessary to revert to a deeper psychological analysis. The last is probably the position now most generally accepted, but it was not the position which found favour in the great systems of philosophy which succeeded Kant in Germany. There, the second way out of the difficulty was taken in two characteristic attempts to get out of the dilemma which had been created by Kant. In both instances a direct answer is given to the question: What is the "thing in itself," the kernel of all reality? But this answer is not arrived at by a logical process or by demonstration, nor is it maintained that such a demonstration is possible. The answer is gained by what Lotze has termed a resolution of the character, by a moral or an intellectual effort.

20. Fichte's and Schopenhauer's solution.

Fichte expressed this clearly when he said that the choice of any man's philosophy depends upon what kind of man he is. Thus it is with him an intellectual intuition.

With Schopenhauer, who was certainly much influenced by Fichte, it becomes a scientific hypothesis. In stating boldly that the principle of reality is "the will," he professes to have taken the last and only step which is possible when one has once gained the Kantian position.

The whole of Schopenhauer's philosophy becomes then an illustration or a series of illustrations through which the hypothetical answer he has given is made plausible, brought home to his readers, and after the nature of any and every scientific hypothesis, made useful in explaining the manifold phenomena of

physical, mental, and moral life and the creative activity exhibited in poetry, the fine arts, and music. It is certainly an irony of fate that the thought of Schopenhauer, which reduces all reality to will and effort, was doomed to lead to a purely contemplative system, ending in quietism, pessimism, inaction, and despair; whereas the intellectual intuition of Fichte and Schelling was further on developed into the great intellectual system of Hegel which, be it tenable or not, has certainly been most fruitful in suggesting, promoting, and guiding an enormous volume of strenuous mental labour and research, with far-reaching consequences in practical life.

We must now ask, How did the religious problem, the problem of the spirit, fare in this intellectual revolution which centred in Kant? If we view the peculiar development of religious speculation in Germany from an English point of view, we may divide it, as I have hinted above, into two separate lines of thought promoted by different interests — the theological and the philosophical interest. The movements coincided in two points, they both strove after an independent scientific expression, a systematic and teachable body of doctrine, and they both aimed at a spiritual deepening. But, corresponding to the two meanings which the German equivalent for "spirit" has, this deepening was attempted in two ways. On the one side we find an effort towards what one would term in English a spiritual revival, corresponding somewhat to the religious revival which took place in this

country on a large scale through John Wesley in the latter half of the eighteenth century and somewhat earlier, on a smaller scale, through the rise of Quakerism, with its peculiar doctrine of the inner light.

But as a spiritual revival in Germany meant not only what it means in this country, but also something else, we have a second and independent movement. In the eyes of a great many of its protagonists abroad it meant an intellectual and poetical (not a specifically spiritual) deepening, and this corresponds on a very much larger scale to what was attempted in this country in the course of the nineteenth century, mainly under the influence of Coleridge; earlier beginnings, such as the Cambridge Platonists and the Noetic school of Oxford, having had little permanent effect.

21. Different movements converge in Schleiermacher.

These two movements, both directed against the shallow, dried up, prosaic formalism of popular philosophy and theology alike, had independent origins, and marched almost completely apart till they were united in the personality of Schleiermacher who, as already stated, formed the centre of all religious speculation in Germany after the decline of the Hegelian influence.

In time the intellectual revival was earlier; it was certainly much more conspicuous; it covered a much larger ground, absorbed influences from many quarters, from England and France, from Holland and Switzerland, from Italy and Spain, as also from the East, and found an expression not only in philosophical but also in other lines of teaching, being represented not only by academic learning, but also in the poetical literature

of the nation. It has been called by some the romantic [1] movement on the larger scale.

The different cross-currents which made up this very complex movement may be distinguished by referring to the different extraneous influences which bore in upon German thought during the period of its awakening to independence after the end of the religious and political wars which had devastated the country and decimated the population during the two centuries that followed the Reformation.

There was, first of all, the mechanical view which tended to look upon nature, including the human organism, as a mere machine; this view had to be combated by an opposite view which looked upon nature and life as a divine unfolding; it was propounded in many variations and was accepted in different forms, but it found its most congenial philosophical expression in the philosophy of Spinoza, which came to be studied through the influence of Lessing and Jacobi and Herder. It was a view which lent itself not only to philosophical but also to poetical interpretation, and was thus wide-

[1] This use of the term "Romantic" in the larger sense is characteristic of the view we meet with in 'The Periods of European Literature' (edited by Prof. Saintsbury), and is explained there by Prof. Vaughan in the Introduction to the very excellent tenth volume entitled 'The Romantic Revolt.' The "Period" begins with the deaths of Voltaire and Rousseau, 1778, and ends in the eleventh volume (by Mr Oman, 'The Romantic Triumph') with the middle of the nineteenth century. For Continental students of the history of literature, this broadening of the term so as to comprise, not only some very unromantic writers, but notably also the whole of what is termed the Classical School in Germany, is most inconvenient and misleading, as it obliterates what is there considered to be the principal trait of romanticism. I have, therefore, confined the use of the term in these volumes to the narrower sense. (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 84 n.)

spread, especially among the creative intellects which regenerated German literature and art. For some of these it marks probably only a passing, though an important, phase of their mental development. The pantheism of Spinoza lends itself readily to a poetical interpretation; it stands on a higher level than the mechanical view which represents the Divine Being, at most, as an artificer who stands outside of his creation; but it has no room for the ideas of personality, individuality, and freedom, and still less has it an understanding for the facts of sin and redemption: it harmonises with the classical but hardly with the Christian ideal. It taught the immanence of the Divine Spirit in the whole of creation and, as such, inspired poets and thinkers alike, but it had no comprehension for the transcendence of the Divine personality, and yet this was ingrained in the thought of the age through the historical religion with its Divine Founder and the conception of the moral law as a divine revelation.

The many attempts which were made under the influence of Spinozism to establish a monistic view yielded again and again to the deep-seated conviction, characteristic of Christian thought, that for us human beings there exists a twofold order of things: the natural and the spiritual or moral order; that the divine is revealed to humanity not only in nature but independently also through the immediate working of the spirit in the individual and historical life of man.

Thus we find that for various reasons thinkers like Fichte, Schelling, and still more Schleiermacher, in their later speculations, emancipated themselves from the all-

absorbing influence of the pantheism of Spinoza. In many instances this led to a renewed appreciation of the philosophy of Leibniz which recognised the twofold order of things, the truths of nature as well as those of grace, and ever strove for a reconciliation.

Thus we may point to a second and independent influence which made itself felt apart from that of Spinoza and which was akin to the spirit of Leibniz' philosophy,—this was the historical interest, the idea of development. The philosophical system in which this was most intimately combined with the monistic and pantheistic spirit of Spinozism was the system of Hegel. His most original work, 'The Phenomenology of the Mind,' is hardly intelligible if we conceive the spiritual element merely as a divine order in the manner of Fichte's earlier writings, still less if we conceive it as an indifferent identity or absolute in the manner of Schelling in his earlier speculations; we are bound to conceive this spiritual factor as a personal self-conscious activity, and to combine with the pantheistic idea of the Absolute the theistic conception of a personal Deity. But the difficulties inherent in Hegel's style and exposition are much enhanced by the fact that the word "*Geist*" can be understood in an impersonal as well as in a personal sense; and indeed, in the further developments of his philosophical principle, both sides, the personal and the impersonal, are continually interchanged and employed for the explanation of the conscious processes of the individual mind on the one side and of the unconscious workings of the objective mind on the other.

A third influence which made itself felt alongside and independently of the abstract intellectualism and the refined æstheticism of the leaders of German thought after Kant, was the movement in the direction of popular education, which had independent beginnings. It came into Germany from Switzerland, where the educational spirit of the Reformed Church was as strongly marked as it was in Scotland, while, in Switzerland, it had been enlivened and tempered by the love of nature and the sympathy with the common people so characteristic of Rousseau's writings. The great exponent of this realistic spirit was Pestalozzi.

A distinct movement actuated by a similar popular spirit had already existed for the greater part of the eighteenth century in North Germany: it was that started in Halle through the labours of Spener and Francke and in the educational establishments which they founded. It grew up in the bosom of the Lutheran Church, and was identified with the evangelical section termed Pietists.

Later in the eighteenth century there spread from the same neighbourhood a realistic educational movement under the name of Philanthropinism. Though its founder, Basedow, was an eccentric person, the movement soon counted a large number of important educationalists: it produced, as did likewise the school of Pestalozzi, a large and important educational literature.

22. Uplifting of popular education.

All these three movements combined together in a general reform, a deepening and uplifting of popular education. They were at one in their practical and moral tendencies. They all three breathed a genuine

religious spirit, though this was, in the school of Pestalozzi, more spiritual and sympathetic, in that of Basedow more practically ethical. The great representatives of all the different shades of this movement disliked the formalism of clerical teaching and the tyranny of priesthood, to which they opposed the warmth of true religious feeling as well as a practical and moral good sense. But they were also distinctly averse from evaporating the simple truths of Christianity in an abstract intellectualism or a refined æstheticism. They stood outside of the learned schools, and their classical ideals; in their appreciation of the new philosophy they did not go beyond Kant's ethical and Fichte's popular writings. Thus, in the general literature of the age, they probably found themselves in more agreement with Lessing, Herder, and Jean Paul than with Goethe and the philosophical writings of Schiller; but they had not only an important poetical literature after their own taste, with such names as Gellert, Claudius, and Hebel; they assimilated also a truly artistic element through the great importance which was everywhere attached to musical instruction, to a thorough acquaintance with the large German hymnology and the great compositions for the organ,—in fact, sacred music was for them a great educational instrument.

Compared with the practical solution which this widespread school of popular educationalists gave to the religious problem, the metaphysical treatment which the latter received in Kant's transcendentalism and in the systems of his followers appeared abstract and uncongenial, deficient in warmth and emotion, appealing

to the understanding and imagination rather than to the feelings and the heart. Being as such useless for the purposes of popular education, it brought about a widespread but fatal tendency to regard the religion of the more highly educated and academic classes as something different from the religion of the people. As the whole of the religious teaching of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel amounted in reality to little more than an interpretation or a metaphysical paraphrase of the Christian verities, which were accepted in a symbolical or metaphorical sense, it was inevitable that one of the principal articles of Christianity—viz., that it is a religion for all men alike, the high and the low, the poor and the rich, the learned and the simple—was in danger of being lost. It meant the sacrifice of the true catholicity of Christian faith and doctrine as it lived in its Founder and His Apostles.

23. Hegel's formula for religion.

This view found a philosophical formula in Hegel's 'Philosophy of Religion': there the view was distinctly upheld that religion was a necessary and important, but not the highest, stage of mental or spiritual development; that the latter had to be sought and found in philosophy. At the close of his lectures on the 'History of Philosophy,' Hegel himself says:—

"The highest aim and interest of philosophy is to reconcile thought, the idea, with reality. Philosophy is the veritable theodicy, compared with art and religion and their sentiments,—the reconciliation of the mind, indeed of that mind which has grasped itself in the freedom and wealth of its reality. It is easy otherwise to find satisfaction in subordinate regions of intuition and feeling."

This abstract position which Hegel's philosophy took up in dealing with the religious problem was further emphasised by two characteristics of his system. That system started, indeed, with the idea of showing how everything was the working of the Divine Spirit, which unfolds itself in a great variety of forms in nature, mind, and history. *Prima facie*, therefore, it supported an eminently spiritual or religious view of things, and there is no doubt that it attracted for a time many young and ardent minds, who were tired of the formality and prose of the traditional teaching of rationalists and of orthodox alike. It seemed to be the veritable solution of the problem of the spirit. It must also have been considered as a great advantage that this spiritualising and deepening process of thought was carried out by a definite teachable method, the dialectical method. This first impression was strengthened through the personal influence which Hegel's Lectures had upon his hearers. They witnessed the wrestlings of a powerful intellect with the highest problems which the human mind can set to itself; they were shown the solution — or at least the road to the solution —of the supreme difficulties which had in that age again begun to trouble and harass thinking and believing persons; they met with a promise that the real truth of the Christian dispensation, the aspirations of the Reformation and the Revolution, should be intelligibly explained, confirmed, and harmonised. To this must be added the fascination created by the mystical element which pervaded all Hegel's writings and the prophetic tone of his oral teaching. When,

however, after Hegel's death, a younger generation began to criticise and examine more closely the actual structure of the system and the method of its dialectic, it was found that the latter was a purely logical process, operating with the most abstract categories of thought, and enlivened only by side glances at, and interesting excursions into, the large expanse of real life which Hegel's encyclopædic mind had always in view and at its command. Under the hands of many of his disciples and followers the dialectical process was reduced to a dry logical scheme, to a monotonous repetition of a soulless rhythm; whereas real fruits and results were harvested by those who, dropping the logical skeleton, threw themselves into historical research and the study of facts, where they gradually forgot the abstract formulæ with which they had started. This purely logical substructure of the system became more prominent through a further characteristic defect: the absence of a specifically ethical teaching, of an adequate treatment of the moral problem which had been such a marked characteristic in Kant's philosophy, and also in that of Fichte. All this had the result of creating a reaction against the purely logical tone, the panlogism of Hegel, in favour of a more realistic and sympathetic, if also less imaginative and fanciful, treatment of the great philosophical problems, notably of the moral and religious problems. The reaction was assisted by that great volume of critical and historical, of psychological and anthropological research to which disciples and opponents of Hegel contributed equally.

The earliest opposition to the purely intellectual and

24. Jacobi's opposition.

metaphysical treatment[1] of the spiritual problem was started by F. H. Jacobi soon after the publication of Kant's first 'Critique.' In his 'Letters on the

[1] Considering the enormous influence which Kant's teaching had, not only in philosophy but also in general literature, and especially also in theology proper, it may appear as if sufficient had not been said in the text about Kant's actual philosophy of religion. For this there are two reasons. The first is that Kant's peculiar attitude to the religious problem belongs entirely to the eighteenth century, and loses much of its importance with the beginning of the nineteenth, quite a new aspect having been established in the last year of the eighteenth century through the appearance of Schleiermacher's 'Addresses.' And, secondly, it may even be held that a philosophy of religion only begins with the latter work, though it was prepared by such writers as Jacobi, Hamann, and Herder. The difference may be better understood if we distinguish three aspects of the religious problem by the terms: Religious Philosophy, Philosophical Religion, and Philosophy of Religion. Before the nineteenth century, and even in Kant's works, there did not really exist a philosophy of religion at all—*i.e.*, a philosophical (methodical as distinguished from popular or poetical) discussion of religious Experience. What existed was: First, a religious philosophy—*i.e.*, a theory of the world and life written in a religious spirit, embodying the currently accepted spiritual truths, be they those of natural or of revealed religion. Such a philosophy is represented in the writings of very different thinkers, such as the Deists in England and some of their opponents, Rousseau and even Voltaire in France, Mendelssohn and Jacobi in Germany, and a host of others. Secondly, there existed the great works of Spinoza, Leibniz, and Kant, which contained and propounded a philosophical religion, a reasoned creed, with more or less of a desire to understand or paraphrase existing religious teaching, expressing in philosophical language what various forms of existing religious teaching expressed in their own way. It was an attempt to interpret, to show the deeper meaning of existing dogmas, retaining or discarding them as they could or could not be brought into a consistent well-thought-out system. Of the latter class Kant was by far the most critical as well as the most reassuring exponent. He was critical and destructive in his First Critique, in which he showed that the ideas of human reason, such as God, Freedom, and Immortality, were not capable of any rigid demonstration. They existed as Noumena: things thought of but really unknowable in the sense of what we term Knowledge in the phenomenal world. But Kant developed the reassuring side of his doctrine in his Second Critique, in which he established these verities as necessary postulates of the moral consciousness; the undeniable existence of a moral law, and the possibility of following it, rendering it necessary for the human mind to assume and believe in the existence of a Lawgiver, of human freedom to follow His law, and of a larger life in which duty and happiness, existing combined as the highest Good, could be finally realised. What we may term the religious teaching was, in these earlier works, metaphysical on the one side and ethical on the other. In the Third Critique a reconciliation of this twofold aspect was attempted, and the way indicated for the speculations of his successors. Late in life Kant wrote a special Treatise ('Religion within the limits of mere Reason,' 1793), and several smaller Tracts, the latest being on the 'Conflict of the Faculties' (1798), the main purport of which was a philosophical interpretation or paraphrase of the existing religious doctrine of the Christian Churches. The outcome of this is concisely given by Paulsen (*loc. cit.*, p. 393) as follows: "Put into formulæ, the religious teaching of Kant can be laid down in the following points: 1. The essence of religion is not the belief in supernatural beings which eventually affect nature and human life, but a belief in God, an all-pervading Will for the Good, which realises itself in nature and history. 2. The proof of religion does not consist in historical facts (miracles, revelation), but in the moral law or the good will in us, aiming at the highest Good. 3. The object of religion is not the subjection of the will or the understanding under any powers, Here or Beyond, but solely the strengthening in us of the will for the Good." Paulsen concludes by saying "that these formulæ may even now be made the foundation of religious philosophy."

Philosophy of Spinoza,' and his 'Criticism of David Hume,' as well as in his subsequent writings and correspondence, he strongly urged the fact that belief lies at the bottom of all our knowledge. He attacks especially the doctrine of the "thing in itself," the unknown X of Kant's philosophy. He maintained that, according to Kant, the human intellect hovers or oscillates indefinitely in a region between the unknown reality of an external world and the equally unknown essence of an inner world, in the empty cloud-land of time and space; that sensation has nothing behind it and the understanding nothing in front of it, and that, in consequence, the whole process must end inevitably in pure scepticism. This transcendental ignorance Jacobi confronts with his 'Realism of Belief.' All truth consists in the knowledge of reality, such knowledge is immediate and not mediated, a matter of feeling. Compared

with this all the reasoning processes are merely trains of thought without a beginning or an end, an endless succession of the "Conditioned" without any access to the "Unconditioned." All demonstrable knowledge is, therefore, as Jacobi says, Spinozism, the doctrine of the mechanical necessity of the finite. Jacobi foresaw and expressed clearly what has been more and more realised in the course of the nineteenth century, that it is in the interest of science that there be no god; in fact, that a Deity who could be known would not be God in the sense of the faithful believer. But such scientific knowledge is only mediate; all true knowledge is immediate, rests on a conviction of certainty which cannot be proved but only accepted; such is given through our senses in the lower or sensuous region of things and through what Jacobi terms reason in the higher or spiritual region of things. He thus proclaims a supernatural sensationalism in which the great spiritual verities, God, Freedom, The Good, and Immortality are revealed to us. Jacobi thus asserts, though in a different manner, the existence of a twofold order of things; but, instead of defining with Kant this twofold order as the opposition of the sensible and the intelligible, he makes it the co-ordination of two realities which are reached by a lower and by a higher sense, both resting upon a feeling of immediate certainty, or, as others might be inclined to say, on sight. With this view Jacobi gives access to the more popular manner in which spiritual things are usually treated. In fact, he always remained with one foot firmly placed in the popular philosophy of his age; and if, as it has been

said, he ventured to place the other beyond the line in that free land of speculation discovered by the Idealists, he immediately drew it back again into its former position; he never crossed the Rubicon and settled in the transcendental philosophy, which was loudly proclaimed at that time as the new and promised land in which the dilemmas of former systems of thought and of common-sense were to disappear. His writings had a great influence, and did much to stem the tide of abstract speculation; his language also was that of the best literature of his age, and he did not indulge in that novel and uncouth terminology introduced by Kant and further developed by some of his successors.[1]

[1] The position of Jacobi in the history of philosophical, and especially of religious, thought is extremely interesting and well worth studying in the present day when the subject of religious experience is so much discussed. Although in systematic philosophy Jacobi's writings are of subordinate and mostly only of critical importance, he himself was, as Goethe said, one of the most interesting figures in an extraordinary age. Talking to Eckermann ('Conversations with Goethe,' 11th April 1827), Goethe said that he had been reading the Letters of Jacobi and his friends and found it a most remarkable book, not because one could learn something from it, but in order to get an insight into the culture and literature of the time, of which even then one had no conception. "One sees a number, as it were, of important persons, but not a trace of the same direction or of a common interest, rather every one self-contained and marching his own way, without in the least taking any part in the endeavours of the others. They appear to me like billiard balls which run blindly about on the green cloth without knowing anything of each other, and which, as soon as they touch, only diverge so much more." Goethe then proceeds to explain that Jacobi loved him personally without taking any part in his endeavours or perhaps even approving of them; that it required friendship to keep them together whereas it was just the opposite between him and Schiller. And, confirming this, Jacobi had written about Goethe, whom he first met in the year 1774: "Goethe is like a man possessed, to whom it is in no case permitted to act arbitrarily. It is only necessary to be an hour with him in order to find it in the highest degree ludicrous to expect from him that he should think and act otherwise than he really thinks and acts. Hereby I do not wish to suggest that no change for the more beautiful and better is possible to him; but it is not otherwise possible than as the flower unfolds itself, the seed

25. Hamann and Herder.

An opposition somewhat akin to that of Jacobi was also maintained by Hamann[1] and Herder, a friend and a

ripens, and the tree grows up and blossoms" (quoted by Bielschowsky, 'Life of Goethe,' 7th German edition, 1905, vol. i. p. 6). The estrangement between the two friends began with Goethe's disapproval of Jacobi's exposition and interpretation of Spinoza's doctrine, which represented the latter as atheism, whereas Goethe considered him a most godly (theissimus) thinker, and became still more pronounced when Jacobi published in 1811 his tract, 'Von den Göttlichen Dingen und ihrer Offenbarung,' which also brought as its consequence his complete rupture with Schelling. The opposite development is represented in the relations of Hegel to Jacobi, and it is interesting to see how the divergence of their opinions grew less in the course of time and led to personal esteem and appreciation. In one of his earliest essays (1802, reprinted 'Werke,' vol. i. p. 1), contributed to the 'Critical Journal,' which he edited together with Schelling, Hegel reviewed the different philosophies which had sprung up as continuations, modifications, or corrections of the Kantian philosophy, and among these he deals also with Jacobi's polemics, in which the latter developed his *Glaubensphilosophie* and represented Spinozism as the misleading principle in Fichte's philosophy which necessarily would lead to atheism. To Jacobi's representation of Fichte's philosophy as the necessary outcome of the Kantian position Hegel strongly objects, notably also to that of both Spinoza and Kant, and classes him somewhat contemptuously with other thinkers of the period, including Schleiermacher, as representing the subjective philosophy of feeling and reflection to which the real philosophy, represented by Schelling and himself, forms a contrast. In the sequel, however, and after Hegel had become personally acquainted with Jacobi at Heidelberg, he considerably modified his opinion of Jacobi's teaching. To this maturer estimate he gave expression in his reviews of Jacobi's 'Collected Works' (1816-1817, reprinted in vols. xvi. and xvii. of the 'Werke'), representing the same as an important phase in the development of idealism, maintaining also that, inspired by the fundamental truth of Spinozism, Jacobi had paved the way for a speculative development of the philosophy of the Absolute, though remaining himself in the position of simply asserting, without logically substantiating, the conviction that the Absolute is Spirit. At that time the divergence between Schelling and Hegel had become quite apparent, and the fact that Schelling himself had very severely and unjustly attacked Jacobi in a review of the latest work of the latter may have induced Hegel to state emphatically that Jacobi represented an important though only an intermediate phase in recent philosophy. Also in the latest (1825-1826) manuscript of his lectures on the 'History of Philosophy,' published posthumously ('Werke,' vol. xv. p. 608), Hegel inserted a special paragraph about Jacobi, whom he no longer throws together with those other thinkers (Krug, Fries, &c.), whom he persists in treating with scant respect. These critical notices by Hegel, written at a time when his own system was matured, are of great importance, as also is the review of Hamann's works (1828, 'Werke,' vol. xvii. p. 38). Hegel shows towards these two remarkable and — inasmuch as they both stood outside the systematic

development of the new philosophy —eccentric thinkers a great appreciation of the personal element which forms the foundation and attractiveness of their somewhat casual, aphoristic, but frequently brilliant writings; holding that what they are leaving in the twilight of individual and emotional thought, his own philosophy is aiming at drawing into the clear daylight of reason. He also points out how Jacobi's polemics, against Spinoza and Fichte in particular, do not touch the deep personal regard which he expresses for both thinkers. In a celebrated letter, published in his 'Collected Works,' Jacobi says to Fichte that he does not take him personally to be an atheist or a godless man, though he has felt obliged to call his doctrine, as also that of Spinoza, atheistic. And towards the latter he had indeed shown his real veneration in an apostrophe written earlier: "Be blessed you great and holy Benedictus! However you may philosophise and err in words regarding the nature of the Highest Being, His truth was in your soul and His love was your life."

[1] Johann Georg Hamann (1730-1788) was an extraordinary figure in that phase of German thought which led out of the clear but dry and thin atmosphere of the *Aufklärung*, through much mist and confusion, to the poetry and depth of idealism and romanticism. He himself is perhaps most prominent representative in the moment of confusion. That, in spite of this, he had a great personal influence on other thinkers is by no one better brought out than by Hegel himself, who, in the height of his literary career and fame (1828), thought the subject important enough to write a lengthy review ('Werke,' vol. xvii. pp. 38-110) of Hamann's 'Collected Works'; and for the student of to-day no better characterisation of the man, his works, and his personal influence can be found than this review of Hegel's. He shows there Hamann's similarity to Rousseau inasmuch as he created an extraordinary personal interest, differing, however, from Rousseau in this, that his works were as unreadable, fragmentary, and unfinished as Rousseau's were the very reverse. He interested, repelled, and fascinated a large number of persons who thought him in possession of some mystery which they were in search of. This search after some hidden treasure, the expectancy of the age that some formula or truth was on the point of being revealed, made thinking as well as emotional natures ready to listen to true as well as to false prophets; indeed, the oracular style, backed by a real or supposed inspiration, was common to many writers, and, beginning with Hamann, is characteristic not only of the great poetry of Goethe but also of some of the greatest writings of Schelling and Hegel, and ministered for a time to their attractiveness. Hegel shows, *inter alia*, how the problem of belief acquired in Hamann that larger meaning which it possesses in Jacobi's writings. Speaking of Hamann's first well-known work, entitled 'Socratic Memorabilia,' Hegel says: "Whilst towards the public the semblance of an objective content is given to it, the meaning, content, and aim of this work are personal to a degree in which his other writings are not; yet in all there is more or less contained the interest and the sense of the personal. Also what is said about belief is similarly taken primarily from Christian belief, but is expanded to a wider meaning; that

disciple of Kant. In their writings an important point is emphasised which has also been brought out with increasing clearness in the course of the last century. It refers to the part which language plays in our mental development. For them language is the instrument through which what would otherwise remain separated in the human soul, the sensuous and the super-sensuous, is brought together and unified. But this idea is little more than an *aperçu*, a fruitful suggestion which even at the present day has hardly been sufficiently followed up.

None of these three opponents of Kant's systematic philosophy were academic teachers who felt the call to expound their philosophical theories in a methodical form to younger minds. Their teaching was therefore fragmentary and incomplete. It brought out certain points with great clearness, and urged them with much literary skill, but it resembled the greater part of the philosophical writing in this country, inasmuch as it lacked either method or completeness of thought or both. Through this fragmentary but more elegant treatment of important philosophical problems these writers had great influence upon the popular thought of their age, but they stood outside the systematic and methodical development of the new ideas which were contained in Kant's philosophy. Nevertheless,

sensuous certainty of external and temporal things, of our own existence and that of all things, is also called Belief. In this extension the principle of belief has, as is well known, been made the principle of a philosophy, and we find in Jacobi's sentences, almost verbatim, those of Hamann. The high demand which religious belief makes only through its absolute content is in this way extended to the subjective belief which attaches only to a particular, accidental, relative, and finite content."

26. Influence of extramural teaching on the schools.

they had a not inconsiderable influence upon the philosophy of the schools,—an influence which made itself felt later on when the logical consequences of the transcendental position had been clearly stated and its possibilities for a time exhausted. In the meantime, though remaining in the background, attempts were made to put these ideas of the opposition into a more methodical form and to use them in the construction of coherent systems of thought. Among these the system of Fries[1] was probably the most original and suggestive, while the writings of Krug were the most popular. Fries came to philosophy with a genuine religious interest, having been educated in a sect which cultivated an inner religious life in contrast to the more external clerical religion of the age. With this interest, he appreciated the crude endeavours of Jacobi to vindicate for religious belief a separate province in the human mind, but he marks an advance upon Jacobi, inasmuch as he was not content merely to assert this independence but saw the necessity of supporting its assertion by a correcter and fuller statement of psychological facts. This interest in psychology he combined with a more thorough acquaintance with the mathematical sciences and their development in the direction of mathematical physics. He also saw the necessity of extending psychology beyond the study of the individual soul into that of the collective mind and its natural history, laying much stress upon anthropology. Through these special interests his

[1] About Fries and his writings see the note to p. 258 of the 3rd vol. of this history.

teaching acquired a unique position, bringing it into fruitful contact with the realistic spirit of the popular educationalists and their practical religious teaching, and he founded, in a narrower sphere, an independent philosophical school which counted eminent representatives such as Schleiden the botanist on the one side and de Wette the theologian on the other. Fries summed up his psychology of religion in the formula: "phenomena are known to us, the truly real we believe in, through the former (knowledge) we gain a presentiment of the latter (the objects of "faith").[1] But Fries was not, any more than Jacobi or Krug, a theologian, and, though his religious

[1] A popular exposition of this view is given by Fries in 'Wissen, Glaube und Ahndung' (1805). The word *Ahndung* has a double meaning in the German language, and, in the meaning which Fries gives it, it is therefore frequently spelt *Ahnung*. In this sense and in the verbal form (*Ahnen*) it has no equivalent in the English language. The best rendering seems to be, to have a presentiment or a (spiritual) foretaste, viz., of the higher truth or the truly real. The formula can be explained in two relations. The belief in the truly real as distinguished from the merely apparent may be considered solely as a negation of the latter. In this light Jacobi considered Kant's 'Thing in itself.' But it can also be considered as arising from a special aspect, the poetical or æsthetical aspect, which throws upon phenomena a light which they do not in reality possess: "The close relationship of this poetical religion with the identification of religion and poetry which prevailed in the Romantic School is quite apparent; the nearest counterpart of Fries' religio-æsthetical conception is to be found in Novalis' poetico-religious idealism, only that the latter is not content with the merely æsthetical world-view, but attributes to the ideal enthusiasm the power of a magical world-construction, whereas Fries retains, with sober reasonableness, the dividing line between reality and the ideal." O. Pfleiderer, from whose 'Geschichte der Religionsphilosophie' (3rd ed., 1893, p. 474) this quotation is taken, makes the pertinent remark that such a religion could never become popular, and that Fries shares this exclusively aristocratic attitude in religion with the Romanticists, having betrayed this trait in the motto of his 'Religionsphilosophie' (1832): "Odi profanum vulgus et arceo," which contrasts strikingly with the words of our Saviour, "Come to me all *ye* that labour and are heavy laden."

training created in him a special appreciation of the religious problem, he stood outside of any special religious organisation and did not extend his interest in this problem to an understanding of the positive historical religion and its manifestation in a community of believers—*i.e.*, in the Christian Church.

II.

27. Schleiermacher's grasp of historical religion.

The first step to an understanding of this, the most important phenomenon of modern history, was taken by one who alone among the great thinkers of modern Germany has been able to hold the balance between a genuine theological and an equally genuine philosophical interest. Schleiermacher[1] was one of those rare minds

[1] The most important work on Schleiermacher (1768-1834) is the 'Life' by Wilhelm Dilthey (vol. i., 1870). It does not reach beyond the year 1802, but deals fully with the 'Reden über die Religion,' by far the most important of Schleiermacher's Works from a philosophical point of view; but the main value of Dilthey's book (542 pages of small type and 145 pages of valuable documents referring to the inner development of Schleiermacher) does not lie in the biographical details, nor even in the penetrating analysis of his earlier works, but rather in the interesting picture which he draws of the state of the higher mental life—literary, philosophical, and poetical—which characterised the Berlin circle of eminent writers, thinkers, and scholars at the beginning of the nineteenth century. For the moment it must be regretted that the book has been long out of print and that the continuation is wanting. That the eminent author who will, as time goes on, probably stand out more and more as one of the most original thinkers in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century, was able to appreciate many other sides and systems of mental culture, to the study of which he devoted his life, is shown by his other writings, notably by his very penetrating analysis of the early development of Hegel (quoted above, vol. iii. p. 250 n.), who, alongside of Schleiermacher, shone as a centre of intellectual light and life in the north of Germany during the twenty years from 1815 to 1835. Considering the enormous literature, biographical, epistolary, and critical, which forms the source of information from which Dilthey drew his materials,

in whom very different, seemingly antagonistic, currents of thought come together, influencing each other and leading to a deeper, a more comprehensive view. He came from a religious stock on the side of both his parents; in his family many religious conflicts had taken place, both internal and external. He himself passed his school days in the seclusion of the sect of

we must be thankful to possess such a unique work as his on Schleiermacher, which forms a veritable encyclopædia of information for the student of that age, with its many problems, its attempted solutions, and its equally numerous failures. The study of this work is indispensable, but it also makes it unnecessary for all, except specialists, to traverse themselves the many volumes referred to by Dilthey as the source of his information. This book should be specially recommended to foreigners, for whom, even more than for German readers, it remains true that, "in the innermost life, thinking and feeling of Schleiermacher there is something totally strange to the present generation. He, his age, his friends: all are separated from the present day through a change in sentiments, ideas, and endeavours, more drastic than perhaps any that has ever taken place. For this day has lost its direct relationship to the great epoch to which Schleiermacher belonged" (Dilthey, p. v.). Next to Dilthey's unfinished work must be mentioned as of real value W. Bender's work on the theology of Schleiermacher ('Schleiermacher's Theologie, mit ihren Philosophischen Grundlagen,' 2 parts, 1876-78). Its importance lies in the fact that it contains one of the fullest discussions of a problem which is hidden in Schleiermacher's writings and brought out clearly and defined, as we shall see later on, by Albrecht Ritschl: the problem of the philosophical foundations of a science of theology. As during the nineteenth century the philosophy of nature has gradually changed from a discussion of natural knowledge into a study of the psychological and logical principles through which scientific knowledge of nature is possible, so, in an analogous way, philosophers have been led away from the somewhat fruitless attempt to elaborate a philosophical religion to the more important question as to the psychological foundations of actual religious life and to the further logical problem: in what way is an independent science of theology possible? For the history of the change that has taken place, so far as the philosophical interest in the religious problem is concerned, the work of Bender forms a valuable contribution in spite of the fact that it seems almost as if in the writing of this work the author had written himself out of theology into philosophy, a transition which seems the reverse of that of Schleiermacher himself, whose influence as a religious teacher gradually supervened on and almost cast into oblivion his important philosophical labours.

the Moravian Brotherhood, who kept themselves aloof from the ecclesiastical conflicts of the day and cultivated a religious life in some respects not unlike that peculiar to the Society of Friends in this country; differing, however, from the latter inasmuch as they did not take a similar prominent part in any great philanthropic movements such as, in this country, began with the great work of William Penn in the middle of the seventeenth century. The narrowness of this secluded and sectarian life drove Schleiermacher away from the Brotherhood for which he, nevertheless, retained a life-long affection. From it he was thrown into the midst of the spirit of enlightenment, at a moment when it was being deepened and idealised by the original poetical genius of the age as well as by the stirring effect of Kant's philosophy; at the same time he came under the influence of the classical and critical spirit as it lived in its great representative F. A. Wolf. Through Jacobi he became acquainted with the writings of Spinoza as he had become acquainted, through Wolf, with those of Plato. In both he admired that higher mysticism which was so different from the narrow inwardness of the Brotherhood. But he was not attracted so much by the logical as by the emotional pantheism of Spinoza. Influenced by him, he introduced into the philosophy of religion the idea that one of the sources and characteristics of religious inspiration is the feeling of oneness between the Individual and the All, what more recently has been termed "cosmic emotion"; the conviction, which has lived in some of the foremost teachers of mankind, that their individual and subjective self

was in immediate contact—that it was at one—with the Infinite and the Eternal. But Schleiermacher never lost himself so completely in this spiritual or cosmic pantheism as some other contemporary thinkers, at least transiently, did; for he had an equal sense for the value of individual existence, for the importance of personal independence and individuality of development. In this respect his view was more akin to that of Leibniz who, in his 'Monadology,' opposed the pantheism of Spinoza. Schleiermacher thus early elaborated a special expression in which the oneness of the Individual and the All could be combined with a distinct subjective feeling; this he described as the feeling of absolute dependence as far as the individual, the finite self is concerned. In the two most original of his earlier writings—in his 'Addresses,' 1799, and his 'Monologues,' 1801,—he emphasises what he considers to be equally important manifestations of the religious sentiment—viz., the feeling of being one with the All, and at the same time of being individually, though absolutely, dependent upon it. To give and to find oneself, to be equally distant from the egotism of the lower self and from an exaltation of the logical idea; that is, for Schleiermacher, the essence of the religious sentiment or pious feeling: in it, whoever loses his own self in the Universal, at the same time gains the intrinsic joy of this absorption or devotion. Religion is accordingly neither knowledge nor action but a state of feeling, the sentiment of an all-embracing and all-absorbing life. Religious doctrines or dogmas result from a reflection upon this religious sentiment. They are,

therefore, neither an extension of ordinary knowledge nor purely ethical precepts or moral commands. Thus Schleiermacher stands between the purely metaphysical treatment of the religious problem by Hegel and the purely ethical by Kant; having an appreciation for both. This assertion, by Schleiermacher, of the independence of the spiritual life in relation both to the intellectual and the ethical, though forming the ultimate basis of both and reacting on them, led in the sequel of his own speculations, and still more in the further course of nineteenth century thought, to two distinct developments, to two very different conceptions of the religious life and of the solution of the religious problem, of the problem of the spirit. These two independent developments were combined in Schleiermacher's personality, but since his time they have gone far asunder. They may, for our present purpose, be defined as the æsthetical and the social conception of religion and its importance.[1]

28. Æsthetical and social conception of religion.

[1] The peculiarity and originality of Schleiermacher's genius can be best grasped by contrasting him with other great thinkers who surrounded him. Among these no one played a greater part in bringing out Schleiermacher's characteristic conceptions than Fichte, and it is to the latter that we are most indebted for unknowingly stimulating Schleiermacher to the expression of his own views, to the production and publication of some of his most striking earlier writings. The contrast to Fichte is summed up by Dilthey in a quotation taken from Schleiermacher's Correspondence (1800): "Philosophy and life are with him [Fichte], as he also theoretically maintains, quite separate; his natural way of thinking has nothing extraordinary, and thus there is wanting in him, so long as he sticks to the ordinary point of view, everything that could make him interesting to me. Before he arrived I had an idea of conversing with him about his philosophy and opening out to him my opinion that I could not very well put up with his way of separating the common-sense from the philosophical point of view. But I soon pulled in my sails." Dilthey adds that "personal intercourse, conferences over many common interests, the respective scientific developments, resulted with Schleiermacher only in an accentuation of this impression" (*loc. cit.*, p.

It was characteristic of the age that witnessed the publication of Schleiermacher's first deliverances, and especially of the surroundings in which he lived, that the æsthetical interpretation should have found earlier and more general recognition, and this in two distinct forms: first, in that cosmic pantheism which we find permeating the poetical and prose works of Goethe during that period and which formed the fundamental view in Schelling's earlier 'Philosophy of

347). In a recent, very interesting, study of the early development of Fichte, Schelling, and Schleiermacher ('Vom Werden dreier Denker,' 1904), E. Fuchs enters very fully into the question of the occasion which the 'Atheismusstreit' of Fichte gave Schleiermacher for the production of his 'Addresses.' This celebrated controversy, which brought about Fichte's removal from Jena to Berlin, turned upon the question, forced upon thinkers through the study of Spinoza, whether Spinozism and the religious conceptions contained therein admitted of the belief in a personal Deity as distinguished from a Divine Order. Fichte had, in one phase of his development, taken up the position that the belief in a Divine—*i.e.*, a moral—Order, was the necessary but also the sufficient foundation of religion, and this had led to his being accused of atheism. This occurrence threw into the philosophical world a great and stirring subject of discussion: "Whilst many drew back from Fichte, a hitherto unknown man stood courageously with him. True, the little book appeared anonymously, . . . but its author could not and did not remain hidden. This valiant one was Schleiermacher, then a preacher at the 'Charité,' and his book the 'Addresses on Religion.' These are accordingly a document in the 'Atheismusstreit,' and this explains to a large extent why they met with such universal recognition. General attention had been created; but that they had such a remarkable success, that philosophical and theological thinking, and above all, religious sentiment, were revived through them, that was only possible by reason of their intrinsic value. Through it Schleiermacher became the author whom German thought, in the following years, strove and wrestled to understand. With bold freedom the little book places itself by the side of Fichte, and this in the name of religion. The very same who profess to defend religion against Fichte in reality spoil and destroy it. They defend their religious notions and destroy, through an absolute want of understanding, the roots in the human soul from which they have sprung" (p. 286). And Fuchs goes on to quote that remarkable passage in the Address in which Schleiermacher traces religion back to a presentiment, secret and uncomprehended, in youthful souls, which drives them beyond the riches of this world to seek for the supernatural.

Nature.' Both these harmonised with the pantheistic side of Schleiermacher's effusions, with his Spinozism. But secondly, the subjective and individualising current of thought which forms the other side of these same writings found an eager response in the subjectivism and the phantasies of the romantic school of which Schleiermacher's personal friends, the brothers Schlegel, formed the centre. However, neither the one nor the other exhausted Schleiermacher's conception, and, as the sequel has shown, both are in danger of losing the truly religious interest and elaborating an æsthetical substitute for it. The principal defect of the former, the religion of pantheism with its impersonal deity, is that it has no understanding for the existence of sin and evil. The two greatest exponents of this view, in their later poetical and philosophical speculations, realised this defect. Goethe did so, when in the later years of his life he completed and carried out that greatest conception of his poetical genius which accompanied him through the whole of his long poetic career; when he wrote the last acts of the second part of "Faust." No such consummation was vouchsafed to the philosopher Schelling, but we know how he, during the last forty years of his life, laboured incessantly at this, the supreme problem of human existence. The defect of the opposite æsthetical school, of the romanticists, was their extreme subjectivism in which they imperceptibly abandoned all regard for the science and morals of common-sense, losing in consequence, in spite of brilliant creations, all power of contributing permanently to that intellectual and moral regeneration

of the age which formed, starting from Fichte, their original programme.

In his later activity, both as an eminent preacher in the Established Church of his country and as an ardent promoter of the union of the two Protestant Churches;[1] in his philosophical and theological works; and, lastly, in his influential position as an academic teacher, Schleiermacher brought out more clearly the differences which separated him as much from the pantheism of Spinoza as from the subjectivism of the romanticists, and also from the ethical rigorism and formalism of Kant. Apart from the marked originality of his genius and unique personality, it was no doubt the fact that he was a practical teacher and preacher within an existing religious community which gave to his religious and ethical speculations a distinct and well-defined character. For although, as already stated, religion was not, by Schleiermacher, identified with ethics, and could not in his view be built upon a foundation of purely

[1] "On the 27th September 1817 the King explained to the Consistories that he would, on the centenary of the Reformation, attend the Communion Service together with the Lutherans, expressed the hope that this would find a response with his subjects, and left it to the wisdom of the clergy, the synods, and the Consistories to find the form for such a union. Schleiermacher was the President of the first United Berlin Synod and the author of the Declaration in which the latter expressed itself to the communities regarding the intended common Communion Service on the occasion of the festival of the Reformation. According to this the celebration was to lead to neither liturgical nor dogmatic uniformity. On the 31st of October, in the Church of St Nicholas, sixty-three of the Berlin clergy, all the theological doctors and professors of the University, and many high officials, partook together of the Communion; before the altar the theological colleagues, Schleiermacher, the Reformed, and Marheinecke, the Lutheran, joined hands. And Schleiermacher, in the sequel, conducted also the literary defence of the Union." (Dilthey, Art. Schleiermacher, 'Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,' vol. xxxi. p. 442.)

ethical principles as with Kant, yet no doubt the ethical is the more important side in his religious philosophy. In this regard he brought out as the central idea of his ethical conception that of the "highest good," of a "world of (spiritual) goods" which have to be realised through and in human conduct. Thus, neither the purely formal sense of moral obligation—the categorical imperative of Kant—nor the utilitarian conception of happiness formed the starting-point and central idea of Schleiermacher's ethics. The central idea was that of the "highest good" or (spiritual) "goods" which have to be realised, the conception of the establishment, through the combined individual effort of human beings in human society and its historical development, of a different and higher order of things than the existing natural or lower order. This ethical ideal was indeed not sufficiently and clearly defined by Schleiermacher. The necessity for such a definition is, to a great extent, removed as soon as we cease to restrict ourselves like Kant to a purely logical and systematic construction of an ethical code, and point to history and to the actual realisation which moral and religious ideas have so far attained in the society of which we are members. There it was, in the Christian community in which and for which he lived and worked, that Schleiermacher looked for the practical solution of the problem. But he not only found in the Christian Church the gradual realisation of the divine order of things, of the Civitas Dei; he found in it also an ideal of conduct and of life in the person of its Founder. Whoever recognises in Him the beginning and the end, the origin and the

realisation of the moral ideal, so far as it is revealed to, and can be grasped by, the human mind, can dispense with all further philosophical definitions of the "highest good"; and this was eminently the case in Schleiermacher's theology. His efforts were therefore latterly more directed towards the systematic statement of the main points of Christian faith and Christian duty, than to an independent deduction of purely philosophical principles.[1] In fact, we cannot understand Schleiermacher's philosophy without his theology. The historical process, the actually existing religion, is the practical solution of the theoretical problem.

Nevertheless, the posthumous publication of Schleiermacher's Lectures, which range over a large field, comprising dialectics, æsthetics, psychology, ethics, history of philosophy, &c., gave abundant proof that he strove to the end to give also a broader and deeper theoretical foundation to his theological teaching, that he was working at the main philosophical problem, the psychological foundation of religion, the problem of the Spirit. It is interesting to inquire how it has come about that this truly philosophical side of Schleiermacher's teaching, notably his quite original treatment of psychology, has been so little noticed, and has had, till quite recently,[1]

[1] Before we leave Schleiermacher the philosopher and speak of him as theologian, in which aspect he was indeed for a long time exclusively considered by philosophical writers, it is well to note that his earlier speculations, in particular the 'Addresses' (1799) and the 'Monologues' (1801), contain really the beginnings of a much deeper psychology than Kant, Fichte, or Schelling possessed. In fact, if we adopt the conceptions and the terminology established by the recent—notably the English introspective—school of psychology, we are able to put in a much clearer light Schleiermacher's religious and ethical ideas, and to show how they mark a really great advance upon those of contemporary thinkers, foreshadowing what has only quite recently been more clearly brought out. This is to a large extent implied in Dilthey's book. It forms the introductory conception in Bender's 'Exposition' (*loc. cit.*, p. 6), and still more in Fuchs' study of Schleiermacher, in which he contrasts his empirical psychology, his introspective method, which does not sacrifice its observations to a unique principle, with Fichte in his contemporary writings, though it must be admitted that the latter, later on in his career, recognised the necessity of a deeper and broader psychology. This is very marked in the posthumously published Lectures on 'The Data of Consciousness.' There are, to mention only a few points, two recent ideas which are implicitly contained in Schleiermacher's earliest speculations, as they have been published by Dilthey in the invaluable appendix to his 'Life of Schleiermacher.' To these, as well as to the 'Monologues,' both fragmentary productions, full of remarkable glimpses into the recesses of the human mind, Fuchs has largely resorted as forming, together with the 'Addresses,' the material for his study of the development of Schleiermacher's mind. In the first Schleiermacher takes what I have repeatedly termed the "Synoptic" view, relying not only upon Sight (*Anschauung*), *i.e.*, direct inner experience, but putting it emphatically also that this must be always comprehensive, grasping a whole, and not single parts of the object in view. The second point is that we cannot read Schleiermacher's observations without seeing clearly that the difficulties in the speculations of that age can be traced mainly to two points: the unfortunate "Thing in itself" of Kant and the ambiguity which attaches to the conception of Self under whatever term — Consciousness, Ego, &c.— it may be spoken of. Is it the individual self, or the *Bewusstsein überhaupt*, or the collective Self? Is it an individual thing or a logical abstraction, or is it the concrete universal? This point is never cleared up. But Schleiermacher anticipates, though only implicitly, the recent doctrine of the two selves, the subjective and the social self. The first a "mirror of the Universe," to use the Leibnizian term; the second only a unit among a great many other units or persons, distinguished from them and other surrounding things. I cannot help thinking that English psychologists, working on the lines marked out so clearly by Prof. Jas. Ward, would do well to study and interpret Schleiermacher's earlier writings and bring out the psychology which is hidden in them. In a paper "On the Synoptic Aspect of Reality," published in the 'Proceedings of the University of Durham Philosophical Society' (vol. v. pp. 45-61), I have traced a little more fully the direction of this line of reasoning. It is only since I wrote this, and four years after the text of this chapter was written, that I have become acquainted with the interesting study of E. Fuchs, and I am much gratified to find how helpful his analysis of Schleiermacher's early speculations is towards an adequate psychology of religion as a personal and a social factor in human life.

[1] It seems to me to be a principal merit of Bender's work that he has drawn attention to Schleiermacher's psychology in opposition to a conception prevalent at the time that the foundation of Schleiermacher's religious speculation was essentially metaphysical. "That the individual comes to life only in the whole and the whole only in individuals—these are the two poles around which, from the beginning, Schleiermacher's sphere of thought

29. Neglect of Schleiermacher's psychology.

seemingly so little influence on the course of German speculation. The cause for this seems to me to be twofold: first, general; second, personal.

The general cause may be found in the fact that, under the influence of the poetical genius of the age which found its highest expression in Goethe's and Schiller's classical creations, nearly all the leading thinkers of the idealistic school indulged in poetical and rhetorical writing, frequently also in figurative and oracular language, that the message which they had to deliver presented itself, not in the sober form of methodical thought, but more frequently in the form of aphorisms, rhapsodies, and appeals to the imagination. This form of expression had, under the necessities of academic teaching, to be replaced by, or interpreted in, sober and logical prose; it had to accommodate itself to the needs of the student and the demands of the scholar; it had to formulate and to deal with special defined problems in sober diction. Accordingly, those thinkers who

revolves. They remain so to the end. . . . Though Schelling and Spinoza may have intruded, the 'Addresses' and the 'Monologues,' with their marvellous mixture of acute empirical reflection and divining mysticism, prove sufficiently that the later programme of his many-sided speculation rests upon original conceptions in which he thought to have found the solution of the riddle of his own innermost life. These fundamental conceptions which, in accordance with the rhetorical purpose of those writings, could not be further developed are, in the sequel, taken up by Schleiermacher's psychology in order to receive their scientific formulation and proof. . . . I hope to show that Schleiermacher's metaphysic is best explained through his psychology and not *vice versa*" ('Schleiermacher's Theologie,' p. 5 *sqq.*) Had the revival of psychology in Germany followed the course adopted by Beneke and Fries, of whom the former stands nearest to Schleiermacher; had it, in fact, developed the introspective aspect, there is no doubt that Schleiermacher's psychology would have found greater appreciation. But this revival came, as we know, from the natural sciences, and has, even in the present day, hardly risen to an appreciation of the work of the introspective school, though Mach's 'Analysis of Sensations' seems to pave the way in that direction.

succeeded in formulating a definite method absorbed gradually the attention of learners and teachers, whilst others, though possibly not less original, fell into neglect. Only two among the leading thinkers of the age stood out prominently in this respect. They were Hegel and Herbart. Both published Treatises in which method and system were conspicuous. Schleiermacher was not one of these so far as his published philosophical Works were concerned. The groundwork of his philosophy was elaborated in his Lectures, which became generally known only in a posthumous publication at a time when the interest in abstract philosophy had waned. Fichte never arrived at a definite exposition of *Wissenschaftslehre*, and as to Schelling he kept the public in uncertainty and expectancy, having retired from academic teaching, his only methodical Treatise being an ethical tract highly commended by Schopenhauer.[1] When, after his call to Berlin in 1841, he re-entered the Lecture Room, literary and scholarly tastes had, under the influence of the critical and of the exact scientific spirit—powerfully represented in Berlin through Wolf's school and

[1] This treatise is entitled 'Philosophical Discussions on the Nature of Human Freedom and connected Subjects'; it appeared in the year 1809. In it Schelling broke with Jacobi and with Spinoza as represented by Jacobi. He himself says that it is one of the most important of his writings, that it represents the entire ideal side of his system "in which together with the immanence of things in God, Freedom, Life, Individuality, as well as Good and Evil, co-exist" (see 'Aus Schelling's Leben in Briefen' vol. ii. p. 156). Kuno Fischer considers it as the transition to the latest, the theosophical, phase of his philosophy, but says: "If we count among the characteristics of Theosophy a dim and unclear depth, we cannot apply this to Schelling's Tract on Freedom; for it is precisely in the definition and explication of this most difficult of all problem a masterpiece of clearness and depth" ('Geschichte der Neueren Philosophie,' vol. vi., 1872, p. 894).

Humboldt's championship of the natural sciences—entirely changed. The expectancy which up to that time had characterised the attitude of all younger and ardent spirits, the waiting for the new light, after having suffered a first shock through Strauss and Feuerbach, was, for the last time, roused into prominence when Schelling delivered his inaugural lecture (15th Nov. 1841) before a crowded audience. Only for a short time did this eager expectancy last. His brilliant audience included many of the intellectual leaders of the age. There they sat: "one more learned than the other and they understood—nothing."[1]

To this has to be added the second or personal circumstance that Schleiermacher was by profession a religious teacher,[2] and that it was generally understood that he had no sympathy with the metaphysical treatment of the religious problem as it had found expression in Hegel's system, and that even less sympathy existed on the part of Hegel and his followers with Schleier-

[1] Ernst Curtius in a Letter dated Jan. 1842 (see his 'Letters' published by Friedrich Curtius, Berlin, 1903, p. 283). On the whole dramatic interest (equalled in modern times probably only by M. Bergson's Lectures at the Sorbonne and elsewhere) see Kuno Fischer, *loc. cit.*, p. 343, *sqq.*; further, K. A. Varnhagen von Ense, 'Tagebücher,' vols. i. and ii., 1861, in which also the gradual waning of this interest and the growing disillusion and reaction are reported by a critical onlooker.

[2] A somewhat similar fate has befallen the philosophical writings of James Martineau in this country. Whereas in Scotland some of the leading teachers came to philosophy out of the Church, the English Unitarian, Martineau, was debarred from filling the important position of a philosophical teacher at University College, which had been promoted as a non-sectarian centre of higher teaching and scholarship mainly by representatives of that school of emancipated thought which centred in Bentham and James Mill. There is no doubt that Martineau's philosophy, with such an opportunity of leading younger minds, would have occupied, much earlier, the prominent place in British thought which it intrinsically merits.

macher's conception of religion as a matter of feeling, as the spiritual sensation of absolute dependence. Students of theology, such as Strauss and Zeller, who sat under Hegel as well as under Schleiermacher, did not acquire from the latter the genuine and deeper psychological interest, but were stirred by another original element in Schleiermacher's teaching. For, as I have had occasion to state already,[1] Schleiermacher was one of the first brilliant representatives of the critical school of biblical research, as he was also one of the first critical students of ancient philosophy. And, indeed, it was mainly in the direction of historical studies that Schleiermacher's influence made itself felt in philosophical circles: the two pioneers in the history of philosophy, Heinrich Ritter and Chr. A. Brandis, coming from his school.

Be this as it may, it is not doubtful that in the history of philosophic thought the first beginnings of a more adequate treatment of the religious problem are to be found in Schleiermacher's writings.

30. Three distinct conceptions.

In these were combined three distinct conceptions which have since been worked out with greater clearness and from many sides. First, the conception of a divine or moral as distinct from the existing natural order; second, the conviction that this can only be reached and realised through the combined work of individual minds in human society; and third, that it is being historically accomplished in the Christian community or church with its Founder as its centre and as its realised ideal of perfect goodness.

In the further development of religious philosophy

[1] See *supra*, vol. iii. pp. 166, 168 n.

31. Albrecht Ritschl.

in Germany we may take these three definite points as guiding aspects. Thus we have in Albrecht Ritschl's theology a clear and distinct, almost an extreme, statement of the first point. Ritschl[1] starts from the

[1] Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889) was the founder of a school of theology quite as prominent as the school of classical philology founded by his illustrious cousin, Friedrich Ritschl (see *supra*, vol. iii. pp. 136 *sqq.*). They both came, like so many others of the foremost thinkers and scholars in Germany, out of a Protestant pastor's family. Very unlike in their otherwise equally great personal influence they remind us of an earlier age, of the great classical scholar of the Renaissance, Jos. Justus Scaliger, with whom Friedrich Ritschl claimed, through Richard Bentley, a continuity of thought. The theologian Ritschl reminds us, in his valiant and forceful defence of the inherent truth of the Protestant faith, of the greatest figure of the Reformation—of Martin Luther himself; whose spirit he similarly claimed to represent in its original purity. It may surprise some of my readers that so much attention should be given to Albrecht Ritschl in the history of philosophic thought, his name hardly occurring in the leading histories of philosophy which have so far been written. The justification of this lies in the following consideration. As stated before (see p. 272 n.), there are two distinct problems involved in the philosophical problem of religion. The first is the psychological problem as to the nature and origin of faith—*i.e.*, of religious certainty; the second is the problem of theology as a definite science of religion. These two problems are analogous to the two problems dealt with in the theory of knowledge. The latter, following the mode of statement customary since the time of Hume and Kant, are—First: How is knowledge or experience possible? Second: How is scientific, *i.e.*, methodical systematic, knowledge possible? The two analogous problems referring to religious knowledge or faith were thrown into clearer prominence by Schleiermacher; they have since his time and through his influence formed the main subject of a philosophy of religion, as distinguished from religious philosophy or the various endeavours to formulate a reasoned (philosophical or scientific) creed. As the latter centre in Hegel, so the two former problems centre in Schleiermacher, who abandons the metaphysical problem and considers the subject of theology as a science to be the systematic development, the co-ordination and harmonising of religious beliefs as contained in historical, more especially in the Christian, religion. Of these two problems, Ritschl as a theologian has devoted his main attention to the second. The first of the two, the psychological one, does not receive adequate treatment; the philosophical interest was, with him, less prominent than with Schleiermacher. The latter lived in a philosophical age and surroundings; Ritschl, in the earlier part of his career, met the Hegelian spirit only in its extreme, and to him repellent, logical formulation, in its one-sidedly negative conclusions, its analytic and dissecting tendencies. The modern conception of philosophy as standing in the middle between scientific and religious thought, which is that of Lotze, attracted Ritschl's attention much later, and he has, unfortunately, not made full use of its possibilities, though his later writings testify to the influence of Lotze; but the latter's religious interests were not extended to theology as a science. In addition to this, Ritschl is one of the foremost representatives of what I have termed the "synoptic view," and this is, so far as his theology is concerned, expressed in his dictum that "the scholastic saying, *qui bene distinguit, bene docet*, brings out only one side of the subject we have in view. In order to be fully correct it must be supplemented as follows: *qui bene distinguit et bene comprehendit bene docet.*" . . . "His main strength lay in the comprehensive activity of his mind, which drove him always to look at the whole, and at the particular only as contained in a totality" (Albrecht Ritschl's 'Leben,' by Otto Ritschl, 1896, vol. ii. p. 168).

faith of the Christian community, from the revelation of Jesus, as an axiomatic foundation, and does not consider it necessary or fruitful to enter into any philosophical interpretation of this religious faith. Upon it he builds his theological system. He discards all religious philosophy—not only the natural religion of the Deists, but especially also such as had been attempted by Hegel, and in many forms and variations by the right wing of his followers. In this way he does not even admit as much philosophy of religion as Schleiermacher did; but he sympathetically incorporates the second and third points just mentioned, inasmuch as he attaches great importance to the religious life of the community or Church, and he follows Schleiermacher in emphasising likewise the personal factor. This latter point is brought out most clearly by him in the exalted and unique position which he assigns to Jesus Christ. It is He who announced and founded the divine order, the Kingdom of God, as differing from, but to be realised in, human society, or the kingdom of this world. Through the forceful manner in which

Ritschl has urged this view as the only one which secures a firm foundation for a science of theology, for a systematic exposition of Christian doctrine and a practical realisation of Christian ideals, he has imparted quite a new life to German theology;[1] but he

[1] It must be clearly understood that what is said in the text about Ritschl, as well as about Schleiermacher, does not attempt or imply any critical opinion as to the value of their theological systems. We have here again the analogy of natural science to make the position clearer. If, *e.g.*, dynamics, physics, chemistry, &c., start with certain principles such as the principle of inertia, or the principle of least action, or the law of gravitation, or the atomic theory, or the principle of energy, it becomes a philosophical problem to state and to define these principles as they are used in the course of scientific research and explanation. But it is not the object of philosophy to follow this application into its details, or even to decide to what extent and within what limits each of these principles is useful in affording an explanation, a coherent picture of the existing things of nature which surround us; this is entirely a matter for the scientific enquirer, and must always be based on, and verified by, observation and experiment. In a similar way, the positions of philosophical theologians like Schleiermacher and Ritschl are subject to philosophical enquiry, to definition and discussion; but the modes in which, on these fundamental positions, the structure of theological science, or even of religious belief, is raised, are entirely different problems, and must depend upon religious experience and historical study. And these, and not philosophical theories, must decide as to their value and correctness. From the latter point of view there have appeared in this country two essays on Ritschl's theology, in answer to the competition for the Norrisian Prize (1908), both of which I recommend to English readers as a good introduction to the difficult study of what has been termed Ritschlianism. They are by E. A. Edghill ('Faith and Hope,' 1910) and by J. K. Mozley ('Ritschlianism,' 1909). The very fact that the word Ritschlianism has been coined, and that it is said to represent an attitude of theological reasoning which is widespread and not the exclusive characteristic of Ritschl's theology, shows that it forms an important chapter in a general history of thought during the second half of the nineteenth century. The principal works of Ritschl, in which the points that are of philosophical interest must be studied, comprise first his great work on 'Justification and Reconciliation' (3 vols., 1870-1875). It underwent a thorough revision by Ritschl himself in two following editions, in which many of the fundamental positions are further modified and developed. Next to this his tract on 'Theology and Metaphysics' (1881) is of special interest as showing the marked influence of Lotze's philosophy in addition to that of Kant and Schleiermacher. But, as stated already, Ritschl's philosophical foundations underwent a marked change as he wrote and worked during the transition period of German philosophy, of which Lotze is the greatest representative. He himself confesses to having been a learner up to the end, and we can detect strong external influences during the various periods of his remarkable career.

has not contributed anything fundamentally new to the outstanding philosophical problem of the spirit. This was much more clearly understood by Schleiermacher than by Ritschl, for, even if we gratefully accept Ritschl's position and admit that theological speculation requires to start, like every other science, from an axiomatic foundation, with a definite principle, there still remain two questions for the philosopher to answer. The first is the psychological question, clearly put by Jacobi, Fries, and Schleiermacher. It is the question concerning the essence of the religious feeling or sentiment. How does this originate in the human soul? Kant had put the question regarding exact or mathematical knowledge in this way: How have we to conceive the constitution of the human mind so as to explain the existence of exact science? Similarly we can put the religious problem in this form: How are we to conceive the constitution of the human soul so as to explain the existence of religious faith, the immediate, not mediated, certainty and conviction of the believing soul? What Ritschl has done to solve this problem is, to say the least, fragmentary and incomplete.

A further problem remains outstanding for philosophy of religion: granted that there is a twofold order of things, a natural order and a spiritual order,—the latter finding its practical expression in the moral and religious society: we shall wish to form some idea of the relation of these two different orders; we shall

desire them to be harmonised in some philosophical theory which explains their mutual relation and interdependence. In this respect Ritschl also leaves us in the dark, but his appreciation of Lotze's philosophy reminds us that it is there that we may hope to find an indication how to deal with this problem. I have had repeated occasion to refer to the manner in which Lotze defines and presents the whole philosophical problem.

32. Gap in his theory: Lotze.

But in referring to Albrecht Ritschl and his relation to Lotze's views I am somewhat anticipating the course of religious speculation in Germany. This was for a long time, before Ritschl's larger works appeared and before Lotze's views became more generally known and accessible, occupied with a criticism of what Kant, Hegel, and Schleiermacher had done towards a definition and solution of the problem of the Spirit. Let us recall the fact that Kant had given an essentially ethical conception of religion, that Hegel's was an essentially metaphysical and Schleiermacher's an essentially psychological interpretation; the two latter philosophers having, though from entirely different points of view, taken in also the historical aspect which was neglected by Kant. These three distinct treatments of the religious problem exhibit interesting contrasts as well as coincidences. To begin with, both Hegel and Schleiermacher opposed the dualism inherent in Kant's system, but, in doing so, did not arrive at such an emphatic definition of good and evil and of the fact of moral obligation as Kant had done. On the other side, both Kant and Schleiermacher treated religion more as a psychological or anthropological phenomenon, denying

33. Different treatment by Kant, Hegel, Schleiermacher.

alike the possibility of arriving at any logical or metaphysical certainty regarding the transcendent truths or verities of the Christian religion; whereas Hegel, whose whole argument ran in the direction of leading the thinking mind up to the recognition of the highest metaphysical truth, the idea of the absolute, as the beginning and foundation of all philosophical insight, claimed to have really established the highest verities on a firmer basis than they had in popular religious teaching. Again, Schleiermacher stood alone against Kant as well as Hegel in claiming for feeling—*i.e.*, for immediate or intuitive knowledge—a distinct function and province in the human soul. Schleiermacher also introduced the twofold treatment of the religious problem—viz., the philosophical and the specifically theological treatment, and, in so doing, gave the impulse to a large number of philosophical treatises within the confines of Protestant theology, treatises which were as a rule not considered and appreciated as to their purely philosophical value and importance. This remark refers especially to such a work as Richard Rothe's[1] 'Ethik'; in fact, as I

[1] Richard Rothe (1799-1867) is a unique figure in philosophical and theological thought. His influence was to a large extent personal, and his elaborate philosophical system ('Theologische Ethik,' 1845-1848; 2nd ed., much enlarged and revised, 1867-1871), has probably exerted little or no influence on philosophy proper. We are indebted to the late Prof. Holtzmann for a concise and very readable account of Rothe's speculative system ('R. Rothe's Speculative System,' 1899), published on the occasion of the anniversary of Rothe's birth. He remarks that the correct title of the book would have been 'Speculative Theology,' but that, as the author arrived at the conviction that a moral conception was the dominating principle of any theory of the universe, the whole scheme received its title from the most important section and was termed "theological ethics." Holtzmann closes his Preface by appropriating the telling dictum of Lotze, that in Rothe's speculative system, as in the whole of German idealism, we acquire not a logical understanding but rather an ideal interpretation of the phenomenal world.

stated above, not only such works as this one, but even Schleiermacher's own theological writings found, for a long time, no place in the many histories of philosophy which began to appear after the death of Hegel, and which were no doubt very generally stimulated by Hegel's own great work on the subject.

In quite recent times, when the philosophy of religion has again, together with the related metaphysical problems, attracted serious attention not only in Germany but everywhere in European and American literature, the opinion has been expressed that no real progress has been made in the subject since the time of Hegel and Schleiermacher; the many later writings on it being fragmentary, preliminary, and only preparative to some coming greater performance.[1] In the face of Lotze's philosophy of religion this view is hardly tenable,

[1] There is a very interesting Review of the position of the philosophy of Religion at the end of the nineteenth century by Prof. Ernst Tröltsch in the Memorial Volume dedicated to Kuno Fischer and frequently quoted in this history. He there says (vol. i. p. 109): "The position of the doctrine [philosophy of religion] in the present time cannot be described as showing any unity. It is only possible to exhibit the different main elements which contribute to the formation of such a doctrine. . . . These can be divided into five groups. In the first line there are the influences which philosophical creeds have upon the conception of religion. . . . Next comes the contribution of theology which operates with the conception of revelation, and further, that of comparative history of religion. Then follows epistemology and psychology of religion. The conclusion is formed by the tradition of the classical modern philosophy of religion." The "classics" are, according to Tröltsch, Schleiermacher, Hegel, and Schelling. The two former have been largely followed and exploited, but the truth contained in Schelling's later philosophy awaits a deeper comprehension. "In the meantime only Richard Rothe has ingeniously and thoughtfully taken up Schelling's bequest, bringing out still more strongly Schelling's tendency towards an exclusive supernaturalism" (p. 158). It is interesting to note that, in the Review by this eminent scholar. the names of Ritschl, Lotze, and Weisse, so prominent in our text, do not occur.

and this not only because Lotze lectured regularly on the subject throughout his long academic career, but mainly because his teaching has gradually and almost imperceptibly influenced theological literature in Germany as well as in England and America. It is true that Lotze had no genuinely theological interest. He does not seem to have been much influenced by Schleiermacher; his interest in the problem of the Spirit came through the teachings of Weisse, and it does not appear that he ever entered sympathetically into Schleiermacher's peculiar line of reasoning. His estimate of Schleiermacher's æsthetics betrays also a want of appreciation of ideas which otherwise frequently resembled his own speculations.

34. Lotze on "Personality."

The main contribution of Lotze to the problem of the Spirit or the religious problem is his exhaustive and repeated analysis of the idea of personality. With this analysis he follows in the footsteps of Weisse, who, though a disciple and admirer of Hegel, was nevertheless influenced by the lifelong and strenuous opposition which Schelling, in his later writings and his lectures in Berlin, offered to Hegel's position. With Schelling this opposition expressed itself in the formula that Hegel's was a negative philosophy which ought to find its consummation in a positive philosophy: this, in analogy with the natural sciences, was to be founded upon a definite but higher experience. This higher experience acquires in Schelling's conception the character of a Revelation which, in the individual as well as in the collective human soul, affords assurance for the existence of a supernatural and personal Supreme Being, the Deity of

the higher and especially of the Christian religion. Schelling, in the quest of a satisfactory statement of this conviction which dominated the whole of the second half of his speculations, came under the influence of the mystical writings of Jacob Boehme. It seems that he was also much influenced through his personal relations with Franz von Baader, who has been correctly called a pupil as well as a teacher of Schelling. But Schelling never arrived at any finality in these his later speculations, in which the task of reconciling the omnipotence and all-goodness of a Divine Creator with the freedom of his creatures to choose between good and evil presented insurmountable difficulties. Yet it cannot be denied that Schelling correctly pointed to the great defect of Hegel's system, in which no proper place existed for the conception of personality and which attempted no solution of the ethical paradox. Hence it came about that on these two points the whole scheme of Hegel's philosophy had to be either abandoned or amended. The former was accomplished by what is termed the "left" wing of Hegel's School. They solved the problem of personality by reducing the applicability of this idea to human beings and by transforming the theological into a purely anthropological treatment of the ethical problem. On the other side, the "right" wing of Hegel's School, of which Weisse was the most prominent and original representative, undertook to carry further and think out or rather to amend what seemed to them on the whole the correct line of reasoning on which Hegel had embarked. To this end Hegel's scheme itself seemed to offer a fruitful indication. For it seemed that the

original scheme of Hegel,—to show how the Absolute revealed itself to the thinking human mind by its gradual ascent from purely subjective and finite sensation through the forms of logical thought and their objectivation in nature, history, art, science, life, and philosophy,—had been prematurely brought to an end, inasmuch as what was there called the absolute mind was really only the highest manifestation of the objective mind, and that it would have been necessary finally to show "that the absolute mind as the third and last stage of development would return again in greater depth and fulness to that form of Being which it possessed in the first stage as personal, though there only in the form of finite, individual minds."[1]

Accordingly Weisse undertook[2] to introduce again the conception of a personal Deity; but his speculations received comparatively little attention, though already before him Krause had made a similar attempt, and had designated his system as Panentheism to distinguish it from the Pantheism of Hegel.

35. His relations to Weisse.

Lotze himself has said that he received from Weisse —rather than from Herbart, with whom his critics had associated him—an original grounding which he had found no occasion or desire to abandon in all his subsequent speculations, however little they might manifest that influence. His later writings, notably his 'Microcosmus,' had the object, after a lengthy detour through the realms of natural phenomena and historical evolu-

[1] See Lotze 'Geschichte der Deutschen Philosophie seit Kant' —Lecture Notes 1882, p. 71.

[2] In his larger work: 'Philosophische Dogmatik oder Philosophie des Christenthums' (3 vols., 1855-1862).

tion, to give a more definite expression to his underlying conviction that the highest form of existence can be satisfactorily represented to the human soul only in that of Personality. On many occasions in his writings and lectures he recurs to this thesis, trying to defend it against criticisms which had been variously applied to it. These criticisms can all be brought back to the dictum of Spinoza, that individuation is identical with limitation. This idea had been introduced and more emphatically urged in idealistic philosophy by Fichte, who put in the place of the Divine Person, as the centre and ruler of the universe, the idea of a Divine Order which he considered to be a higher and nobler conception than that of a Personal Deity as represented in the narrow anthropomorphising theology of his day. Though admiring the elevation and purity of Fichte's conception, Lotze does not agree with him in denying to the Absolute the highest epithet of personality. According to him, the attributes by which we try to describe the essence of the Divine spring from two distinct sources: "Metaphysical attributes such as unity, eternity, omnipresence, and omnipotence determine the Divine as the ground of all reality in the finite; ethical attributes such as wisdom, justice, and holiness satisfy our desire to find in the highest Reality that also which possesses the greatest value for us. . . . The desire of the soul to conceive as real that which it is permitted to regard as the highest cannot be satisfied by any other form of existence than that of personality."[1]

[1] See Lotze 'Microcosmus,' 1st ed., vol. iii. p. 559. The defence of the notion of Personality constitutes one of the main efforts of Lotze's speculation. Again and again he recurs to it. Not only does the discussion in the 4th chapter of the last book of the 'Microcosmus' turn on this important subject, but it also formed one of the principal points for treatment in his lectures on 'Philosophy of Religion' (see 'Grundzüge der Religionsphilosophie,' 1882, secs. 30-36). The classical passage in the 'Microcosmus' is the following: (vol. iii. p. 573; English transl. by Hamilton and Jones, vol. ii. p. 685 *sqq.*) "The ordinary doubts as to the possibility of the personal existence of the Infinite have not shaken our conviction. But in seeking to refute them, we have had the feeling that we were occupying a position which only the most extraordinary perversion of all natural relations could have brought about. The course of development of philosophic thought has forced us into the attitude of having to show that the conditions of personality which we meet with in finite things are not lacking to the Infinite; the natural position of the matter should rather have led us to show that of the full personality, possible only in the Infinite, a faint reflection is vouchsafed likewise to the finite; for not producing conditions, but hindrances in the way of the development of self-existence are the peculiarities of the finite; to these we wrongly attach its claim to personal existence. The finite being acts everywhere by means of forces which it has not given to itself and according to laws which it has not made—that is to say, by means of a mental organisation which exists not only in itself but likewise in innumerable of its equals. Hence in reflecting on self, it may easily seem to it as if in it were an obscure and unknown substance, on which rested as on a support all personal life. Hence those never completely silenced questionings: What then we ourselves are? What our souls? What that dark, unintelligible, never thoroughly conscious self which works in our emotions and passions? That these questions can arise is a proof how little personality is developed in us to the extent which its idea permits and requires. It can perfectly only exist in the Infinite Being who in reviewing all its phases and actions nowhere meets with a feature in its passive or active life, the meaning and origin of which were not quite transparent and explicable out of its own nature. The position of the finite mind, tied as it is to a special place in the general order of things, is the cause why its inner life is gradually wakened by external stimuli, why it flows on according to the laws of a psychical mechanism, which orders single ideas, feelings, and desires to chase and expel each other. Hence there is never a concentration of the whole self in one moment, our consciousness never presents to us a picture of our whole self, neither of its co-existent states nor even less of the unity of its development in time. To ourselves we ever appear from a partial point of view which discloses only a portion of our being; roused by external touches we react with this partial consciousness; only in a limited sense can we truly say that *we* act; rather, in most cases something happens

36. Personality not a limitation.

And here we must remove the ancient prejudice that the predicate of personality can only be vouchsafed to a being which exists through its difference from, and

opposition to, other beings—*i.e.*, through its finite nature and limitation. Against this Lotze maintains that this process of division, of opposing the Self to a not-self, is indeed a necessary and inevitable event in the life and development of finite existences who live, act, and react in a world consisting of many other beings similar to themselves, but that the fuller idea of personality is gained rather through the mental process of continually referring our own past experiences to the unity of our own consciousness. Hence the fuller and larger personality would not require continual stimulants from outside through which it differentiates its own self and then becomes again conscious of it. This fuller—and, *a fortiori*, a complete and perfect—personality would find within the sphere of its own existence endless inducements for creating and maintaining its spiritual life and activity, and would certainly not be condemned to that state of inactivity and eternal quiescence which form the inevitable characteristics of all pantheistic conceptions of the world-ground. For Lotze, therefore, the position exactly reverses itself. Instead of having less

within us through that complex of ideas or feelings to which the psychical mechanism has, for the moment, given a preponderating influence. Still less do we exist in time ever wholly *for ourselves*. For memory loses much, but most of all the record of our own gradually waning individual moods. Many trains of thought familiar to us in our younger days appear to us in advanced years as alien events; powerless to find a road back to sentiments in which we once revelled we hardly behold a faint afterglow indicating the power which they once possessed over us. Aspirations which once seemed to constitute the most inalienable kernel of ourself appear to us on the other paths along which life has led us as inexplicable mistakes for which we have long since forgotten the incentives. Indeed, we have little reason to speak of the personality of finite beings; it is an ideal which like all ideals is, in its fulness, possessed only by the Infinite, but bestowed upon us, like all good things, only conditionally and imperfectly."

or no personality, the Absolute or Infinite is the home and abode rather of the only full personality; finite human beings, on the other side, possess of this highest form of spiritual life only a small allowance, the reflex only of the full, pure, and perfect light.

37. Relation of Lotze to Hegel and Schleiermacher.

From the point of view reached in Lotze's writings we may look back upon the ideas developed on this subject in the preceding systems of philosophy, notably in those of Hegel and Schleiermacher. And perhaps the difference in the treatment of it by those two leading thinkers may best be described by saying that the system of Hegel did not do justice to the problem of personality, be this finite or infinite, but that Schleiermacher had a full appreciation of the importance of finite personality. In other words, Schleiermacher introduced into his system the full and clear conception of individuality, meaning by this term finite personality; whereas, in Hegel's system even the finite forms of personality appear to receive as little attention as they do in Kant's system. It was one of the main objections which Schleiermacher's mind harboured against the ethics of Kant, that the latter founded morality upon a purely formal and inflexible principle which appeared empty and left no room for individual modes of conduct, and it was just in these that Schleiermacher himself recognised one of the main characteristics of man and mankind. But it has been repeatedly urged that Schleiermacher's conception of religion as the relation to the Infinite, as the feeling of absolute dependence of the finite, gives ample room for the endless variety of finite lives and aspirations, but concentrates the whole conception of the

other term of the relation into the idea of Unity, of the One and All. Nevertheless, in the sequel of his ethical speculations, the idea of individuality or of finite personality leads him at least so far as to recognise in the Person of Christ the perfect realisation of the moral ideal beyond which no advance is conceivable or possible.[1] With this concession, which may not suffice to carry him to the full conception of a Personal Deity nor of a Revelation in the orthodox sense of the word, he nevertheless introduces an idea foreign to the Hegelian system. It is that of Discontinuity, of an interruption in the continuous flow and change which the idea of development has introduced into modern thought. In this way Schleiermacher finds, as it were, a resting-place, a central point, towards which all psychological and metaphysical as well as all ethical and historical speculation converges, and by doing so he re-introduces into philosophy an idea which is foreign to the idealistic as well as to the naturalistic systems of nineteenth century thought. This is the idea of the Miraculous.

38. The "Miraculous."

With this idea of the miraculous or supernatural we come upon the second important attribute which attaches to the essence of spirituality; in fact, it is quite impossible to form in any way an adequate idea of the Spiritual if we confine ourselves to that conception of Order, be this mechanical or logical, with which we operate — and are forced to operate — in all detailed research, whether this be carried on in the region of purely physical or in that of mental or of historical phenomena. Accordingly we find that all trains of

[1] See the quotation given in the last chapter, p. 178 n.

thought which seek for knowledge, truth, and insight through the patient accumulation of detailed research by the combined analytic and synthetic methods have, in one form or other, rejected this idea of the miraculous, seeing in it a break in the continuity and uniformity of existence and development which forms the openly or tacitly assumed postulate of all their reasoning.

The question of the supernatural or miraculous has been discussed from many points of view since David Hume wrote his celebrated 'Essay on Miracles.'[1] But the argument has considerably changed in the course of the nineteenth century: as much through the influence of philosophic as through that of scientific thought. In Hume's time there did not exist any clear and definite doctrine which set forth the nature and limits of scientific or exact reasoning. The conception also of laws of nature was not clearly fixed. At that time even the laws of motion and of gravitation were still subjects of discussion not only among philosophers but also among scientific authorities. Accordingly the point which Hume mainly discusses is that

[1] Forming the 10th section of 'An Enquiry concerning the Human Understanding,' first published (1748) anonymously with the title 'Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding.' This publication which the author desired should "alone be regarded as containing his philosophical principles and sentiments," remained, as he himself complained, obscure while the subject leapt into prominence through the "ferment on account of Dr Middleton's 'free enquiry into the miraculous powers which are supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church from the earliest ages through several successive centuries'" (1748-1749). Hume's biographer, John Hill Burton, tells us ('Life, &c., of David Hume,' vol. i., 1846, p. 272) that though neglected in this country, "it will be found correctly set forth in a German biographical work, infinitely superior to any we possess in this country: Adelung's Supplement to 'Jöchers Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon.'"

regarding the possibility of historical evidence for the occurrence of definite miracles, notably the miracles recorded in the New Testament. Miracles are looked upon mainly as events which differ from, or break through, the usual and customary order of things as testified by the accumulated evidence of living and trustworthy historical witnesses. There is indeed underlying the argument of Hume, in whose philosophy the idea of custom plays an important part, the conception of a universal, unalterable order without the assumption of which all human argument on things and events is impossible. But it has not been sufficiently pointed out either by Hume or by any of his successors, except in quite recent times, that this universal and unalterable order may possibly refer only to that restricted though increasing array of facts and events upon which our thoughts can profitably and usefully dwell in detail, and which form the object of such of our active mental enquiry as we can put to useful purpose in the regulation of the details of individual and social life. We are apt to overlook the much larger and wider array of facts and events in the face of which we must assume a merely contemplative and receptive attitude. In the age of Hume philosophers had only just begun to be impressed by the extraordinary fruitfulness which the knowledge of a few well-established relations in the region of physical science promised to have for the progress of human thought and culture. Since that age this knowledge has been enormously increased by the discovery of an additional small number of similar relations, by

a seemingly almost endless application of these relations or so-called laws of nature, and latterly by a successful unification of apparently quite disparate scientific aspects. The argument against the supernatural has therefore been strengthened not only in the direction of historical evidence against isolated miraculous events, but also —and this is much more important—by arriving at a clearer definition of what this unalterable order really consists in, an order in which Hume, and still more his predecessors in ancient philosophy, had only a general and axiomatic belief. The human mind, even in its most exalted and far-seeing representatives, can only take in a very small portion of reality. It is apt to be unduly impressed with the importance of such arguments and lines of reasoning as form the region and the subject of its own spontaneous thoughts. Accordingly scientific authorities, notably those who deal with the most abstract and most clearly defined sequences of thought, are apt to attach an importance to them which is unduly exaggerated if they be regarded from that universal position which is the only one that becomes the philosophic, as distinguished from the scientific, mind. The latter has reached the highest only when it has been able to demonstrate the truth or applicability of one principle, or at most, of a very small number of detached principles. The philosophic mind, on the other hand, has always attained its highest when it was able to demonstrate the limitation of any single principle and to rise to the idea that some point of view must exist which is much higher than all or any of those

aspects which have as yet singly presented themselves to the human intellect. Expressed in other words, it will always be the tendency of the philosophic mind to take transcendent views, to look at things as Spinoza said, "*sub specie aeternitatis*," whereas it is the characteristic of the scientific mind to look at everything "*sub specie uniformitatis*," bringing as it were everything to the same level and under the same rule and measure. What to the philosopher is transcendent becomes to the scientific mind immanent and must become so if it is to be a fruitful idea. Thinkers like Plato, Spinoza, and Hegel have established the transcendent point of view, but they or their successors have usually failed when they attempted to bring it down to the level of a useful rule or principle of thought; or they have succeeded only by losing hold of its transcendence. This has notably been the case in the Hegelian school, in which the transcendentalists have not succeeded in carrying further or even in maintaining the lofty speculation of their master; whereas the opposed section have, in the course of their varied researches, gradually lost sight of Hegel's central idea: the gradual unfolding of the Absolute, or the Divine Spirit.[1] Now it is characteristic of nineteenth century thought that, in its scientific development, it for a time strengthened the belief that a purely mechanical formula would suffice for the gradual, though possibly very remote, comprehension of all the facts and phenomena of experi-

[1] D. F. Strauss, the celebrated author of the 'Life of Jesus,' who started from the Hegelian point of view, wrote, in his later life, facetiously to a friend that Hegelianism had become to him, after all, little more than "a shaky double tooth."

ence.[1] Expression has been given to this belief in the self-confident and even triumphant teachings of materialism from the time of the French encyclopædists

[1] In the present connection as referring to the problem of the Spirit it may suffice to select out of an enormous literature on the subject a few outstanding pronouncements. Among leading intellects who have exerted great influence upon current philosophical thought, especially in Germany, no one has more emphatically and uncompromisingly rejected the conception of the miraculous than Eduard Zeller. In this regard his 'Polemics with Albrecht Ritschl' are well worth reading. In an anonymous and highly interesting article, contributed in the year 1860 to the 4th volume of Sybel's 'Historische Zeitschrift' (p. 90, *sqq.*), Zeller reviewed the principal distinctive features of the Tübingen historical school of which Ferd. Chr. Baur (1792-1860) was the head and centre. Of these the first was expressed as follows: "Of the two presuppositions of the older supernaturalistic theology; that we possess in the biblical records firstly, plain history, and secondly, a supernatural event not governed by the general laws of historical happening—of these two presuppositions Baur dropped the second, the first he did not dare, in the main, to meddle with. Thus there arose for him the task of showing that it was only necessary to understand rightly the biblical reports in order to find in them, instead of supposed miracles, only natural and fully intelligible events" (reprinted in Zeller's 'Vorträge und Abhandlungen,' vol. i., 2nd ed., p. 297). Incidentally the author refers (p. 302) to Schleiermacher's and Hegel's views on this subject: "Schleiermacher as critic and exegete took up to the writings of the New Testament mainly a rationalistic position, whilst, indeed, in his *Glaubenslehre* with the fundamental miracle of the ideally perfect Christ he opened the door to all other miracles. . . . Hegel also, to begin with, took up a rationalistic position to positive religion. . . . In the sequel, when the reconciliation of faith and knowledge became the watchword of his philosophy of Religion, he explained that the historical side was immaterial for the believer as it only depended upon the idea contained therein: and thus he expresses himself so vaguely that the most opposite views could appeal to him with equal justice." Further on Zeller gives a very clear definition of his objection to the miraculous: "A miracle is an event which stands in contradiction to the analogy of all other experience, and this is, indeed, the essence and the notion of a miracle" (p. 304). He then goes on to repeat in substance what David Hume had already said in his Essay on Miracles a century before.

To these expositions of Zeller Albrecht Ritschl replied in a paper published in the 'Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie' (1861) on "the Historical method of investigating early Christianity" (vol. vi. pp. 429-459). This reply, as well as the article of Zeller which provoked it, are important as showing how Ritschl, in following Schleiermacher, approaches the sacred histories from a position which differs completely from that of science or metaphysics. The substance of his argument is that the authors of

through the German school of materialism in the middle of the century down to the present age which has witnessed the popularity of Haeckel's later writings. A deeper philosophic insight has meanwhile gained ground, and is slowly but surely passing away from these ambitious and over-confident theories; notably the inability to lay down any mechanical device or scheme which explains the phenomena of life from its lowest forms up to the highest, such as consciousness or individuality, has led to the tacit or open avowal that the mechanical order is permeated by some other principle for which science can find no definite expression but which becomes revealed and known, though not defined, to us in our own self-consciousness and in that of our fellow-men. But this is exactly what the transcendentalists place at the head and beginning of their systems, calling it by various names, such as the Absolute, the Spirit, or the Divine. This means that we are forced to maintain that the higher principle

the sacred records were impressed with an entirely novel view of the world and human life, and that they reported to the best of their understanding—to which modern scientific views were quite alien—how this new faith had been borne in upon them. A summary statement of the controversy is given in 'Ritschl's Life' (vol. i. p. 393 *sqq.*) Two aspects of the subject seem to be not clearly separated in this controversy. If a miracle is defined as a unique event it is impossible to judge it by analogy with other events without denying its unique character, and as such both Schleiermacher and Ritschl considered the whole of the Christian dispensation. If, on the other side, a miracle is defined as a breach in the continuity or uniformity of natural events—or, as it is termed, a break of the laws of nature — the decision in any single instance will depend not only on a complete historical record, if such were possible, but also on an assurance that our knowledge of the laws or the uniformity of nature is final and complete. These two considerations, as in the controversy just mentioned, so also in many similar ones, have not been clearly separated. The attempt at their clear separation belongs to a more recent phase of thought.

is not purely transcendent but is at the same time immanent in the world as we know it. As we have seen on a former occasion,[1] the materialists of the school of Büchner and Vogt unknowingly admitted this point by using the terms "matter" and "force" in a sense which was not purely mechanical, and Haeckel, on his part, concedes the same point by endowing his underlying substance with mental, *i.e.*, non-mechanical attributes or properties; not to speak of other systems which take refuge in such indefinite principles as the Unconscious, the Sub-conscious, the Unknowable, or the Incognoscible.

39. Nature and the Supernatural.

The effect of this open or covert admission of a transcendent spiritual principle into the region of sensuous phenomena has been to alter and widen the conception of nature or of the natural order. Nature is now no more, even to the scientific thinker, a mechanical contrivance like a complicated and highly ingenious engine coming, more or less perfect, from the hands of its maker, as it was alike to the supernaturalists and rationalists of the eighteenth century. Nature is — what it always has been to the common-sense view—a texture in which the mechanical warp is shot through everywhere by the spiritual woof.

The term supernatural has therefore lost its meaning in the eyes of many modern thinkers. The spiritual principle is not above nature but everywhere permeates it. Notably the highest phenomenon which nature presents to us, the phenomenon of consciousness, our subjective experience of an inner unity of thought

[1] See supra, vol. iii. p. 565, 601, *sqq.*

and personality—Kant's unity of apperception—is as much as anything else a natural and everyday phenomenon, though it is not purely mechanical. The spiritual, in fact, is not supernatural in the older sense of the word, but is rather intra-mechanical — *i.e.*, it permeates or underlies everywhere the mechanical connection of things. And if we designate by the term miraculous simply that which is contrary to the uniform and customary experience of men, then the spiritual as it reveals itself daily in the life and action of human beings, in the events of past and present history, and, to a lesser degree, in the animated creation, possibly also, as the underlying and sustaining power in the cosmical world—*i.e.*, in the universe—is not identical with the miraculous.

40. The mechanical and the spiritual in Kant.

This conception of the intimate intertwining of the mechanical and spiritual had been brought out with considerable clearness already by Kant in his third "Critique," where the indication at least of a view is given in which the dualism of the first two Critiques is superseded by a monistic view. It was accordingly the ideas thrown out, rather than elaborated, by Kant in this the latest of his great works which formed the starting-point for the monistic speculations of Schelling, and in which Goethe likewise welcomed a congenial suggestion. Then came a period in philosophic thought in which the spiritual factor of experience was unduly emphasised with little knowledge and still less appreciation of the importance of the mechanical; and when, on the other side, the mechanical relations were exclusively studied with a corresponding neglect of all spiritual phenomena.

The balance was, however, restored to a great extent in the systematic writings of Lotze,[1] and in the less systematic, though equally original, speculations of his friend

41. Fechner and Lotze.

[1] The main philosophic tendency of Lotze's writings may be best expressed by the term used in the text, and suggested by one of the many felicitous and illuminating dicta of the late William James. That small portion of the universe which is accessible to our experience and observation is in Lotze's sense a texture in which mechanism is the warp, the threads of which are everywhere to be seen or looked for, whereas the spiritual is, as it were, the woof which weaves into the system of mechanical threads the actual pattern or living image. His earlier writings, destined to bring clearness into the reasoning of the biological sciences, emphasise the first of the two factors, the all-pervading mechanism. It was not recognised that the enlivening principle was really that for which Lotze felt the greater interest. This he clearly unfolded in the second period of his literary labours to which the 'Microcosmus' belongs. In the meantime the actual tracing of the mechanical lines and connections, visible or hidden, in the texture of the existing world, had become so promising an undertaking, not only in natural but also in historical research, that the spiritual came to be regarded as an epi-phenomenon, or even as a fiction, as something which for the scientific understanding of phenomena could be disregarded. Thus the line of thought taken by Lange and the Neokantians was favoured by thinkers (such, *e.g.*, as Strauss and Zeller), who, starting from historical studies, came in later life under the influence of prominent leaders in the mechanical and biological sciences, such as Helmholtz, Kirchhoff, and du Bois Reymond. These, on their part, however, were either much more reticent as to the spiritual side of things or professed a much greater Agnosticism than the philosophers whom they influenced. This influence prevented the latter from recognising how much juster and fairer a view was being prepared by Lotze's penetrating, though sometimes over-cautious and hesitating, investigations. Notably, as regards the question before us, the existence of the miraculous, neither Zeller nor Lange nor Strauss can have read or appreciated what Lotze said in the second volume of the 'Microcosmus' (p. 51 *sqq.*) But the controversy on the miraculous as carried on by Zeller and Ritschl without regard to Lotze's reflections is interesting as revealing that growing tendency of thought to which I have had repeated occasion to refer. This I have termed the synoptic aspect (the *vue d'ensemble*), contrasting it with the combined synthetic and analytic methods. Ritschl, following Schleiermacher, emphatically takes up the former. They start from religion in its individual and historic appearance as a totality, a comprehensive attitude of the mind to the whole of nature and life: notably the Christian view and the Christian history imply a comprehensive order of things quite different from that revealed by the modern methods in scientific research and historical criticism Now, Zeller was a foremost representative of the latter and, influenced by his academic surroundings an admirer of, though not an adept in, the former. The feature com-

and contemporary, G. T. Fechner.[1] The peculiarity of Lotze's system is, first of all, his elaborate demonstration that even the mechanical connection of things in time and space—what the human mind calls the relations of things or the laws of nature—cannot be grasped in human thought otherwise than by assuming an underlying unity of existence called by him the universal substance. Of this we have an immediate knowledge only in the experience of the unity of our own thought and consciousness.

But Lotze goes a step further, though he never arrived at a systematic elaboration of this portion of his system, but rather postulated its results in the form of an underlying conviction which prompted and sustained the whole of his reasoning. This consists in defining the essence

mon to these is to search for the elemental facts and build up complex phenomena by a plausible and intelligible synthesis of these. The time had not yet arrived when the truth, fully seen by Lotze, was to become more generally accepted, that no complex phenomenon can be reconstructed and thoroughly understood by such a process. The original synoptical whole, if once dissected into its elements, cannot again be regained by synthesis: either through complexity or through a loss of the uniting bond, the true reality, the actual life is lost. But we have in recent times, as explained more fully in the text, more and more learnt that this remark does not refer only to such stupendous events as the appearance, origin, and history of the Christian religion, but that it applies also to occurrences which happen daily under our very eyes, such notably as the phenomena of life, consciousness and freewill, which have not infrequently been termed miracles, and which, if we attempt to dissect and explain them scientifically, present to us something seemingly incommensurable or irrational. The foremost representative of this view among thinkers seems to me to be the late Prof. Wilhelm Dilthey, in whose speculation *Erlebniss* (living experience) forms a central conception.

[1] See on this subject the very interesting Review by Lotze ('Kleine Schriften,' vol. iii. p. 396-437). It refers to Strauss' 'Der alte und der neue Glaube' (1872), and Fechner's 'Die Tagesansicht gegenüber der Nachtansicht' (1879). Lotze expresses himself as unable to accept the "new creed" of Strauss, and deplores that the latter had met the over hasty conclusions of naturalists with a readiness of belief which he otherwise "denied to everything which did not justify itself to his own subjective understanding."

of the underlying spiritual unity as that which is, to us human beings, of supreme interest or value, affording the highest form of intellectual and spiritual pleasure or joy, and which presents itself as alone meriting existence for its own sake, the True, the Beautiful, and the Good. And religion begins for Lotze with the further conviction arrived at by a personal effort or resolution of the character that this valuable content is actually realised in the holy personality of a living God, the supreme Being. For without the reference to a person, those highest conceptions of Justice, Beauty, and Goodness lose all reality and become empty abstractions.

42. Relation between Personality and the Highest Good.

It might thus seem as if in Lotze's conception of the two worlds, the mechanical and the spiritual, the world of things and the world of values and their unity, which is partially realised in finite personalities but completed only in the infinite personality of the Deity, a position was gained from which the dualism inherent in other systems of philosophy was overcome, or where a solution is at least indicated. This, however, is not the case. The very fact that Lotze maintains that it is only by a definite struggle, by a moral effort, and not by a purely logical process, that this position can be reached is a proof to us that there is another difficulty to be overcome, a difficulty which cannot be explained away even if the antiquated contrasts of the natural and the supernatural, of the outer and the inner, of efficient and final causes, were overcome. This difficulty is the existence of Evil in the world; comprising under the term not only the human phenomena of sin and guilt but also the widespread suffering in animated nature in which

43. Existence of Evil.

we cannot recognise the existence of any scheme of retribution. With the admission of this highest problem of philosophy and its ultimate insolubility for the human intellect,[1] Lotze reminds us of the many in-

[1] The principal passages in Lotze's writings which refer to this subject are to be found, first, in the Lecture Course on Philosophy of Religion (§§ 75-83) where the grave problems are pointed out "which arise out of the actual existence of evil, for the order of things it corresponds to, the ideal of God [as metaphysically explained], would have to be the faultless realisation of the highest Good. All answers which are wont to be given in the form of a Theodicy are quite inadequate." These answers attempt first to deny or minimise evil, but the real evil, according to Lotze, does not consist in the absence of a good but in the pain which this absence creates. It is equally useless to call evil merely relative, and to maintain that from the Divine point of view the existing disharmony disappears, for to finite beings the sorrow of this disharmony would not equally disappear; and "lastly, it is incorrect to consider physical evil merely as something accidental or accessory. It is not only intercurrent, but the whole existence of the animal kingdom is systematically founded upon the destruction of one by the other, and this with a cruelty which is anticipated in the natural impulses of the different kinds." Other attempts to solve the problem are criticised, and the whole discussion summed up in the following words: "The results of our reflection constitute exactly the ground on which at all times pessimistic views have grown up; these may eventually admit what might theoretically be established regarding the one comprehensive Power which we must assume in order to make the course of things intelligible, but they, on the other hand, deny our right to transform this conception of power through the predicate of goodness into that of the Deity; they rather see in the course of things nothing but the blind unfolding of a primordial ground which does not work for the realisation of happiness, but which, in individual minds, becomes conscious of its misfortune, and leaves nothing but the longing for annihilation. One may see in this an extreme exaggeration, a complete ignoring of the good things which, after all, reality presents along with the evil ones; but it must be admitted that *theoretically* it is impossible whilst discarding pessimism to prove that optimism which follows consistently from our religious conception of God. . . . If, in the face of this and fully renouncing every theoretical proof, we are nevertheless convinced of the truth of the religious belief, we consider this conviction as a resolution of the character. And religion really begins for us with this theoretically indemonstrable but nevertheless actually admitted sense of obligation, of being controlled by that Infinite Reality, the truth of which we cannot theoretically demonstrate." The second important passage will be found in the fifth chapter of the 9th Book of the 'Microcosmus,' in which Lotze desires to "lay stress upon the decisive and altogether insurmountable difficulty which stands in the way of his [highest philosophic] Belief being carried out scientifically —*i.e.*, upon the existence of evil and sin in nature and history."

effectual attempts which Schelling had made to grapple with it; and it requires only one step more to designate it as the seeming Irrationality of Existence; the solution, if such be possible, as something in the true sense of the word, supernatural or miraculous. It may indeed be of some help to gain through the examples of the goodness and saintliness of human character which it may have been our good fortune to witness in rare instances, an outlook into a higher region in which the clouds have disappeared and the light of the highest truth has for a moment shone brightly; but such individual experience, in the opinion of many of us, cannot suffice to permanently dispel the doubts which ever and again crowd in upon us. This, if at all possible, could be effected by nothing less than an absolute miracle, by an event or a series of events so remarkable in themselves and so different from anything presented in ordinary life and experience, that it has not only succeeded in altering the course of human history, but still succeeds in endowing individual souls with that strength of character which creates and sustains the "Will to Believe."

44. The idea of a Revelation.

But this is exactly what religious persons term a Revelation. Lotze has not dealt fully with this subject, nor is it perhaps the duty of the philosopher to do more than he has done; leading his readers through a variety of discussions, in which many difficulties have been removed and many minor problems solved, on to a recognition of that highest problem which is insoluble for the human intellect. To this undertaking theology—or religious thought in a more restricted sense of the word

—would form a kind of counterpart or complement in which he who believes in the existence of a revelation such as philosophy may indicate or postulate but cannot prove, starts from it as a given historical fact and practical experience. But what would then be comprised in such a further exposition would not come into the region of philosophical but would belong to that of religious thought.

45. Ritschl's assertion of the independence of religious beliefs.

It seems to me that the philosophical importance of Albrecht Ritschl's theology lies not in a psychological or logical analysis, such as was attempted by Schleiermacher, but in a straightforward declaration of the independence of religious beliefs, as distinguished from philosophical creeds, and this not only for the individual, but emphatically also for the community of individuals, the brotherhood of men.[1] In the course of the

[1] It may be surprising to some of my readers that in a history of philosophical thought so much prominence should be given to the doctrine of Albrecht Ritschl, since none of the existing excellent histories of recent philosophy do more than just mention Ritschl's name in connection with the revival of Kantian studies in Germany during the second half of the nineteenth century. But the very fact that the term "Ritschlianism" has been coined and used especially in this country is a sign that we have to do not merely with an individual doctrine but with a tendency of thought which exists not only in Germany, and not only in theological schools, but is of wider and general interest. Ritschl has succeeded in giving to the problem of faith and knowledge or—as it presented itself to him — of metaphysics and theology, a new aspect, resulting in a very extensive literature. He has not, indeed, in any way settled the question, but he has thrown a ferment into philosophical, theological, and general thought which has not yet spent its force. This has been admitted not only by admirers and followers but also by opponents. "For the interest of the subject reaches entirely beyond the limits of theological and philosophical speculation. It concerns, and vitally concerns, all those who think about the relation of Christian faith to modern thought and knowledge. It concerns them in two ways. Ritschlianism is both influential and typical. As an influence it has reached far, and is present in many places where it is not named or recognised. One who does not know the influence at its source will deal clumsily with its results. But it is also typical. Many minds in the last few decades have been

development of Ritschl's theological convictions we have to mark two important stages: the first, when he freed himself from the fetters of the Hegelian philosophy which assigned to religion an important but a subordinate position in mental development; the second, when he, through his historical and biblical studies, became so deeply impressed with the personality of Christ and His work that he recognised in it an absolutely new content and beginning of spiritual life, and undertook to found the whole of his theology upon this discovery as an independent and original source.

Independent of Ritschl, Lotze was then already admitting in his lectures on the Philosophy of Religion the possibility of new beginnings and origins in the midst of a uniform system of mechanical relations, provided—as he was wont to express it—that the ultimate purpose implied in the general scheme of existence, which is unknown to us, warranted the departure from, what we call, the ordinary and uniform course of events. He had also recognised that a partial reconciliation of the mechanical and spiritual was to be found in the existence of human personalities. It was, therefore, not a new idea, but one which forced itself in many ways upon philosophical and religious thinkers, that if the highest problem admitted of any solution at all, such could

Ritschlian without knowing it. If there had been no Ritschl there would have been someone else very like him." These are the words in which Dr Talbot introduces a recent publication by Mr E. A. Edghill, being an essay which divided with that of Mr J. K. Mozley, the Norrisian prize of 1908 at Cambridge; and these two recent critics of Ritschlianism have shown its affinity to, or influence on, other recent movements in religious and philosophical thought, such as that represented by Sabatier in France, by "Modernism" among Roman Catholics, and by "Pragmatism" in English-speaking countries.

only be found in some personality exalted enough to force upon human minds the conviction that the supreme moral law, the voice of conscience, was a Divine Revelation, and to give to it such an expression as would, for all times and for all practical purposes, supersede the perplexing speculations or quibbles of contending philosophical systems and prevent it from falling to the level of a purely conventional moral code. This higher sanction and deeper expression is to be found in the person of Jesus Christ, and in His teaching that "God is Love," and that the highest moral law is the rule or kingdom of Love, the Divine Order. It may be that a glimpse of this view had already casually been caught by prophets, lawgivers, and thinkers in pre-Christian times; but it was not proclaimed, as it were, from the housetops and forced upon the attention and recognition of a large number of persons who lived and worked among men of all grades and stations of life and in very different nationalities. That such has nevertheless been done constitutes a unique fact of history, a fact so important in its results that it has become the point of reference for all subsequent developments, the centre of civilisation ever since.

To study this remarkable phenomenon forms the task of theology proper which should unfold our knowledge of the Divine, as science unfolds that of the Natural Order of Things. It has thus acquired an independent foundation, whereas without it all moral or spiritual teaching must, according to this view, necessarily in the end become merely a doubtful chapter of philosophical speculation, or an equally doubtful and merely tem-

porary theory of science. An insistence upon this radical distinction of religious from philosophical and scientific thought has, in one form or other, been the theme of religious philosophy in Germany ever since the time of Ritschl, who has thus emphasised the most important side of Schleiermacher's teaching. Nothing essentially new has been added, though the variations in which this theme has been elaborated are numerous and interesting.[1]

46. Radical distinction of religious from scientific and philosophical thought.

[1] We have seen in earlier chapters of this History how in the course of the second half of the century clearer ideas were gained as to the independence of scientific research in relation to philosophical discussions. We have seen how a few clearly-defined principles have become the foundations of large regions of natural knowledge; such principles had to justify themselves through experience; for scientific purposes this has proved sufficient. The scientific interest was satisfied if such principles were clearly stated, and could be usefully applied in describing, measuring, and foretelling natural phenomena. A similar demarcation of interests has been attempted in quite a different region. Religious Thought has striven in a similar way to vindicate its independence of philosophical considerations by similarly justifying itself before an independent tribunal, this being religious (including moral) experience. To have helped in this direction is probably the principal merit of Ritschl's doctrine, and as this point is equally important to the liberal and the conservative schools of religious thought, Ritschl has, in a sense, brought these two schools together. Neither of them may have, in the sequel, adopted, in its integrity, the view he took, but that he made them consider the logical and psychological foundations of their respective systems, assures to him a permanent place in the history of recent theology from whichever side it may be written. This is very clearly shown by the enormous literature dealing with Ritschl's theology, and especially with the point referred to. I confine myself to mentioning the 'History of Recent Theology in Germany,' by Fr. H. R. von Frank (revised and continued by Grützmacher, 4th edition, 1908), which devotes 76 out of 376 pages to Ritschl's theology and the movement created by it. The author belonged to the conservative "Erlangen School," and is on the whole, though not without sympathethic understanding, opposed to Ritschlianism. It will also be quite clear to my readers that the history of philosophic thought has no concern with the structures which religious thought, be it doctrinal or practical, has reared upon the foundations laid down, just as little as it has been our concern to follow admitted scientific principles into the rapidly increasing and changing details of natural knowledge and natural philosophy in themselves.

47. Natural Religion.

But a question of considerable importance has arisen in reference to that body of doctrine which during the last two hundred years has sprung up and been cultivated under various names — such as Natural Religion, Deism, or Rationalism. This doctrine professes to be based upon the ordinary and common experience of thinking persons, assisted in various ways by scientific reasoning and the outcome of historical research. It professes to collect, contain, and substantiate the principal and most important tenets of Christian ethics, but to dispense with the assistance of any special revelation other than that afforded by common-sense, philosophical reasoning, and the natural feeling of obligation commonly termed the voice of conscience. This body of doctrine was elaborated with more or less fulness and consistency in the eighteenth century, and found many adherents, especially among the cultured classes, among literary and scientific persons in England, France, and latterly also in Germany. It called itself Deism or, later, Theism—the difference in general being that the former believes only in what is called a Divine or moral Order, whereas the latter considers this Divine Order to culminate in and be dependent on a personal Deity. Recent speculation in Germany, notably in the school of Ritschl, does not admit that such a natural religion can be satisfactorily elaborated and maintained; it holds, further, that whatever may be correct and spiritually helpful in such a doctrine, requires some higher sanction which will prevent it from succumbing on the one side to the attacks of logical criticism, and on the other to the selfish interests of human beings: it must,

in fact, be what Carlyle called "a great heaven-high Unquestionability, encompassing, interpenetrating the whole of Life."[1] Moreover, the various teachings of Rationalistic Thought, be they popular or metaphysical, in prose or in poetry, have not succeeded in bringing out any important point which is not to be found incorporated already in Christian doctrine. And a reasonable suspicion exists that the various elevating ideas which are to be found in this extensive class of literature have been imported, consciously or unconsciously, from out of the body of beliefs contained in the existing historical religions.

In fact, it may be held that no one who nowadays thinks or speculates on such subjects can escape the influence of the surrounding intellectual and spiritual atmosphere in which he or his teachers have been brought up, and that the elaboration of any creed whatever, without bias and preconceptions, is a sheer impossibility. But admitting even that there exist certain ideals—such as Truth, Beauty, and Goodness, and the doctrine of universal brotherhood or Love—which, however they may have been discovered, exist and are upheld by a general consensus and incorporated in all civilised speech; it seems, nevertheless, impossible that they can, without some higher command or sanction, become sufficiently real and powerful to keep in subjection and ultimately conquer the Spirit of Evil. It may indeed be possible for individual persons living in seclusion and apart from the ways and interests of the

[1] See 'Past and Present,' Carlyle's Works, Library Edition, vol. xiii. p. 76.

masses of mankind, for poetical minds who live above the ordinary level of existence, or for thinkers who enjoy the luxury of the *sapientum templa serena*, to frame for themselves some abstract view of the world and life which satisfies their spiritual needs. But such existences are only hothouse plants, the choice fruits of a spiritual atmosphere, the product of a general culture and civilisation which has grown up and is maintained through the influence of quite different and more powerful moral forces; they would gradually and inevitably disappear if those moral forces themselves ceased to exist or were not continually renovated. To maintain a belief in these underlying spiritual forces, to cultivate the sense of Reverence, the conviction that there is something which remains intact and unchangeable in and amidst the fluctuations of opinion, the extremes of theory, the struggles towards reform and the storms of revolution, something that constitutes a secure foundation and an abiding centre of reference and appeal, something, in fact, which in our minds deserves the name of the All-Holy; this seems to be an indispensable requisite to our individual and still more to our social welfare and happiness. And the education and preservation of this sentiment appears to be the most important, but also the most difficult, task for those to whom the guidance and instruction of coming generations is entrusted. Now to many of us it does not seem possible to divest this sentiment of reverence of its personal character; inasmuch as it implies a relation between individuals or persons, and grows up and is maintained during the earlier period of our lives through the personal relations

of the family, relations which in the later school of life acquire larger dimensions and a deeper significance, but are in danger of being lost where and whenever the sense of a higher obligation of mutual and collective responsibility and dependence becomes obliterated or even materially weakened.

It is an extraordinary phenomenon in modern literature, especially in the higher intellectual literature of Germany, that this view was strongly urged by one who stood outside systematic thought, but who nevertheless absorbed all the best influences of modern science and culture, who had early liberated himself from the fetters of purely conventional and traditional doctrine, and who stands out as the greatest representative of what has been called the doctrine or gospel of Inner Freedom: by one who, although his life reached only into the first third of the century, may perhaps be considered as the greatest representative of Nineteenth Century thought, of its aspirations as much as of some of the most important of its later developments; exhibiting in his own large view of the world and life, its strength as well as its shortcomings and limitations. This was Goethe, who in one of the most philosophical of his imaginative creations laid it down as the highest duty of the teacher and educator to cultivate the spirit of reverence and worship.[1] If we look at the very

48. Goethe on the spirit of worship.

[1] See Wilhelm Meister's *Wanderjahre* in Thomas Carlyle's 'Translations from the German' (vol. ii. p. 220). "Wilhelm could have wished to gain some previous knowledge of these sacred things, but his companion answered: 'The Three will doubtless, in return for the confidence you show in leaving us your son, disclose to you in their wisdom and fairness what is most needful for you to learn. The visible objects of reverence, which I named sacred things, are collected in this separate circle; are mixed with nothing, interfered with by

partially successful but mostly quite unsuccessful older or modern schemes and attempts towards the establishment of a new Order of society, it is striking to see what importance they have attached to the foundation and maintenance of some form of cult or worship in which the feeling of duty and obligation could be incorporated and find some definite expression; how they have sought and how little they have been able to find this centre of reference and appeal, any Highest, truly real, object of Reverence. This has notably been the case in the later developments of Comte's Positivism as contained in the 'Politique Positive' and in the institutions of some of his disciples. But this is not of special interest to us in the present connection, as we have to do not with practical applications but with the purely philosophical aspect of the problem of the Spirit, the religious problem.

III.

49. Carlyle and Goethe.

The mention of the illustrious names of Goethe and Carlyle affords us a welcome opportunity for passing away from German speculation on this problem to what

nothing; at certain seasons of the year only are our pupils admitted here, to be taught in their various degrees of culture, &c. . . . Well-formed, healthy children bring much into the world along with them! Nature has given to each whatever he requires for time and duration; to unfold this is our duty: often it unfolds better of its own accord. One thing there is, however, which no child brings into the world with him; and yet it is on this one thing that all depends for making man in every point a man. If you can discover it yourself, speak it out!' Wilhelm thought a little while, then shook his head. The Three, after a suitable pause, exclaimed: *Reverence!* Wilhelm seemed to hesitate. Reverence, cried they a second time. All want it, perhaps you yourself."

has been done in a less systematic manner in other countries, and, in the first instance, in this country. It is a very significant fact that it was the literary creations and the personality of Goethe himself which first gave to one of the foremost thinkers in this country a deeper insight into, and a real understanding of, the originality and importance of German thought. It is still more remarkable and noteworthy that among those who created this interest in German thought Thomas Carlyle stands out as by far the most impressive and powerful writer; a man who had been brought up within the narrowest and hardest form of Scotch puritanism, who for a moment was in danger of losing his deeper hold of the Spiritual, but who, after a violent struggle with unbelief, passed from the "Everlasting No" through the centre of indifference to the "Everlasting Yea," and laid down in a series of writings, which are unique, and have become classical in English literature, the story of his doubts and the restoration of his belief.[1] And among his numerous essays none is more remarkable than the one in which he introduces to his readers that very work of Goethe which deals with the religious problem in Education.[2] To many thoughtful persons in this

[1] A very interesting study of this subject is to be found in a tract by J. H. Wilhelmi, entitled 'Th. Carlyle und Fr. Nietzsche, Wie sie Gott suchten, und, was für einen Gott sie fanden' (1897). It draws a parallel between Carlyle and Nietzsche as having encountered the same doubts and difficulties, and contrasts the direction and result of their respective solutions; admitting at the same time that Nietzsche's solution was probably not final, as his philosophical development was prematurely cut short.

[2] It is a remarkable fact that Carlyle's appreciation of Goethe written during the lifetime of the poet still ranks amongst the best utterances on the subject, containing not only a full and true estimate of Goethe's genius and personality, but also a very adequate appreciation of his influence, both on German and more generally on European thought and literature.

country these writings have formed a turning point in their mental development, imparting to their life and thought a stedfastness and tone which has never been forgotten, but has made it unnecessary for them to peruse or assimilate the voluminous abstract and systematic literature in which German philosophers have, as we have seen, grappled with the spiritual problem.

50. The British and the German mind.

In the attempt to characterise the difference which exists in the treatment of this problem in the two countries we may perhaps be allowed to state that, speaking broadly, that very spirit which Goethe found it so necessary to impart, and which he made the highest object of his educational system, the spirit of Reverence, has all through retained a greater hold on the British mind than either on the French or the German mind. In France the writings of Voltaire had, even before the Revolution, added a tone of flippancy and insincerity to that of impurity; and the Revolution itself had finally destroyed, among a large section of the middle and higher classes, the respect not only

is remarkable essay appeared as the introduction to a book called 'German Romance,' published in Edinburgh in 1827. It is reprinted in the 6th volume of the collected works (p. 366 *sqq.*), filling only a few pages. In these, the few lines (p. 375) containing the characterisation of Goethe, have probably not yet been surpassed, even in the enormous pertinent literature, German and foreign, which has appeared during this last eighty years since the death of Goethe, and which has had the advantage of much wider knowledge of the subject than Carlyle could possibly possess. Especially in this country the appearance of Lewes' 'Life of Goethe' (1st ed., 1855), though adding no doubt very largely to the popular interest of the subject, has rather spoiled the impression afforded by Carlyle's characterisation as it dwelt much more upon the romance of Goethe's life than on the seriousness of his mind and the intrinsic value of his works and his thought.

for persons and institutions but also for the spiritual agencies of which they were—or should have been—the representatives and guardians. This spirit of flippancy and impurity in morals and literature was in process of spreading into the neighbouring countries, and had, in fact, already made considerable progress both in England and Germany when the violent scenes and excesses of the Revolution gave additional strength to a timely reaction which had already set in. It remains the immortal glory of Walter Scott and Wordsworth to have stemmed and broken this tide of impurity and flippancy in the literature of their country, and to have prevented the spread of that irreverent tone to which we have become accustomed in some of the best and most elegant of French writers, which, after the age of Classicism in art and poetry, has gradually taken hold likewise of a large portion of German literature. For a long time it had there been kept in check by the powerful influence of Goethe's sovereign mind.

This characteristic of the English mind, which in its best form is the Spirit of Reverence, has, of course, likewise its less favourable side. For in many cases it is no more than an inherent dislike to break with that which is traditional and conventional: this has been called the conservatism of the English people. To foreigners who have tried to understand the peculiarities of English thinking it has not infrequently presented itself as a servile submission to the powers that be whether for good or for evil—nay, even so far as religious questions are concerned,

as hypocrisy and cant. Such may, indeed, exist to some extent, perhaps to a greater extent than in neighbouring continental countries, but it would be unjust not to recognise that this characteristic quality has its ground in the peculiar form of what may be called the popular logic of the English race. This logic requires always a large and well-established mass of facts wherewith to begin and whereon to rest its arguments. To what extent this sense for the factual and historical owes its existence and convincing power to the absence of any break in the continuity of the nation's history for a period of many centuries, combined with the insular compactness of social life and progress, may be difficult, if not impossible, to decide. There is, however, no doubt that it is distasteful to many thoughtful minds in this country to leave the region and level of clear facts in quest of the underlying causes and beginnings, or to abstract and vaporise them in favour of some supposed systematic construction. English thought, and notably English philosophical thought, is, therefore, intrinsically neither radical nor systematic. It has not developed that interest in either the substructures or the superstructures of reality which is so common among continental thinkers; with Descartes and Kant as representatives on the one side, with Hegel and Schopenhauer on the other.

51. English thought neither radical nor systematic.

Neither the English nor the Scotch intellect will trust itself to the guidance of purely logical formulæ, or venture more than a few steps up or down the ladder of syllogism; for it is always in fear of losing in such ventures the grasp of that which constitutes the essence

and interest of reality. No English thinker has ever honestly believed or maintained that the Truly Real can be fathomed or exhausted by the thinking process; nor has any English thinker ever unwaveringly believed in the complete unification of knowledge. For most English thinkers, even for the greatest, there has therefore remained a larger or smaller undissolved residue of facts and interests which they have not touched, be it that this has consciously presented itself to them as the Unknowable, or that it has tacitly remained in the background of their speculations as a not clearly defined conviction from which they have nevertheless derived a feeling of strength and security. With no thinker has this been more clearly the case than with Francis Bacon, who, to many Englishmen, is still a kind of philosophical model, and, more than any other among English heroes of thought, marks them off in type from continental nations.

A third characteristic of English thought is its want of continuity, its individualism. We have here no long array of systems following one out of the other either by direct contrast and reaction or by slow development, no lengthy trains of reasoning such as Descartes started in France, Leibniz and after him Kant in Germany, and Spinoza for the general community of continental thinkers. If such trains of reasoning have been started by thinkers in this country, as Locke, Hume, and Darwin, they have usually been consistently followed up, not here, but abroad, where no hesitation has existed to admit and express the most extreme and daring of ultimate logical consequences. From these

52. English ideas developed abroad.

the British mind has always recoiled with a characteristic confidence in the dicta of common-sense, but also with a feeling of reserve and of reverence for differing individual convictions. We do not meet in this country with that cheery and light-hearted philosophy which runs through many of the classical writings of the French encyclopædists and naturalists, nor with that profound and imposing sense of serious inner conviction which impressed Hegel's audience and Schopenhauer's readers, contributing so much to the success of their teaching; nor, lastly, with that oracular announcement of secret and hidden truths which was peculiar to Schelling and his disciples. The three just named characteristics of English philosophical thought: the absence of radicalism, of system, and of continuity, joined to undoubted originality in individual instances, are reflected more than anywhere else in those detached and sporadic discussions of the religious problem: the problem of the Spirit. Whereas, on the Continent, notably in Germany, this problem forms, as I have tried to show, the important centre of the entire philosophical movement, it can hardly be maintained that this country has, up to quite recent times, done more than contribute fragments to the discussion.[1] But a few of these fragments, as already stated, are of first-rate importance, forming centres around which an enormous controversial literature has sprung up, the chief characteristic of which, however, as of these fragments themselves, has invariably been its inconclusiveness.

Leaving out Carlyle's earlier writings as hardly belonging to philosophical literature and to be thoroughly ap-

[1] We are impressed very forcibly with the fragmentary and inconclusive nature of British thought on the subject before us by a glance at the table of contents of a recent work by Professor Alfred Caldecott, 'The Philosophy of Religion in England and America' (1901). It is, so far as I know, the only attempt to present in a compact and readable form the sporadic meditations on our subject which are scattered through English literature. The number of names —some of the very first importance —is not less impressive than the number of types under which their very varying contributions are marshalled. Of these types the author finds no less than thirteen. The contributions come from all departments of literature, from purely scientific writers to such as live on the borderland of prose and poetry, and the list might have been profitably extended by drawing even more fully on imaginative writers, such notably as Tennyson and Robert Browning, who have, together with Wordsworth, perhaps more than any other writers, not only supplied thoughtful minds in this country with as much philosophy of religion as they required or could assimilate, but exhibit more than any others those specific characteristics of British thought which are so difficult for the foreigner to get hold of. Most of the writers mentioned in Caldecott's work do not come within the region of philosophic thought as it is conceived in this history. This claims to be first of all methodical, and though not necessarily, it is usually systematic. But outside of this region, which, so far as the problem before us is concerned, is somewhat limited in English literature, there is a large volume of religious thought which is purely subjective and individual, exhibiting frequently merely the doubts, difficulties, or conclusions which intellects of high order have encountered or arrived at. Thus very few of the writers reviewed in the work mentioned take sufficient note of what others have said before them on their subject. The subjectivity which makes the works of some of them peculiarly fresh and interesting, but for a historical review difficult and perplexing, through unavoidable repetition of similar points of view, contrasts very forcibly with the methodical manner in which the foremost thinkers in Germany have dealt with the subject, clustering mostly around a few prominent names and a few leading ideas. This we see very clearly in such a work as that of Professor O. Pfleiderer, quoted already (*ante*, p. 304 n.); whereas in the English work among the names mentioned there is only a small number of philosophers, in the narrowest sense of the word, but a very large number of writers who have become famous in other branches of literature. The bulk of the German history is occupied with representatives of philosophy proper, and a comparatively small amount of space is given to unsystematic writers who have dealt casually with the subject. All this testifies to that individualism so peculiar to the English mind, and leads us to anticipate that the last and completing section of a History of Thought, which should deal with individual, poetical, and religious thought, will find this region much more extensively and originally cultivated in this country than abroad. To repeat and sum up, we may say that certainly in recent times France is the home and centre of scientific, Germany of philosophic, and Great Britain of spontaneous individual thought.

preciated only in the light of subsequent developments, we may probably exhaust what is important in British contributions to our subject by referring to three or four names in the course of the last one hundred and fifty years. There are, first and foremost —and by no means out of date—Hume's writings, which deal sceptically from various points of view with the religious problem. In addition to the 'Essay on Miracles' already referred to, we have repeated treatment of the subject: in the 'Inquiry' (1748, section xi.); in the 'Natural History of Religion' (1757); and, lastly, in the 'Dialogues concerning Natural Religion' (posthumously published 1779, but written before 1751). The subject was no doubt of great interest to Hume, as is testified not only by these writings but also by his private correspondence; the latter also shows that the author was as much aware of the inconclusiveness of his arguments as his biographers and numerous critics have been, who have found it difficult to decide what definite position, if any, Hume really arrived at.[1] Perhaps he did not feel as keenly as thinkers since his

53. Hume on Religion.

[1] The best account of Hume's pertinent speculations is to be found in Huxley's volume, 'Hume' (John Morley's 'English Men of Letters,' 1902). Fully one-third of the little volume is devoted to the religious and ethical problems, and of this a very large portion consists merely of extracts from Hume's works, very judiciously selected and commentated. Huxley seems to endorse in general what Hume said of the two opposing "hypotheses" — Spinozism and Orthodoxy. "I am deafened with the noise of a hundred voices that treat the first hypothesis with detestation and scorn, and the second with applause and veneration. I turn my attention to these hypotheses to see what may be the reason of so great a partiality, and find that they have the same fault of being unintelligible, and that, as far as we can understand them, they are so much alike that 'tis impossible to discover any absurdity in one which is not common to both of them." (Hume's Works, 'Treatise of Human Nature.')

time have done, the practical importance of the subject, as is shown by the fact that he turned away from metaphysics and philosophical criticism to economics and historical research.

Equally inconclusive and fragmentary is the contribution which appeared a century later and was also posthumously published, John Stuart Mill's 'Three Essays on Religion' (1874). Both Hume and Mill state clearly the difficulties and objections in the way of upholding existing traditional beliefs. With both the negative portion of the argument forms the most important and stimulating contribution. Neither of them ventures to pronounce against religion altogether, and this not from want of moral courage, but probably from two distinct and honourable motives: first, the respect—nay, even the reverence—which they have for opposite opinions if honestly held; and, second, possibly a lurking suspicion that they have themselves not succeeded in thoroughly grasping and fathoming the problem. Having adduced various arguments, mostly of a negative bearing, they leave their readers to form their own final judgment, if not to remain in a state of doubt, perplexity, and confusion.[1]

54. Mill's 'Three Essays.'

[1] The difficulty of arriving at a just view of Mill's own position was much accentuated by the passage with which he concludes his third essay. It is there (p. 255) maintained that "to the conception of the rational sceptic it remains a possibility that Christ actually was what he supposed himself to be . . . a man charged with a special, express, and unique commission from God to lead mankind to truth and virtue"; and, Mill continues, "the influences of religion on the character which will remain after rational criticism has done its utmost against the evidences of religion, are well worth preserving, and that which they lack in direct strength as compared with those of a firmer belief, is more than compensated by the greater truth and rectitude of the morality they sanction." The fairest comment upon Mill's attitude as revealed in this

A much more emphatic statement of the problem with a much more definite, though not less embarrassing conclusion, appeared in the middle of the century, and

and other passages in the last of his writings is probably that of Mr W. L. Courtney ('Life of John Stuart Mill,' 1889), in which he bids "us remind ourselves that Mill had acknowledged as his chief office in the realm of thought to see the truth in the views of opponents, and to put the adversary's case . . . better than the adversary could have put it" (p. 172). This is in reference to Lord Morley's essay, 'Mr Mill on Religion.' It is reprinted in the 1st edition of 'Critical Miscellanies,' 2nd series, 1877, but has been omitted in the later editions of this collection. For the historian of thought it forms one of the most important documents, as it touches with remarkable clearness on the different aspects which the religious problem presents for philosophic enquiry. The following quatrains from Fitzgerald's 'Omar Khayyam' express very strikingly the sentiment of perplexity produced by such discussions, and have been frequently quoted :—

"Why, all the Saints and Sages who discuss'd
Of the Two Worlds so wisely — they were thrust
Like foolish Prophets forth ; their Words to Scorn
Are scatter'd, and their Mouths are Stopt with Dust.

Myself when young did eagerly frequent
Doctor and Saint, and heard great argument
About it and about : but evermore
Came out by the same door where in I went."

They remind us of well-known passages in the first part of "Faust." As to the arguments contained in Mill's Essays, they must even at that time have appeared meagre and antiquated to readers acquainted with Lotze's or even Renouvier's fuller and profounder expositions and criticisms; and it has been doubted whether Mill had ever read Hume's 'Dialogues.' It is noteworthy evidence of the insularity of British thought, that even in the third quarter of the nineteenth century so incomplete an exposition could come from the pen of one who was at the time a foremost exponent of philosophical thought. The subject dealt with is divided into three portions, of which the first and last deal with the respective moral and intellectual arguments for or against the existence of a Divine Being as contained in Christian Doctrine. The second deals with the necessity or utility of religion, and suggests that a "Religion of Humanity" would meet the desired end. In the former or theoretical portion the most pressing scientific problem of the age, the conception of vital force, is not touched upon, and in consequence no clear definition of force and matter (to which it led in Lotze's case) is given. The use of these latter terms is very much the same as in the writings of the earlier Materialists in Germany, a use which was finally discarded through the influence, *inter alia*, of Lotze's writings both in philosophical and scientific discussions; also the notion of substance is introduced as if neither Kant nor Hume had written; a heedlessness repeated not only in Herbert Spencer's writings, but even in our days by so famous a naturalist as Ernst Haeckel. It is interesting to see

before Mill's Essays were published, though probably not before two at least of them were written. This was Mansel's "Bampton Lectures" (1858) on 'The Limits of Religious Thought.' Mansel reverts to the position taken up by Francis Bacon, the separation of Reason and Religion. As since the time of Bacon two great schools of philosophy had invaded the domain of thought, the Critical and the Idealist movements, Mansel's argument really forms a discussion as to how much the position had been altered through those non-empirical lines of reasoning, and he comes to the conclusion that neither the critical position taken up by Kant, who founded religion on a purely ethical principle, nor the reasoning of the Idealists, who tried to reach the Absolute by a logical process, was really of any avail. The attack was conducted from two points of view—the purely theoretical and a practical one; the former is an outcome and extreme statement of the position taken up by Sir William Hamilton in his 'Philosophy of the Conditioned': the assertion that the Unconditioned or Absolute cannot be reached by the thinking process, of and in which it denotes merely a limiting conception: it is the doctrine of the relativity of human knowledge. The other motive in Mansel's expositions is a practical one, the feeling of alarm, shared

55. Mansel's "Bampton Lectures."

how in Hume and Mill similar interests, and a similar turn of mind, took almost the opposite course in their respective mental development. Hume started with the discussion of fundamental notions and terms, and finding the problem insoluble betook himself to practical problems moral and economical and the study of historical facts. Mill started with questions of social and political interest, was driven on to the study of inductive logic, and ultimately to that of fundamental metaphysical notions and terms without arriving at finality any more than Hume did.

with many other conservative English thinkers of the day, lest the disastrous consequences of Hegel's Philosophy, such as had been arrived at in Germany by Feuerbach in theoretical and by Strauss and Baur in their historical studies pertaining to religion, should spread also and be accepted in this country.

Over and against the purely negative philosophical movement then prevalent in German thought Mansel sets a positive assertion; in fact, he resorts to Revelation in a much more decisive and emphatic manner than Hamilton or Bacon had done before him. Thus he took a very short way towards that position which Schelling, in the latest phase of his philosophy, tried to reach through a complicated and mystical process of reasoning. The Bampton Lectures created a great impression, but the argument was discarded both by believers and sceptics — by F. D. Maurice, who made a strong attack on it, as well as by J. S. Mill, who loathed it.[1] Reference to this once famous line of

56. Attacked by Maurice and Mill.

[1] Those of Maurice and Mill are only two among the many important criticisms which appeared at the time, but I have chosen them because they indicate the two directions in which the religious problem has been treated in subsequent philosophic literature in this country, not without influence from continental thought. Both recognised the necessity of getting beyond the agnostic position which became clearly defined immediately after the appearance of the Bampton Lectures. The answer given by Mill in company with prominent thinkers abroad is Idealism. "The Ideal" becomes in some way or other the expression of the Highest, a guiding principle, and eventually an object of reverence; with some it is supposed to be reached by a process of logical thought. The answer given by Maurice is more on the lines adopted by Schleiermacher. It is not idealistic but spiritualistic. Its subject cannot be reached but only interpreted by philosophic thought; its central idea is the spirit, what Renouvier termed the "Category of Personality," and it rests upon a larger and fuller psychology, a broader mental experience. Maurice seems to have had a clear view of this when he wrote: "True æsthetics [using this term in the Kantian sense] must have actually nothing to do with notions or ideas. Kant's great merit, I fancy, was in perceiving this, in thoroughly distinguishing the sensual from the logical and intellectual region, and then in using his logic to show under what conditions we use our senses. Mill, it seems to me, with all his clearness, can never escape from a perpetual confusion between these two regions. If he did I should not despair of his ascending into the higher ideal region—the purely spiritual—which is so much more analogous to the sensual than to the intermediate one" ('Life of F. D. Maurice,' by his Son, 1884, vol. ii. p. 598). As to Schleiermacher, and Maurice's opinion of him, and the damage that was done to his reputation in England by Thirlwall's translation of his book on St Luke, see *loc. cit.*, vol. i. p. 452.

It must, however, in justice be mentioned that Mansel recognised that psychology should form the foundation both of metaphysics and ethics; that the "facts of consciousness [are] the criterion of philosophy."—See his 'Inaugural Lecture,' 1855 (reprinted in 'Letters, Lectures, and Reviews,' ed. H. W. Chandler, 1873; also his 'Metaphysics, or the Philosophy of Consciousness,' 1860).

reasoning in philosophical writings now in vogue is probably confined to the Introduction to Herbert Spencer's 'First Principles,' which was written in 1860, shortly after the appearance of Mansel's Lectures. The outcome there is the doctrine of the Unknowable, what Huxley termed Agnosticism.

57. Spencer.

There is no doubt that both Schelling and Mansel were right in holding that the intellectual process alone does not suffice to gain a firm position in fundamental questions, that the conviction which is to be of practical value is reached—and must be reached—by some other process. The same result has forced itself upon many other contemporary and later thinkers. Kant had anticipated this when he based the whole of his practical philosophy, the theory of life, upon something that is categorical and actual, not conditional and hypothetical. Lotze had already, at the time when the Bampton Lectures were published, arrived at the conclusion that, in the midst of contradictory and unsatisfactory arguments which present themselves to the

human intellect, no theoretical verdict but only a practical resolve of the will and character can avail. Towards this assertion a large amount of recent philosophical writing converges from many different sides.

58. Later Oxford philosophy.

Mansel's Lectures, though the argument is now discarded as too crude and unphilosophical, did, however, a great deal to draw attention to those very writings against the influence of which Mansel himself desired to warn religious thinkers in England. A school of philosophy sprang up later in Oxford, mainly under the leadership of Thomas Hill Green. He took up in earnest the study of Hegel's philosophy, which, before his time, had in this country been almost the monopoly of a solitary thinker, James Hutchison Stirling, who in his 'Secret of Hegel' (1865) had attempted to open the eyes of the English philosophical public to the importance of the greatest among German idealistic systems. In the same year there appeared also J. S. Mill's 'Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy,' in which many of the lines of reasoning are criticised which had been taken over from Kant: to these works must be added a third very important publication, the 'Translation of the Dialogues of Plato with Introductory Essays,' by Benjamin Jowett. This began to appear in 1871; in it the translator took the opportunity of discussing many of the theories of modern German idealism in their relation to ancient Greek speculation. Green undertook to bring the idealistic argument into connection with the fundamental critical problem, as it had been suggested, but not solved, by David Hume; and Edward

Caird prepared the way to an understanding of Hegel's Philosophy by his original expositions of Kant's Critiques. Around these important and original contributions to the history and Criticism of modern German idealism there sprang up a large literature[1] which has been variously termed Neo-Kantian and Neo-Hegelian. It contains all the more important contributions towards a philosophy which stands in distinct opposition to the purely empirical, naturalistic, and agnostic school of thought, of which Herbert Spencer is the centre and main representative, and which is frequently called Positivism.

59. Thesis of the idealistic school.

The main thesis of the idealistic school in this country may be stated to be the Reality of Spirit, but the word *Spirit* is not taken to denote an exclusively intellectual principle or process, which constituted the danger of the Hegelian statement of this conception in Germany. In fact, the Hegelian principle or *Geist* is to the English school not Mind or Reason only, but Spirit as including also the regions of Will, Feeling, and Emotion. These speculations start, therefore, from a broader basis than that upon which Hegel stood in the beginning of the century—a basis prepared not only by a reconsideration of the fundamental problem as stated by Hume, but assimilating also what had been independently done by psychologists and moral philosophers in this country. Green himself correctly defined the task which stood before him, and fixed the programme of his school, when he said that Hegel's work would have to be undertaken and done over again.

[1] On this literature see *supra*, vol. iii. p. 532.

Viewed in this light, the more important works of English philosophers, leaving out those which cluster around the name of Herbert Spencer, may be said to be occupied with the problem of the Spirit, with establishing the spiritual view of things. But, as already stated, this whole tendency had not at the end of the century resulted in any great consummation;[1] it has not succeeded in concentrating its teaching in definite ideas, expressed in appropriate language, such as can compel the attention of a large number of thinking persons, giving a definite direction to the thought of the age and something substantially new whereon and wherewith to construct a reasoned creed. Such formulæ and watchwords, without which no current of thought ever flows in great volume and with decisive force, have rather been the intellectual product of the Positivist and Naturalistic schools of thought which, notably under the banner of evolution—with a distinctly mechanical interpretation—still held at the end of our period the first place in popular esteem. The idealistic, or rather the spiritualistic, tendencies form, in opposition to this, a deep undercurrent which may in the near future gain the upper hand, but which, at the moment, is still doing preparatory work; partly by destructive criticism of the opposite view, partly by isolated contributions of a more constructive character. Among the latter we find in this country the discussion turning around the same

60. Absence of definite ideas comparable with those of Naturalism.

[1] An indication of what has been done about and since the end of the century, in the direction of more constructive work, will be attempted in the final chapter of this volume.

separate problems as occupied German thinkers somewhat earlier in the century. Thus we have, first of all, the discussion of the problem of Personality from different points of view, prominently the question to what extent a scheme such as that of Hegel's admits or rejects the conception of Personality. Among many other writings I mention as typical Professor Pringle Pattison's Lectures entitled, 'Hegelianism and Personality' (1887), and the lengthy discussions carried on in English and American philosophical reviews around this question.

61. Discussion of Personality.

A second point was urged by Green himself, who discussed at some length the difference of empirical and transcendental consciousness, of a natural and supernatural order. And here we meet again with various shades of opinion, according as the higher or universal order is considered to be transcendent to, or immanent in, the natural order of things: discussions which remind us of much that we have read in Lotze's writings.

62. Empirical and transcendental consciousness.

The third important single problem included in the larger problem of the Spirit, which we meet with in continental speculations, the ethical problem, has likewise occupied thinkers of the idealistic school in this country. But here it has in general taken a more practical turn; it is not so much the metaphysical difficulty of the existence of evil which troubled the mind of Schelling, which also Lotze declares to be intellectually insoluble; it is rather the relation of practical morality and religion that has been pushed

63. The ethical problem.

into the foreground by English thinkers of very various shades of opinion. In this regard it is interesting to read the discussion which was started in the second number of the first volume of the most prominent and original of modern English Reviews, 'The Nineteenth Century' (April 1877). This Review, which formed during the last generation the arena of intellectual combat, with champions from all sides, was characteristically started with a prefatory poem by Tennyson.[1]

64. Discussion in 'Nineteenth Century': Martineau.

The discussion I referred to deals with "the influence upon morality of a decline in religious belief." It was termed "A Modern Symposium" (evidently after the Attic Symposium of Plato), and was started by Sir James Stephen. Some of the foremost thinkers belonging to very different schools took up the question. The most masterly piece of writing was by James Martineau (1805-1900), a thinker who had independently worked for many years at the higher philosophical problems, notably the ethical and religious problems, and whose writings, the more important and systematic of which, however, only began to appear five years later,[2] might have had a greater influence upon the thought of his countrymen had it not been for two reasons. The first was that he occupied a position as a religious minister and a theological teacher. This disqualified his philosophy in the eyes of a party

[1] Quoted already, in a former chapter, see *supra*, vol. iii. p. 530, where the date was erroneously given as 1875.

[2] 'Types of Ethical Theory,' 2 vols., 1882. 'A Study of Religion,' 2 vols., 1888. 'The Seat of Authority in Religion,' 1890. All three works have appeared in new editions.

who, in the interest of free academic teaching, opposed all religious tests;[1] whilst the fact that he belonged to one of the smaller Nonconformist sects stigmatised his teaching as opposed to the prevalent religious philosophy both in England and Scotland. He therefore gained full hearing and appreciation neither from those who took a purely philosophical interest nor from those who were brought up in the older universities. It is, however, quite possible that his speculations, which were em-

[1] This became strikingly manifest when, in the year 1866, the chair of Mental Philosophy and Logic at University College, London, became vacant. "A discussion arose as to the true interpretation of the principle of religious neutrality avowedly adopted by the college. One party held that it should exclude Mr James Martineau, who, as a Unitarian minister, was pledged to maintain the creed of a particular sect. De Morgan [the eminent mathematician], on the other hand, held that any consideration of a candidate's ecclesiastical position or religious creed was inconsistent with the principle. He thought that the refusal to appoint Mr Martineau was in reality an act of intolerance dictated by a dislike to the candidate's religious philosophy. De Morgan had always been exceedingly sensitive upon this question of religious neutrality. . . . He now resigned his office in a letter dated 10th November 1866." Sometime after, De Morgan said, "Our old college no longer exists. It lived only so long as it refused all religious disqualifications" (see article "De Morgan," by Leslie Stephen, 'Dictionary of National Biography'). From the 'Life of Martineau' (Estlin Carpenter, 1905, p. 432) it appears that at the meeting of the Senate the votes for and against Martineau as candidate were equal, but the casting vote was given by the chairman against the candidate. In a letter to F. W. Newman, one of the professors of the college, Martineau says, *inter alia:* "In a curious letter to me, J. S. Mill avows that his preference for Mr Robertson [the other candidate] arises from his desire to plant a thorough-going disciple in a seat of influence, and not from any consideration of superior personal qualifications. He excuses this sort of philosophical sectarianism by saying that it is a necessary retaliation on the exclusion of his opinions from places of authoritative instruction." The designation as a thorough-going disciple of Mill is curious and not consistent with the impression which friends of Croom Robertson formed of his philosophical position. Nothing was more marked than his wide sympathies, which enabled Martineau himself to include him in the circle of his friends; and his fairness and impartiality, in addition to his learning, qualified him to render a great service to the culture of philosophical studies in this country as editor of the first English philosophical Review, 'Mind.'

bodied in language of unusual beauty and refinement, would have, in due time, directed a new line of thought had it not been that he came too late, when the empirical school of higher thought had already been strenuously and successfully attacked by what I called above the Oxford Idealist School. In this respect his reputation and influence have suffered similarly to those of Lotze in Germany, whose doctrine came too late to rank among the classical idealistic systems of his country, and too early to start a new movement, inasmuch as the reaction against metaphysics and all systematic philosophy had not yet spent its force.[1]

[1] Students of Lotze's and Martineau's writings will not fail to find many important points of agreement in the two thinkers, and it is remarkable that they should have remained unknown to each other. With Lotze this is hardly surprising, as he took no notice of contemporary thought outside of his own country; but this cannot be said of Martineau, who himself confesses to have "passed through a kind of second education in Germany . . . under . . . Trendelenburg" (1848-9; 'Types of Ethical Theory,' vol. i. p. 12). It is difficult to assign the right place to Martineau in a history of European Thought. He had a large number of admirers, many of whom were attracted by his impressive personality or by the brilliancy of his style, which forms as unique a specimen of English prose as does that of Dr Newman with quite a different character. A history of recent British philosophy, especially of religious philosophy, would have to contain a long and exhaustive chapter on Martineau's teaching, and already in the work of Prof. Caldecott (pp. 343-353) referred to more space is devoted to Martineau than to any other individual modern thinker except Newman. But in the present History the absence of an influence on continental thought, added to the reasons stated in the text, must suffice to excuse a very inadequate and passing reference to Martineau's systematic works. Among his own admirers and disciples we meet with very different verdicts on this point. Dr Upton places Martineau alongside of Hegel and Lotze as founder of one of "the three philosophical systems most likely to mould religious philosophy in the twentieth century"; whilst R. H. Hutton wrote, "we doubt whether the historian of English thought of our time will credit Martineau with any distinct modification of the theological and philosophical opinions of this age. It was something that went below opinion; it was a revelation of spiritual character and power"; see Pringle-Pattison's article in 'The Hibbert Journal,' vol. i. p. 445. I, myself, am unable to find amongst the abundance of illustrations and suggestions with which Martineau truly overwhelms us, any distinctive or original idea thrown by him into the fermenting mass of religious thought, and I regret this so much more as it was through some of his writings that I first became acquainted with the deeper currents of modern British thought at a time when my knowledge of German philosophy was quite in its infancy. This early admiration for Martineau came through my father's friendship with the Rev. J. J. Tayler, who "during all his long life was remarkable for his enlarged ideas and practice of Christian Association, apart from doctrinal subscription" (Words spoken by R. D. Darbishire), and it had the wholesome effect of making me look out for other courses in recent philosophy besides those represented in Germany. In a sense we may say that Martineau combines some prominent traits peculiar in German thought to Schleiermacher on the one side and to Lotze on the other, to whose works, however, his own writings contain merely the scantiest reference. He was a great personality like Schleiermacher and the very opposite of Lotze, who was extremely reserved. He was supposed to be one of the most distinguished members of the "Metaphysical Society," in which thinkers of the most opposite views met in friendly debate; a form of utterance quite foreign to Lotze's habits, who elaborated his system in solitary thought, and of whose influence many younger minds only became aware or appreciative when personal intercourse was no longer possible. But Martineau was in England as valiant as Lotze was in Germany in combating the materialistic as well as the pantheistic tendencies of his age. With both religious beliefs were, as they actually avowed, what might be termed of the good old-fashioned kind. The existence of a personal Deity and a spiritual centre was a settled conviction, not to say a postulate, and their philosophy consisted to a great extent in defining and defending the Christian doctrine by arguments drawn from two independent sources, the one metaphysical, the other ethical. Hence both thinkers have been charged with dualism, but in both cases a closer study of their works reveals an underlying monism, taking this term in its actual and not in its modern perverted sense. See Caldecott, *loc. cit.*, p. 357: the "course we adopt" is "to say that Martineau is incorrect in describing his method of Theism as only twofold, causality and morality, and to bring out that his scheme includes a quite different feature, namely, an Intuitive apprehension of the Divine Being." The objection, perhaps we may say the prejudice, against mysticism, because of its tendency to absorb the human in the Divine, a strenuous effort towards clearness of thought, was common to both thinkers. (See the quotation from Lotze, *supra*, p. 331.)

Reverting, however, to the subject before us, it may be said that the dicussion in 'The Nineteenth Century' presented a variety of views and raised a number of special questions which have occupied thinkers in this country ever since. Some of these it may be useful to

specify in greater detail. First of all it emphasised the distinction between Religion and Theology; most of the writers agreeing that religious beliefs of some kind were essential and necessary, whilst most of them objected to a special theological setting. At the same time even a religious teacher like Martineau maintains that morality can exist without religion, which is not the foundation but the highest consummation of morality;[1] whilst, on the other side, Sir James Stephen concludes "that the question of truth must precede the question of goodness and cannot be determined by any answer which may be given to the latter question." We thus have a distinct statement that morality and the moral law are something innate or intuitive to the human soul, a view which had found its classical expression in Kant's 'Categorical Imperative,' and, on the other side, we have an equally emphatic declaration "that the knowledge of the good must depend upon a knowledge of what is true and real."

65. Comtian view.

A second position, brought out clearly by Mr Frederic Harrison, is the Comtian principle that "acknowledges

[1] This conception of the relation of Ethics and Religion was worked out in great fulness in Martineau's larger Works mentioned above. He there says: "Ethics must be treated before Religion: not that they are an absolute condition of its beginning: not that they always involve it as their end; but that they implicitly contain the resources whence Religion, in the higher form which alone we can practically care to test, derives its availing characteristics, its difficulties and its glories" ('A Study of Religion,' vol. i. p. 19). This passage indicates clearly what is more fully developed in the larger work, that the term Religion cannot be smoothed or levelled down to a belief in or, if such were possible, a worship of, mere ideals; a view of its nature defended in a masterly way and in striking language by Sir J. R. Seeley in his anonymously published treatise 'Natural Religion' (1882). Accordingly a criticism of this much-admired volume forms for Martineau the Introduction to his 'Study of Religion.'

a religion of which the creed shall be science; of which the Faith, Hope, Charity, shall be real, not transcendental, earthly, not heavenly—a religion, in a word, which is entirely human, in its evidences, in its purposes, in its sanctions and appeals." Such religion professes to be science, the science of this world, of humanity, and it is opposed to theology which is represented as dealing with non-human realities and resting on non-human hypotheses.

66. Morality and historical religion.

As a third important point Dean Church lays stress upon the fact that we live in a surrounding of definite moral ideas which have historically grown up parallel with, and supported by, Christian Faith, and that it is impossible to remove these from their historical setting, and judge them independently and in the abstract. And lastly, we have an indication at least of a pessimistic outlook into the future in Huxley's words:—

"For my part I do not for one moment admit that morality is not strong enough to hold its own. But if it is demonstrated to me that I am wrong, and that without this or that theological dogma the human race will lapse into bipedal cattle, more brutal than the beasts by the measure of their greater cleverness, my next question is to ask for the proof of the truth of the dogma."[1]

But the whole discussion raises fundamental questions which at that time had, in this country, only begun to be treated in that critical spirit which abroad is classi-

[1] The passage with the ethical reflection which it suggests to the mind of the writer is given in full (*supra*, p. 232).

cally represented by Kant's work. It had, indeed, been started already by Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, but it had found its answer here in a reversion to common-sense and not in any deeper investigation. How much such an investigation was required can be seen if we, for instance, look somewhat more closely at the passage just quoted from Huxley's contribution to the 'Symposium.' He there maintains his unproved conviction that morality is strong enough to hold its own. As to this, the question may be asked, Does he mean by morality simply the sense of obligation to some rule of conduct, or does he mean by it a special, and if so, what rule? He further, at least, indicates that some dogma or highest truth may be required whereby and whereon to settle the definition of morality or of the Good, and he desires that this be proved; but he does not stop to indicate what kind of proof would be satisfactory to him.

67. Can there be an independent morality?

It is needless after what we have learned in the present and former chapters of this history to remind the reader that these are some of the questions which have been discussed at great length by continental, especially German, philosophers during the nineteenth century. The necessity to discuss them did not seem to be recognised in this country till quite two generations later, for reasons which I have repeatedly indicated. Notably the practically most important of these questions, the ethical problem,—as I showed in the foregoing chapter,—received quite a new start and interest through Henry Sidgwick's 'Methods of Ethics,' the first edition of which appeared three years before the 'Symposium,'

and the importance of which seems hardly to have been recognised by the several contributors to that discussion. Indeed it took a good many years before what we may term the new schools of Metaphysics and Ethics, which date respectively from Green in Oxford and Sidgwick in Cambridge, had sufficiently illuminated the old problems by a new light to allow of a kind of summing-up such as the literature of this country has from time to time been destined to give on important points of controversy; a summing-up which, however, has in this case remained inconclusive, as similar attempts had done before.

68. Balfour's 'Foundations of Belief.'

In the year 1895 there appeared Mr A. J. Balfour's discussion of the religious problem under the title 'The Foundations of Belief: being Notes Introductory to the Study of Theology.'[1] In the lucid and interesting pages

[1] This work was preceded by two other important works, one by the same author entitled 'A Defence of Philosophic Doubt: being an Essay on the Foundations of Belief' (1879). It was much read and had undoubtedly a great—perhaps also a perplexing—influence on many younger minds at the Universities; inasmuch, however, as the reasoning contained therein was absorbed and carried further in the later treatise, I have confined myself to a discussion of the latter. But equally important, and in its way perhaps even more original as coming from an entirely different quarter, was John Henry Newman's much earlier treatise with the title 'An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent' (1870). As the attention given to it by Prof. Caldecott (*loc. cit.*, pp. 258-268) shows, this work deserves to be classed alongside of Martineau's two larger treatises as the most comprehensive treatise on the philosophy of religion in modern English literature. The treatment of the religious problem from a philosophical point of view by these two thinkers may be considered complementary in a way similar to its treatment by Schleiermacher and Lotze respectively in Germany. Schleiermacher, and after him Newman, are original in the psychological treatment of religious belief; in both, however, the dialectics are unsatisfactory. Lotze, and after him Martineau, are original and impressive in the dialectical presentment of the arguments, metaphysical and ethical, by which they try to define or vindicate the attributes of the Divine Being. But neither Lotze nor Martineau has a really satisfactory psychology of religion and religious belief. The teaching of Newman, however, is a very dis-

of this concise statement we meet with a discussion of the problem which, about the same time, had been forced afresh on the attention of German thinkers through the novel and decisive position which Albrecht Ritschl had taken up in his theological system and teaching.

Mr Balfour's criticisms apply mainly to the metaphysics of Kant, to what he terms the philosophy of naturalism, and to that special form of idealism which, under the lead of T. H. Green and E. Caird, then dominated a large section of English philosophic thought. He does not refer to other important schools of thought which in Germany had for half a century assumed towards Kantianism, Idealism, and Materialism an

tinct and very early expression of that tendency of thought which I have termed the Synoptic. Certainty is a matter of immediate apprehension gained by a union of complex experiences grasped in their totality or combined presentation in the mind. Many passages might be quoted from Newman. The religious sense is not a special faculty at all, but an activity in which the whole character is concerned. It "passes from point to point gaining one by some indication; another on a probability; then availing itself of an association; then falling back on some received law; next seizing on testimony; then committing ourselves to some popular impression, or some inward instinct, or some obscure memory; and thus it makes progress not unlike a clamberer on a steep cliff, who, by quick eye, prompt hand, and firm foot, ascends, how he knows not himself, by personal endowments and long practice rather than by rule, leaving no track behind him and unable to teach another. It is not too much to say that the stepping by which great geniuses scale the mountains of truth is as unsafe and precarious to men in general as the ascent of a skilful mountaineer up a literal crag. It is a way which they alone can take; and its justification lies in their success." (See the Sermon on 'Implicit and Explicit Reason' preached in Oxford 1840, and reprinted together with other Oxford Sermons in the year 1871, with an important Preface from which it appears that the 'Grammar of Assent' was a fuller treatment of the psychology of reason and faith contained in these Sermons.) It is not uninteresting to compare the development in Newman's treatment of the problem of religious belief with that which took place in the mind of Schleiermacher forty years earlier, as contained in the 'Reden' (1799) and in 'der Christliche Glaube' (1821). The interval in Schleiermacher's case brought about a definite acceptance of the Evangelical (Protestant), in Newman of the Roman Catholic, position.

independent and critical attitude not unlike that which he was now taking up in this country. Accordingly we find that in the writings of some continental thinkers who, at the time, were less known in England, many of the arguments had been anticipated and much of the position occupied which Mr Balfour puts forward in an original manner from his own special point of view. The writings I refer to are notably those of Lotze, and, to a lesser extent, of Schleiermacher. Both these thinkers had been influential in laying the philosophical foundations of Ritschl's theology.

One of the contentions of Schleiermacher was that religion occupies an independent region in the life of the human soul, that it answers to a special need or demand. This Schleiermacher characteristically defines, in his earlier writings, as the sense of the All, and later on as a feeling of absolute dependence; Ritschl more than half a century later adopts Schleiermacher's position to this extent, that he shows that the whole body of detailed scientific research leads nowhere to a comprehensive view of the essence and significance of reality as a whole. Scientific, including also historical research, leads more and more into detail and does not find its way back again to an all-embracing conception. In opposition to such critical detail Ritschl gains a more comprehensive aspect upon which he bases the whole of his theology. This is the existence of an historical religion or system of beliefs which has found its embodiment in the religious community, the Christian Church; it aims at realising a different order of things, the Divine Order, as the consummation of the natural order,

the latter having in and by itself no conceivable unity or purpose. Theology has the task of studying the historical beginnings, the actual development and the essential features of this unique historical fact and social phenomenon; and Ritschl reverts to the position clearly indicated by Kant, that in the whole of the history and system of the Christian dispensation is to be found the solution of the ethical problem, as defined by Kant himself, the existence in the human soul of a sense of obligation, of a moral postulate.

Mr Balfour did not write like Ritschl as a theologian, but as a philosopher, finding himself face to face with two more or less consistent and compact systems of doctrine: the teachings of science on the one side and the system of religious beliefs on the other. In the earlier work mentioned above[1] he had taken up a sceptical position as to the ultimate cogency of the purely logical structure of either of the two systems. In the later work he advances a step further, and seeks for a foundation of belief in employing avowedly an argument similar to that on which Kant himself built up a religious faith.[2] The argument is that it

[1] See *supra*, p. 381 n.

[2] "The question is . . . suggested . . . whether, and, if so, under what limitations, we can argue from the existence of an ethical need to the reality of the conditions under which alone it would be satisfied. Can we, for example, argue from the need for some complete correspondence between virtue and felicity, to the reality of another world than this, where such a correspondence will be completely effected? A great ethical philosopher has, in substance, asserted that we can. He held that the reality of the Moral Law implied the reality of a sphere where it could for ever be obeyed, under conditions satisfactory to the 'Practical Reason'; and it was thus that he found a place in his system for Freedom, for Immortality, and for God. The metaphysical machinery, indeed, by which Kant endeavoured to secure these results is of a kind which we cannot employ" ('Foundations of Belief,' 9th impression, 1906, p. 331).

answers to a moral or spiritual demand, giving satisfaction to a need or postulate of the human soul.

69. Coincidence with the Hegelian position.

It has been pointed out by some of Mr Balfour's critics that he also arrives at what we may call the Hegelian position—viz., that Reason in a higher sense of the word underlies everything, and is the ground of all existing reality; but that he does so by an argument very different from that of Hegel—an argument which could not possibly have been used in Hegel's time. The difference lies in this, that Hegel attempted to show how the process of human reasoning in its different stages corresponds to the process of development of reality as we know it. But the region of reality which mainly attracted his attention was that in which human life, human interests, and human creations played a prominent part; in fact, the products of civilisation, such as Society, the State, systems of Law and Morality, Art, Literature, and Philosophy. He had considerable difficulty, and his scheme practically failed, when he attempted also to carry it through in the region of external animated and inanimate nature. When Mr Balfour wrote, two generations of progress and research had shifted the attention of thinkers from the comparatively small region, where mental forces are at work, to that incomparably wider field where purely mechanical or natural forces have their apparently unchecked dominion. The idea of development which has governed modern thought since the time of Leibniz had moved away from the scene of conscious human life on to that of unconscious inanimate forces; and one of the most original and unanswerable points of Mr

Balfour's argument is this, that the reasoning of science as well as that of religion, the two comprehensive systems of modern thought, which he terms respectively the naturalistic and the theological, are based upon and produced by non-rational agencies — *i.e.*, assumptions which cannot be logically proved but which are the products of various influences, such as custom and habit, the large body of existing beliefs, be they scientific, ethical or religious (which he termed Authority), or the satisfaction which they afford to some practical want or spiritual need. This assertion leads, however, to a further reflection, that if it is by some non-rational, mechanical or unconscious process that valuable systems of thought are evolved, this is intelligible only on the further assumption that rationality or Reason must lie at the bottom, must form the ground-work of the whole scheme, although, in the actual course of events, it has only shown itself at a late stage of development.[1]

70. Points of contact with Lotze.

There are other statements of great interest and importance brought out by Mr Balfour in language at once original and convincing, which remind us of the leading ideas of Lotze's philosophy: the two realities with which the thinking mind finds itself confronted, the world of Things or the contingent on the one side,

[1] "We may . . . say that, unless we borrow something from Theology, a philosophy of Science is impossible. The perplexities in which we become involved if we accept the naturalistic dogma that all beliefs ultimately trace their descent to non-rational causes, have emerged again and again in the course of the preceding argument. Such a doctrine cuts down any theory of knowledge to the root. It can end in nothing but the most impotent scepticism. Science, therefore, is, at least as much as Theology, compelled to postulate a Rational Ground or Cause of the world who made it intelligible, and us, in some faint degree, able to understand" (*loc. cit.*, p. 393).

and the world of spiritual necessities demanding satisfaction on the other. Such satisfaction is found, according to Lotze's view, in the higher realities of the True, the Beautiful, and the Good, or in the comprehensive conception of the Holy. This world Lotze terms the world of Values or Worths, inasmuch as that only possesses for us value or worth which answers to a specific demand of our nature. And Mr Balfour must be credited with bringing out, more convincingly perhaps than Lotze, the fact that for the modern thinker at least there exists a third world of apparent reality, the world of relations, of the so-called laws of nature which are looked upon as the detailed expression or description of the Uniformity of Nature. But—and this is the main contention—this world is merely artificially created by the human mind, it nowhere exists as such, but is an abstract, an instrument invented for the purpose of scientific research. Ever since it has been applied, it has created a structure so formidable and imposing that, compared with it, every other scheme of human thought seems frail and in danger of collapsing. It might have been added that by far the most powerful argument in favour of the reality of this recent creation of the human mind, which acquires more and more the character of mathematical certainty, lies in this that, by the use of it, not only enormous regions of the existing world have been laid bare which without it would have remained for ever unseen and unknown, but also an ever increasing complex of artificial relations has been brought into existence, which, in the

form of industry, commerce, and mechanical appliances, now forms a large and absorbing region of human work and interests: as it were a new Reality.

As the stability and progress of civilised society depend to a very large extent on providing work for willing hands and active brains, these modern regions of thought and life which were unknown three hundred years ago, viz., the field of scientific research and the field of industrial and technical application, have absorbed an increasing proportion of workers, compared with whose occupations those of earlier times are gradually becoming — at least in highly-civilised countries — of much less interest, though certainly not of less importance. The former employments, theoretical and practical, have for intelligent minds the further advantage that in both success depends upon the use of definite methods which can be taught and learned, and through which large numbers of persons can become efficient workers, who without this training would hold very inferior positions. Whereas in former times such co-operation was almost entirely limited to the military profession, we have now, besides the military, a scientific and an industrial army, the rank and file of which becomes every day more numerous and more highly trained. All this is a creation of the modern scientific spirit. To this must be added a further characteristic feature in modern civilisation pointed out in an earlier chapter. It may be shortly described as the separation of Education and Instruction. As shown at length in the first volume of this History,[1] this

71. Problem of moral education.

[1] See *supra*, vol. i. p. 258 *sqq.*, n.

idea was first introduced at the time of the French Revolution. It has ever since and in various forms permeated and led educational developments in all civilised countries. Many are the causes which have brought about the demand for a secularisation of teaching. The tyranny of the "Syllabus" in Roman Catholic countries such as France and Italy; the conflict of the Churches in countries where Roman Catholics and Protestants live professedly on equal terms, as in Germany and Austria; the jealousy created by Sectarianism and Nonconformity in Protestant countries such as Great Britain,—have all tended gradually but surely in the direction of creating a desire to liberate instruction in the higher, in secondary, and even in the popular schools from the clerical influence. But here has arisen a difficulty. So long as education was in the hands of one Power, say the State Church, the training of the intellect and that of the character went hand-in-hand, knowledge and morality being of equal importance, and, as it were, supporting each other in the guidance and the purposes of the teachers. But now that the cry for secularisation has arisen, it becomes a question how the "Moral Lesson" has to be conducted in purely secular schools, which, being under the supervision of the State, can alone secure compulsory attendance. The large, and, as it seems, the increasing number of those who consider that the sense of Obligation cannot be divorced from the sense of Reverence, and that the latter demands a supreme Object, see with alarm the tendency to base morality on purely utilitarian principles, or, at best, upon intel-

lectual or æsthetical ideals which appeal only to a very small number of persons; and they are strengthened in their alarm by the widespread influence which some recent schools of thought have had, notably on the Continent, where Free Thought and Free Inquiry have become watchwords in the teaching of the higher schools. Religion has been termed the Metaphysics of the Masses. This metaphysical interest cannot be destroyed, and if traditional beliefs are excluded from the authorised programme of instruction, the metaphysical interest, the demand for an interpretation of Reality, will seek satisfaction in other directions. This explains how it comes about that some modern philosophies have attained such widespread and alarming influence. Since the middle of the century two new gospels have been preached by distinguished thinkers who have collected around them many admirers, and have compelled opponents into thoughtful reflection. It is not so much the gospel of unbelief which has invaded modern popular philosophy: this can never be consistently elaborated. It is the gospel of Pessimism or Despair on the one side, and following on the heels of it—as a last resort—the gospel of extreme Individualism or Selfishness.

72. Pessimism and extreme Individualism.

These two phases of modern thought may be identified with the names of Arthur Schopenhauer and Friedrich Nietzsche. Both thinkers stand outside of the general development of philosophic thought in Germany, and were for a long time ignored by the academic teachers of philosophy; but in different ways they have contributed to overcome the one-sidedness

73. Schopenhauer and Nietzsche.

of the ruling philosophy of their age and country. We owe it to them, notably to Schopenhauer, that philosophical style has been greatly improved and clarified, that philosophical questions have been made interesting to the general reader, and that the centre of gravity of philosophical reasoning has been moved from the intellectual to the ethical problem, the problem, indeed, which already in the eyes of Kant and Fichte was the most important problem of philosophy. And so far as the special problem of this chapter is concerned, they may be said to have again pushed into the foreground as the most important question, the spiritual or religious problem, the problem of Good and Evil, and of Redemption. As Mr Whittaker says: The spirit of Schopenhauer's philosophy "is different from that of European philosophy in general. What preoccupies him in a special way is the question of evil in the world. Like the philosophies of the East, emerging as they do without break from religion, Schopenhauer's philosophy is in its outcome a doctrine of redemption from sin. The name of Pessimism commonly applied to it is in some respects misleading, though it was his own term; but it is correct if understood as he explained it. As he was accustomed to insist, his final ethical doctrine coincides with that of all the religions that aim, for their adepts or their elect, at deliverance from this 'evil world.' . . . For Schopenhauer the desire for speculative truth does not by itself suffice to explain the impulse of philosophical enquiries. On one side of his complex character he had more resemblance to the men who turn from the world to

religion, like St Augustine, than to the normal type of European thinker represented pre-eminently by Aristotle. . . . He saw in the world what he felt in himself, a vain effort after ever new objects of desire which give no permanent satisfaction; and this view, becoming predominant, determined, not, indeed, all the ideas of his philosophy, but its general complexion as a 'philosophy of redemption.'"[1]

Schopenhauer's philosophy stood in opposition to his own private life; it was purely objective. He did not attempt to practise what he taught. He stood outside the world of active and striving persons; he contemplated it as a spectator, comfortably seated in a stall, looks on at a theatrical performance, and unravels the plot without entangling himself in its successive Scenes and Acts. The conclusion he arrives at is, that there is more evil than good, that the principle of action, the human Will, is the source of this evil, and that in the negation of all desire in a complete quietism, similar to the Nirvana of the Buddhist, is to be found the redemption from evil.

Quite different from the solution of the problem which Schopenhauer offers to others, but does not follow himself, is that of Nietzsche. With him, the teaching is purely subjective: a reflection of the state of his own mind, of the unrest and unsatisfied striving of his own nature. If Schopenhauer prescribes to others resignation, the negation of desire, and preaches as the highest virtue that of compassion, Nietzsche preaches the doctrine of uncontrolled energy, of self-

[1] 'Schopenhauer,' by Thos. Whittaker; Constable's Series, 1909 (p. 1 *sqq.*).

assertion, of disregard of all existing dogmas and authorities, and of the attainment of a higher and more satisfactory life and being by rising beyond the level of prevailing morality to a position above and beyond the present level of existence. This is the well-known doctrine of the Super-man who sacrifices everything and everybody to the attainment of his own ideal, to his own personal self-elevation. While Schopenhauer is systematic, and bases the whole of his practical philosophy upon a theoretical groundwork in immediate connection with the whole course of intellectual philosophy from Descartes to Kant, Nietzsche disdains all systems and opposes all great thinkers, beginning with Socrates.

74. Renewed interest in religious problem.

Although both Schopenhauer and Nietzsche take up a hostile position to traditional beliefs, especially in their clerical form, it must be admitted that they have aroused a renewed interest in the religious problem, and that their teachings absorb important elements of Christian doctrine—Schopenhauer by emphasising what have been termed the Christian Virtues as distinguished from those of later antiquity, Nietzsche by pointing to the supreme value of individuality, of the personal element. Both also recognise that the ethical problem must be solved through the belief in and the realisation of a new order of things. This new order may, indeed, as they define it, appear paradoxical, a mere caricature, still it cannot be denied that they extol a spirit of other-worldliness. It is, therefore, quite correct and significant when modern historians of religion and philosophy attach considerable importance to these latest creations of philosophical speculation abroad, even if these do little

more than reduce earlier philosophical arguments *ad absurdum*, revealing the dilemmas and paradoxes in which such arguments ultimately entangle themselves. More even than of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche may this be said of E. von Hartmann's 'Philosophy of the Unconscious,' which boldly faces the burning religious questions of the day.

Philosophical thought in this country has not produced any elaborate system of Pessimism such as that of Schopenhauer, nor any extravagant doctrine of Individualism such as that of Nietzsche, though the writings of both these thinkers have received due attention both in translations and in expository and critical writings.[1]

75. W. H. Mallock.

But the whole practical question of the relation of religion to morality and of the ground of belief was forced upon thoughtful readers in a series of articles by Mr W. H. Mallock, which followed immediately (1877 and following years)[2] upon the 'Symposium' contained in the first volume of 'The Nineteenth Century,' and already referred to in the last and earlier chapters. A history of philosophic thought, as distinguished from that

[1] Schopenhauer's principal work, 'The World as Will and Idea,' has been translated by R. B. Haldane and J. Kemp (3 vols., 1883-86); the smaller works by T. B. Saunders, 1891, &c.; Hartmann's 'Philosophy of the Unconscious,' by W. C. Coupland (3 vols., 1884). A critical exposition of pessimism is contained in Prof. Jas. Sully's 'Pessimism: A History and a Criticism' (1877). A translation of Nietzsche's complete works is now in course of publication. A concise summary of Schopenhauer's philosophy is to be found in Mr Whittaker's little volume, quoted above, and Prof. W. R. Sorley treats of the 'New Morality' of Nietzsche in the first of his three lectures 'On Recent Tendencies in Ethics.' But the English literature dealing with these two thinkers is enormous and still growing.

[2] The whole of the discussion is brought together in a very readable volume, entitled 'Religion as a Credible Doctrine: A Study of the Fundamental Difficulty' (1903).

of systematic philosophy, is bound to take note of these remarkable articles, though the sensational title, 'Is Life Worth Living?' by which the subject was introduced, and the direct appeal to Revelation, from a distinctly Roman Catholic point of view, as containing the solution of the difficulty, may have prevented philosophers by profession from taking sufficient note of them. There is, however, no doubt that the foundations of scientific reasoning and the nature of scientific certainty are here lucidly discussed and brought in a forcible manner before the thoughtful reader, and this by arguments which have become quite familiar in the course of the last thirty years.[1]

[1] The purely philosophical interest which attaches to the writings of Schleiermacher and Ritschl in Germany, of Newman and Mallock, of Martineau and Balfour in England, has, in the opinion of many persons, been somewhat obscured by the fact that all these thinkers occupy special theological positions which they desire to defend. Schleiermacher occupies the position of the "Evangelical" (Protestant) Church, Ritschl that of the Primitive Lutheran, Martineau writes as a Unitarian, Newman as a Roman Catholic, and Mr Balfour represents "that species of Christian theology which is approximately defined by the Anglican tradition of the last two centuries, and (one may guess if not distinctly infer) by that variety which commends itself to the modern school of moderate High Churchmen" (Sir F. Pollock in 'Mind,' 1895, p. 377). Philosophical students are apt to turn away from some of these writings, wrongly believing them to be *ex parte* statements. For them Mr Balfour's earlier work would appear more purely philosophical, and, accordingly, possibly more important. Yet it must not be forgotten that no discussion of the philosophical foundations of religious beliefs can be profitably carried on by one who has no partiality for any of them. Some fundamental conviction must exist, and this is admitted even by such thinkers as Lotze, who halt with their philosophical arguments at the threshold of a definite religious doctrine, and whose philosophy of religion is not identical with a specific religious philosophy. The uncertainty of the ground on which a philosophy of religion as distinguished from a religious philosophy can be built up is shown by the fact that historical surveys of the subject are apt to leave out prominent and important works in which the subject is dealt with. Thus, the well-known work of O. Pfleiderer takes no note of Cardinal Newman, Mallock, and Balfour in England, of de Lamennais and Guyau in France, and even the

Now if we look at European thought as a whole, and do not lose ourselves in the particular sequences which such thought has exhibited in separate schools and countries, we make what to some may be a startling discovery—viz., that many, if not the whole, of the arguments which have been lucidly put forward on the religious problem by philosophical thinkers in this country during the last generation had already been used, or at least suggested, by French thinkers in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. That the impression they then made was purely national and did not attain to European importance is explained by various circumstances. One of these was similar to that just mentioned in connection with Mr Mallock's writings:

long list of writings analysed and discussed by Prof. Caldecott takes no notice of Mallock. In fact, philosophy of Religion was still, at the end of the nineteenth century, somewhat in the same position as philosophy of Nature was in the beginning. At that time the only thinker who went to natural philosophy itself in order to build up a philosophy of nature was Fries. Not to speak of the Idealists, even Herbart, the leader in "exact" philosophy, had a very imperfect knowledge of the principles of scientific research. And it was not till Lotze that a professional student of the mechanical and biological sciences, an expert in the handling of their methods, undertook to deal with the problems involved in scientific as well as religious thought. Since his time a number of philosophers, especially in Germany, have come from the ranks of scientific experts, and have met with increasing attention and appreciation. The names of Helmholtz, du Bois Reymond, Kirchhoff, Wundt, Ostwald, Mach, and Haeckel, and their writings, are now familiar to students of philosophy. Yet the same fair treatment is not, in general, awarded to thinkers who come from the opposite region of human thought which we may term the religious, or with Mr Balfour, the theological. Whereas professional students of nature are not any longer considered to be, as such, disqualified to treat philosophical problems, many thinkers with distinct religious convictions are looked upon with suspicion and as intruders in the domain of pure thought. The dread of the scientific bias has disappeared, but not, in the same degree, that of the theological bias; and we meet still with a discussion of religious questions by philosophers who, so far as one can learn, occupy no definite religious position whatever, nor take any part in the religious work of human society.

the general impression that such arguments were dictated by party interest, by the spirit of reaction which had, during the period of the Restoration, got the upper hand in French literature, and which was at that time opposed alike to the liberal empiricism which prevailed in this country, and to the yet more liberal intellectualism which prevailed in Germany.

76. Religious philosophy in France.

This explains also, to a large extent, why religious philosophy in France took its own course and has not, till quite recently, contributed much to the international treatment of the subject. What was original in it seemed so much bound up with ecclesiastical polemics, with the interests of the Roman Catholic Church, with the political question of the relation of Church and State, that the free development of philosophical thought in the Protestant countries took little interest in it; on the other side, the development of free enquiry in matters of belief in France either assimilated in an eclectic spirit the ideas of German transcendentalism, or was occupied under the combined influence of the spirit of exact research and of the sensational-philosophy of the eighteenth century in elaborating that system of Positive Thought through which at a later date France once more entered the arena of European speculation. Thus it comes that the religious philosophy of such thinkers as de Bonald, de Maistre, and de Lamennais has hardly found a place in the history of the subject[1]

[1] A notable exception to this general practice is to be found in the second volume of M. Ferraz's 'History of Philosophy in France during the Nineteenth Century' (1880), which deals with "Traditionalism" and "Ultramontanism." In the Preface the author thinks it necessary to justify the inclusion of these currents of thought in a

though it contains valuable points of view which have later been taken up by more recent thinkers.[1] Reasons similar to those which prevented for a long time the recognition of the merits of Schleiermacher as a philo-

complete History of Philosophy, and correctly remarks that neither Ravaisson nor Taine takes due notice of them. He considers that what is termed "pure" thought, the "study of the great Truths of the moral order by the sole aid of individual reasoning," does not comprise the whole of philosophy, though such has been the avowed intention of the foremost philosophers since the time of Socrates, as even such recent thinkers as Bossuet and Fénelon, following Descartes, have found the criterion of certitude in the clearness of ideas—*i.e.*, in a purely rational principle. Against this he points to what he terms a "mixed" philosophy as represented, *inter alia*, by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, St Augustine, and the Fathers of the Church, who tried to reconcile the speculations of Greek philosophy with theological conceptions. It may be remarked that "pure" rationalism has never been characteristic of the leading philosophies in this country, which have been nearly always allied, either with natural knowledge on the one side, or with some form of traditional belief on the other; further, that the position taken up by Lotze in Germany, according to which the formal task of philosophy consists in imparting unity and harmony to the frequently confused and contradictory body of thought furnished by science on the one side, by common-sense and practical reasoning on the other, at once opposes the attempt to build up a philosophical system upon a purely rational principle. And a similar endeavour at a reconciliation of apparently opposed regions of thought seems to underlie also such very different philosophical schemes as those of Herbert Spencer and Mr Balfour.

[1] Two points may be specially referred to: they were in a crude way insisted on in the traditional school of thought. The first is the influence of tradition upon the formation of ideas and convictions. All the modern theories of environment, of inheritance, and of the social atmosphere tend in the direction of maintaining that abstract notions have, like other intellectual data, a conscious or unconscious ancestry depending upon acknowledged or unacknowledged tradition under the influence of surrounding or antecedent conditions. The other interesting point is notably the importance which de Bonald (1754-1840) attaches to language as an instrument of the mind which creates thought instead of being created by it. He even goes the length of maintaining that language and words are a Divine Revelation. Subsequent theories of the relation of language and thought, such as those of Max Müller, the psychological importance of intersubjective communion (James Ward), and the extension of the term language to all forms of expression (the "general linguistic" of B. Croce), all tend to emphasise the important part which language has played, not only in the undiscovered origins of civilisation and culture, but also as the principal Revelation, as the moment of awakening, in the early life of every rational human being.

sopher in Germany, prevented also the important arguments contained in the earlier writings of de Lamennais from receiving due recognition. Theology was considered, in France as in Germany, to disqualify a thinker for the pursuit of genuine speculation. We know, however, as has already been stated,[1] that there existed, at least in Germany, for a considerable time a similar prejudice against those who cultivated exclusively the exact and empirical sciences. In the latter respect France was the first country which emancipated itself from this spirit of extreme rationalism; it was the first country which attempted to raise an edifice of philosophical thought upon the principles of exact research; and it was also there that some of the leading ideas of recent religious speculation were first introduced or suggested. As I have remarked before, the separation of exact science on the one side and of theology on the other from philosophical thought has never existed in the same extreme way in this country.

Though French philosophical thought does not exhibit that close and consecutive development on definite lines which is characteristic of German thought, and to a lesser extent of the thought of this country, it contains a few prominent examples in which definite and recurring aspects of thought have found, as it were, classical expression. Not to speak of Descartes, we have, in some of the writings of the encyclopædists, a typical enunciation of the tenets of materialism, to which the later writings of Büchner in Germany, or even of Haeckel in our days, have hardly added anything which

[1] See *ante*, p. 267 n.

is either new in principle or expressed with the same lucidity and elegance. We may, in fact, say what has been said of one of the philosophers of the Restoration, that French thought is prophetic; giving in rare instances, emphatic and seemingly premature expression to arguments which have taken a long time to become popularly understood.[1] This is eminently the case with two of the points urged by de Lamennais in his celebrated 'Essai sur l'Indifférence en matière de Religion.'[2]

77. De Lamennais.

Disregarding, for our present purpose, the local and temporal circumstances which caused its great reputation, we find that the author emphasised two important points which have since occupied religious thinkers everywhere. The first point dealt with by de Lamennais in his first volume was the growing spirit, not of unbelief, but of indifference towards religious questions. He foretold that religious thought was tending towards indifference. The other point with which he dealt in the second volume was the problem of certitude, the question

[1] Paul Janet, in 'La Philosophie de Lamennais' (1890, pp. 2 and 3), sees in de Lamennais (1782-1854) one of the great problems of the century condensed in a single mind and a unique moment. It is the transition from the idea of authority to that of revolution. "D'autres que lui, sans doute, ont passé aussi de la cause de l'autorité à celle de la révolution: Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Chateaubriand lui-même, malgré sa fidélité d'office à la légitimité; mais aucun d'eux n'était prêtre, apôtre, prophète; aucun n'avait pris parti avec tant de violence et d'exagération en faveur des doctrines du passé. C'est pourquoi la vie de Lamennais est un drame dans lequel se concentre tout un siècle. . . . De même que, dans les tragédies, l'intérêt, pour être dramatique, doit se concentrer dans une action unique: de même le combat du siècle entre le passé et l'avenir, pour apparaître dans toute sa grandeur, a dû se condenser dans une seule âme et en un moment unique. Tel est le haut et persistant intérêt que présente la vie de Lamennais, et qui donne à tous ses écrits et aux phases diverses de sa philosophie un caractère si émouvant."

[2] Vol. i., 1817; vol. ii., 1820; vols. iii. and iv., 1823.

as to the ultimate authority to which we appeal in matters of knowledge and faith.

It will now be generally admitted that through many influences, some of which were clearly pointed out by de Lamennais, a spirit of indifference under various names, such as Agnosticism, Irreligion, Immoralism, or Probabilism has found its way into the thoughtful literature of Western Europe. And, further, we are struck by the fact that prominent thinkers in this country, such as Mr Balfour, and before him James Martineau, have made the question of the seat of authority or the court of appeal in matters of knowledge and belief the subject of special study.

It is a matter of historical interest that a similar problem presented itself, in the early part of the century, from an entirely different point of view and in different surroundings, to de Lamennais,—the problem of certitude in matters of belief. The fact that a tendency to indifference was slowly growing out of the Protestant principle of Toleration did not then strike either German or British thinkers; and this is easily explained if we realise that in Germany, at the time when the 'Essay on Indifference' appeared, there existed just the opposite, a spirit of hope and genuine trust in the promises of idealistic speculation which was not to supersede, but to put the verities of Christian religion upon a securer intellectual foundation; further, that in England a quite different but not less hopeful spirit had become diffused through poetry, literature, and art since the beginning of the century, and that this

was followed by, and in some instances associated with, the later religious revival which centred in the Oxford movement.

The era of German idealism, with its genuine but unfulfilled aspirations, was—as had been the case half a century earlier in France—to be destroyed by Materialism and Industrialism, and the resources of the new spirit in English literature had to exhaust themselves, before thinking minds in both countries could realise how much truth was contained in the dictum of Renan that we live on reminiscences of the past, on the "Shadows of a shadow," and how much insight in his query: "What will those after us live on?"

After having dealt with the phenomenon of indifference in matters of religion, de Lamennais investigates the foundations of certitude, and he finds them in the dicta of common-sense. Common-sense, or the generally accepted axioms and beliefs, are the authority to which we ultimately appeal in questions of importance. He thus reminds us not only of the *rôle* which custom and habit played in Hume's philosophy, but also of the common-sense philosophy of Reid and the Scottish school which appeared as an answer to Hume's doubts. In passing, we may note how a prominent English philosopher and critic, the late Henry Sidgwick, in one of the last of his Essays, spoke approvingly of Reid's common-sense philosophy. But with de Lamennais common-sense meant something different, something wider and more comprehensive than the common-sense of Reid; the latter appealed rather to the unsophisticated convictions of thinking persons when they reflected upon the plain evidences within their own consciousness; it was an appeal to every individual thinking person. With de Lamennais it meant rather an appeal to what was common to all persons whether this consensus be established by reflection or unconsciously adopted and admitted in practice. In fact, in the term "common-sense," we may say that Reid's school laid emphasis on the word "sense," on immediate evidence, de Lamennais on the word "common"—*i.e.*, on that which is possessed by or belongs to every one. It is a reversion to the standard of the more comprehensive mind of the classical period of Christendom; *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.*

In this formula of the appeal to common-sense we have the beginning of a doctrine which has, since the time of de Lamennais, been introduced from many sides into the discussion of this question. We may express this by saying that the authority appealed to is not that of a single person, of a single truth, or of an isolated argument, however imposing or convincing such may at times appear, but that it is an appeal to a body of beliefs or of thought which through universality, coherence, and stability commands our respect and assent. As such, this view opposes everything that is detached, isolated, and purely individual; it appeals to the community of men and the continuity of opinions, not to individual thinkers or subjective convictions however rigid and acute the logic of the latter may seemingly be. In fact, de Lamennais maintains that individualism and self-reliance in matters of knowledge and faith must lead ultimately to scepticism, uncertainty, and indifference.

We also recognise, what is not of special interest in this connection, how this argument of de Lamennais brings him very close to some of the doctrines of Democracy and Socialism of which he, later on, became a prominent political exponent.

When Mr Balfour, towards the end of the century, again discussed the question of authority, of the centre of appeal in matters of scientific and religious doctrine, he had at his disposal the result of fully sixty years of philosophical criticism. The epistemological discussions raised by J. S. Mill as to the nature of inductive proof had gradually made it clear that the strictest and best established scientific theories rested upon a system of axioms which were generally accepted, and the truth of which itself rested on cumulative evidence, on coherence, and on practical success; and the same, he could argue, obtained in matters of belief. In addition to this epistemological argument which, since the appearance of Mr Balfour's 'Foundations of Belief,' has received further support through such eminent thinkers as Ernst Mach in Germany and M. Poincaré in France, as well as through the pragmatist movement in this country, we have the arguments drawn from the scientific doctrines of environment, of evolution, and of inheritance, all of which, applied to mental phenomena, teach us that nothing, not even the best-defined logical conception in the clearest of individual minds, can be understood if detached from its surroundings or removed out of the historical sequence in which it has been generated. Thus religious beliefs, as well as scientific truths, rest equally upon large and comprehensive bodies of doctrine

or systems of belief, and receive their convincing power over individual minds only to a very small extent from the temporary and subjective evidence upon which they are fallaciously supposed to rest. It is further interesting to see how de Lamennais and latterly Mr Balfour, both of whom appeal to existing authorities,—*i.e.*, to generally admitted bodies of doctrine as against individual and isolated ratiocination—are ultimately driven to the confession that this whole scheme is intelligible and workable only by the assumption of an underlying universal reason, or of the intrinsic and ultimate rationality of existence,—a doctrine which comes very near to the position taken up in Hegel's philosophy.[1]

78. Reversion to a position like Hegel's.

But here we come upon the point where the religious thought of to-day discards the Hegelian scheme, an

[1] De Lamennais, after seeing his endeavours to vindicate the truth of the Roman Catholic system condemned by the Pope himself—in the Encyclical against "Les Paroles d'un Croyant," July 1834—whose authority he wished to support, took to political and speculative philosophy, influenced in the latter to some extent by Schelling. His writings in this direction had little influence on philosophical thought, the history of which is more interested in his earlier works. With a true insight into the difference between the courses of philosophical thought and special and isolated philosophical systems, M. Ferraz has defined the position of de Lamennais as follows: "Nous avons cru devoir étudier en détail la doctrine de Lamennais, moins à cause de sa valeur propre, bien qu'elle soit réelle, qu'à cause de l'influence qu'elle a exercée sur le mouvement religieux de notre époque. Avant lui, le parti ultramontain, malgré les appels réitérés de J. de Maistre, ne s'était point encore constitué et n'avait pas même encore une ombre d'existence. C'est Lamennais qui l'a créé, qui l'a organisé et qui lui a donné la force qu'il possède en ce moment. . . . Mais, si Lamennais a produit, à une certaine date, le catholicisme ultramontain, qui domine aujourd'hui avec tant d'empire, il a produit un peu plus tard ce catholicisme libéral, qui a rallié longtemps un certain nombre de natures généreuses, de sorte que les deux grands courants d'idées qui se sont déroulés de nos jours au sein de l'Eglise, ont eu également en lui leur principe et leur source. Le rationaliste ne s'est pas accusé chez lui avec moins de force que le catholique ultramontain et que le catholique libéral, bien qu'il n'ait pas exercé la même influence sur ses contemporains" (*loc. cit.*, p. 268).

79. Departure from this in the thought of the day.

opposition which was prepared by Kant, to which Schleiermacher gave special expression, and which is perhaps most clearly brought out in Albrecht Ritschl's theology. The system of reason which Hegel attempted to elaborate was not that of ordinary logic, of the formal logic of the rationalist, or the inductive logic of the empirical school; it was, as it were, a higher reasonableness that Hegel attempted to demonstrate, a rationality which embraces not only formal and exact ways of thinking but also the higher trains of poetical, religious, and metaphysical thought, what had before him been distinguished from the other under various names, such as the Transcendental (Kant), Intellectual Intuition (Fichte and Schelling), or Religious Faith (Jacobi and Fries). In the sequel, however, it became clear that these higher forms of thought cannot be fused into one common logic with the precepts of exact and empirical thought. As the latter were more closely investigated and better understood it became evident that there exists a radical difference in the manner in which science on the one side, art, ethics, and religion on the other, deal with their subject; the principal difference being that science depends upon definition of detail, and that this inevitably leads to abstraction, to the elaboration of an artificial system of knowledge which only partially and transiently corresponds to that which is actual and real: it leads to a mosaic of thought, to a mechanical aggregate, not to a comprehensive and synoptic view of a living totality. It never attains to a view of the Whole, still less to that of the inherent and essential

significance of the All. Now the latter is just what the higher regions of thought desire to grasp from the beginning and to place in the centre of their reasoning. If then Reason lies at the bottom and forms the groundwork of everything, it cannot be identified with the rationale of exact and scientific knowledge which leads ever more into detail and makes no distinction between what is of higher and what is of lower value. Yet we cannot look upon the world around us without introducing these aspects, which are essentially foreign to scientific research or, should they exist, are brought into it in its relation to an end or aim by purely utilitarian and commercial considerations. This has been recognised even by those thinkers who do not despair of reaching an understanding of the highest moral phenomena by employing purely scientific—*i.e.*, exact canons and methods. They are then confronted with two definite problems.

The first is: to find in the empirical and phenomenal world which surrounds us a principle which, so to speak, destroys the monotony of things and disturbs the impartiality of the purely scientific observer, introducing a standard of value, a means of judging between the higher and lower. Such a principle they find in the phenomenon of progress, and ultimately, under various denominations, in the mechanically undefinable principle of Life. The second difficulty lies in this, that even assuming the rationality of things could be reached through the principles and defined in the vocabulary of science, we have then to resolve the still remaining great irrationality of human existence—that of Evil and Sin. These

80. The problem of progress.

81. The difficulty of Evil and Sin.

are the two main difficulties with which any system of naturalism has to deal, and it is significant and interesting to note that the most comprehensive attempt in recent times to deal with these difficulties, from a purely anthropological point of view, is to be found in French literature, and especially in the remarkable writings of Jean Marie Guyau.

82. J. M. Guyau.

We have already, in the two foregoing chapters, dealt with the positive side of Guyau's teaching, with his philosophy of the Beautiful and his Ethics; and we shall have to revert to it when in the following chapter we deal with the problem of Society. At present it is rather the negative side which I desire to dwell on. With him the spiritual view of things and of life does not coincide with traditional religion and morality, the main positions of which he rejects. He teaches a peculiar kind of Irreligion and Immoralism, or rather he desires to rise beyond the conventional standards of morality and the traditional dogmas of religion. He has thus, in a remarkable study by M. Alfred Fouillée, been correctly and significantly compared with Nietzsche in Germany.[1] Now the two main positions in the

[1] 'Nietzsche et L'Immoralisme,' by Alfred Fouillée (2nd ed., 1902). From the Introduction to this work we learn that Nietzsche was well acquainted with Guyau's principal works, his own copies of which are covered with marginal notes of approval and criticism, but that neither Guyau nor Fouillée himself knew Nietzsche personally, though they lived for some time at the same places on the Riviera. M. Fouillée expresses his comparative estimate of the two thinkers, whose names have been brought together in several critical notices by French and German writers, as follows: "Les œuvres de Guyau et de Nietzsche ont ainsi éveillé de toutes parts des échos plus ou moins discordants. Quant à nous, il nous semble que l'individualisme de Nietzsche a besoin d'être corrigé par le point de vue social de Guyau. Aussi avons-nous cru nécessaire, tout en insistant sur Nietzsche, de le comparer à son devancier français. Les théories du penseur allemand sont en partie une déviation de plusieurs des doctrines que Guyau avait déjà soutenues; il importe donc au plus haut point de rétablir le vrai et le normal sous certaines altérations pathologiques qui, grâce au génie litéraire de Nietzsche, peuvent séduire tant de simples ou tant de raffinés à la recherche du neuf." (p. ii.)

current systems of moral and religious thought which he combats and rejects are, so far as morality is concerned, the sense of obligation and the demand for a higher sanction; and, so far as religion is concerned, the existence of a special doctrine or of a body of dogma. He aims at a morality "without obligation and sanction," and at a religion without dogma; the former position is new and original to him; the latter was not an unknown conception with several German thinkers already in the middle of the century, who talked of the religious spirit without a definite religion or, as they termed it, of "religiosity without religion." In this manner Guyau opposes what the whole of religious philosophy and all practical morals and religion have considered indispensable—viz., a definite and obligatory moral law and a simple or elaborate, but, in any case, a definite system of beliefs. In proportion as the conviction has forced itself upon thinkers from many sides that reality and certitude, so far as the human mind is concerned, can be attained, not by any single assertion, but only by a more or less consistent, coherent, and stable system or order of ideas; further, that the system of ideas and conceptions elaborated by science has no centre and no finality; it has become increasingly clear to many that, to satisfy the higher needs of the human soul, there must exist another and a higher order, and that

this higher order must have a definite centre to make it stable and comprehensive. Practical religion will always demand a system of beliefs or of doctrine in which its conception of the higher order of things finds expression, and a supreme law of conduct in which it is centred.

According to the intuitional school, the latter is an indestructible postulate of human nature, the categorical imperative of Kant, for which systems of theoretical and practical morality are forced to find definite though possibly changing expression. The former—*i.e.*, the more or less elaborate system of doctrine and belief in which the higher moral or spiritual order finds expression—has been elaborated by the human race, in its progressive history and culture, as its Religion. The problem of the spirit according to this view finds its solution from two definite beginnings, the sense of obligation which exists as an original endowment or revelation in the human mind, and the historical religion which has been such an important factor throughout the course of civilisation. Upon these two data, the first, a definite central point, the second, a wide circumference of facts and events, it is the task of theology or of systematic religious thought to build its edifice; the first is a psychological, the second a historical study. Both lead us beyond the region of purely philosophical thought.

This view discards the scheme which has found its most elaborate and, at the same time, most poetical expression in Guyau's writings: the latter appears vague and impracticable, and, in consequence, unrealisable. This verdict is strengthened by a further and last consideration. Guyau's aim of establishing a religion or a spiritual view of things without recourse to any definite doctrine or dogma, though it naturally sprang up in a country and among surroundings which have witnessed the tyranny of the Church, the frightful deeds of religious persecution, and the abuse of dogma, cannot consistently be carried through. For—after the destruction of all traditional beliefs, of all rigid dogmas, and of all moral compulsion—it will yet leave standing one last and solitary dogma, which consistently it should not hesitate ultimately and finally to destroy. This "last dogma" is morality itself, the sense of Duty, and the distinction of Good and Evil.

83. Morality the "last dogma."

It is interesting to see how, in modern literature, this conviction that morality itself must fall as a "last dogma" before the logical consequences of a purely naturalistic view is gradually gaining ground and finding definite expression.[1] This is considered by one class of thinkers to be a *reductio ad absurdum* of the naturalistic position; by another class as an indication that utilitarian systems of morality rest upon an illogical introduction of a principle alien to the purely naturalistic view. Such a principle, which in the end is introduced in order to combat the purely selfish and individualistic view, is found, by Comte, simply in Altruism; by Guyau, in the expansive principle of Life; by Fouillée, in the "force of ideas"; by Lange and others, in Ideals; and ultimately by all these and other thinkers,

[1] One of the earliest discussions of this subject will be found in three articles by M. Delboeuf in the 'Revue Philosophique,' vols. xiii. and xiv. (1882).

including Spencer, in the organisation, the demands, and the authority of human society. But it must be remarked that naturalism is not, in our present stage of knowledge, identical with mechanism, and that the extreme view mentioned above implies the assertion that the phenomena of life, individual and social, and those of consciousness can be explained on purely mechanical principles. This is, at the present moment, impossible, and naturalists such as du Bois Reymond, Herbert Spencer, and Haeckel have been, perhaps reluctantly, forced to admit this; whereas, on the other side, thinkers whose own original work was confined to purely mechanical reasoning, have either, with Lord Kelvin, distinctly asserted the impossibility of understanding the phenomena of living matter on purely mechanical principles, or have, with Clifford, invented a theory of "mind-stuff." [1]

[1] An interesting article dealing with this subject will be found in the American 'Philosophical Review' (1896), with the title "Morality the last of Dogmas," by Antonio Llano. The author identifies the naturalistic with the purely mechanical point of view—in fact, he practically accepts what du Bois Reymond termed the "Laplacian world-formula." This position is, to say the least, premature, and the contention that "naturalistic and utilitarian philosophers; who—strange to say—establish the premises as indispensable, shrink before their logical consequences," is not correct if applied to such thinkers as the author deals with. But assuming that it were possible to reduce everything in human life and conduct to purely mechanical sequences, and that the author's conclusions were established "that morality with its machinery of obligation, conscience, and duty, being based on feelings originated in superstition and slavery, and in an inadequate and unscientific conception of the world in general, and of man in particular, is doomed to vanish under the pressure of enlightened reason, which will cease to consider it either necessary or profitable," we may ask the question, What is to take the place of morality? The author is very definite on this, saying that "the evolution (I might better say the dissolution) of morality is from 'duty' towards 'right,' the former diminishing as the latter increases." Now this suggests a very important distinction. The word "right" has several meanings, and the use of it in this connection is similar to that of the word "force" by materialists, such as Büchner in his well-known work. In his philosophy the word "force" would be of no use if it was reduced to its purely mechanical meaning as a measure of motion, and similarly the word "right" has several meanings. It may mean that which is logically correct; as such it refers merely to a formal process, and has nothing to do with reality. It may mean the opposite of wrong, and if used in this sense imports a moral distinction; or it may mean, what the author probably intends, that which is reasonable. The German language makes a distinction between *recht* and *richtig*. In the Hegelian system, and among writers influenced by it, the identification of what is morally right with what is reasonable has been much discussed. With Hegel the identification of the two terms is based upon the conception of reason, not as a merely formal logical process, but as an inherent principle of reality. For such a conception the scientific aspect, if reduced to the mechanical, has no room.

For those who refuse to deduce the feeling of duty and obligation either psychologically or historically from non-moral elements, and consider it, with Kant, to be the starting-point, centre, and foundation of any and every higher or spiritual view of things, there will always exist the further task of interpreting this unique and remarkable experience through some reasoned creed, as well as of showing its purport and working throughout the whole region of practical life. The fundamental assertion or postulate will have to be followed by a more or less elaborate ontology (theory of being) and a system of morality (theory of conduct). Long before philosophers had professedly done so, the common-sense of mankind had attempted this interpretation and expansion of the moral postulate in the various historical religions and moralities of the different nations and ages of the world.

It is with a true insight into the connection of ideas that Guyau and others have pointed out that if the spirit of toleration makes it desirable that religious

dogma be done away with and the dogmatic spirit destroyed, this will ultimately and necessarily be followed by a negation, not only of religious dogmas, but likewise of the sense of duty, and finally of moral distinctions themselves. Here it is difficult not to ask the question whether there is not a still more fundamental assumption, postulate, or axiom—whatever we call it — which will follow in the wake of this general collapse, viz., Truth. As a matter of fact, this question has been asked and discussed in the recent literature and controversies of Pragmatism. With this we shall have to deal on a later occasion, as it has, so far, not directly treated the religious problem or the problem of the Spirit.

84. Transformation of the theological view.

The theological view which seeks the foundation of ethics in the belief in a higher, transcendental, or spiritual order of things (the "civitas Dei") which it confronts with the purely anthropological order (the "civitas humana") — though it admits that the two existing orders are, from our point of view, interwoven like the warp and woof in the texture of a garment— has, in the course of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, been enlarged and strengthened by adding to the purely psychological view, taken by Kant, the historical study of religion. But the undoubted gain which has resulted from these studies, through giving breadth of view and wealth of detail, has not been secured without corresponding difficulties. The opposite or naturalistic view has not been slow to detect these. The modern "study of religions" has made it difficult to assign to any one of the historical

religions a unique position, especially as it has been shown, with more or less success, that what, for instance, were considered at one time to be doctrines and precepts peculiar to Christianity have — perhaps without exception — existed outside and before the era of the Christian dispensation in other Oriental or European religions. It does not come within the province of philosophical thought, which deals only with matters of principle, to settle these purely historical problems on which a final opinion does not, and perhaps never will, exist. In this connection it is only important to notice that, if on the one side historical research has made it more difficult to define the unique character of any one religious system, it has, on the other side, especially under the influence of the theory of evolution, also suggested an answer to the problem it has created. According to this view the spiritual element or principle shows an analogy with the phenomena of Life. I have had occasion, in the earlier part of this History,[1] to point out that, although modern thought has not arrived at any satisfactory definition of Life, three distinct features have been established: Life is a unique, a continuous, and a ubiquitous phenomenon. We are now approaching an analogous view so far as the spiritual principle is concerned; we are taught to look upon it as a unique, a continuous, and a ubiquitous historical phenomenon in the development of man and mankind.

As little, however, as the various forms of Life ex-

[1] See *supra*, vol. ii., chap. x., pp. 462 *sqq.*

hibit each the inherent principle in its purity or fulness, or in that perfection which we see before us in single specimens of the human race,—showing rather endless varieties and possibilities of arrested or degraded development, in a profusion of beautiful, grotesque, or even hideous examples in the lower and higher forms of vegetable, animate, and intelligent nature,—just as little do we find the spiritual principle everywhere equally active and clear in its historical life and development. On the contrary, we find the spiritual principle also branching off sometimes into a one-sided growth, not without rising, in single instances and under favourable conditions, to rare beauty and sublimity, exhibiting often also the grotesque, the degrading, and the repulsive. And yet, as we have learned, through biology, to connect all living forms together from the lowest to the highest, and to recognise in them the luxuriations of one and the same principle, the principle of Life, so also we recognise in the whole religious life of mankind the working of one and the same principle which we term the Spirit. And there are still other lessons which we may learn from this analogy. The highest, purest, and fullest development of the principle of life, that which gives us also the only clue we possess to its intrinsic value and meaning, is to be found, for us human observers, in single specimens of the human race, in the highest examples of personality. It seems as if the vital principle has attained to a kind of finality in such instances and on the occasion of such creations. Similarly the spiritual view of things seems to recognise a kind of finality in the Christian conception of Love as the ground and the

highest rule conceivable for us human beings in the Divine Order of things.[1] And again, if we turn to the result of recent biological enquiry, we are struck—as great authorities[2] have told us—by the practical impossibility of predicting phenomena and events in the living portion of creation with anything approaching that accuracy with which exact science has taught us to predict the workings of inanimate or mechanical forces. This may be owing to the complexity which governs every individual instance or to the undefinable nature of the living principle itself:[3] we meet everywhere the unexpected, the unforeseen, the incalculable, that which is contingent, individual, and unique. This circumstance—as I stated on a former occasion—forces us continually to resort from the scientific exact and mechanical view of nature to a poetical and artistic interpretation, which seems to bring us much nearer

[1] The comparative history of religion, after having been confined mostly to learned treatises on the subject which have accumulated an enormous amount of detail has, in recent times, been introduced more and more into general literature and made accessible to thoughtful readers. I should like to mention as especially interesting and helpful as an introduction to this large subject the writings of Dr F. B. Jevons; and besides a larger work referred to above (vol. iii. p. 163, n.), his small treatise entitled 'Comparative Religion,' in the "Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature" (1913); see especially what is there said on the Christian conception of Love (p. 136 *sqq.*)

[2] See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 372.

[3] As already stated on various occasions, the things in nature—notably those in the living and animated world — cannot be thoroughly understood if torn out of their surroundings, and still less if dissected and analysed into their constituent parts. Both these abstracting processes, so essential and so indispensable to scientific research, must be supplemented by ever and again recurring to the *vue d'ensemble*. And this refers equally to such historical growths as the religions of the world. A process of abstraction and of analysis, followed by ever so ingenious a synthesis and reconstruction, misses their real nature and significance. This reveals itself only to the synoptic glance.

to the real essence and meaning of Life. Now, such is still more the case if we deal with the phenomena and workings of the spirit, if we attempt to trace the hidden lines of the inwoven spiritual or Divine Order with the same accuracy and confidence with which we have learnt to trace those of the natural order of things. Here, even less than in the region of the biologist, does uniformity obtain; our formulæ and analogies forsake us; every spiritual phenomenon, like every living thing, is unique; the unexpected, the marvellous — nay, even the miraculous and seemingly irrational—continually happens, and will seem to many to denote the very essence and character of the Spiritual. This is what naturally follows from the twofold order, the dualism, which the theological view of things upholds and which it considers to be inherent in the constitution, in the nature and position of us human beings who do not, as Lotze somewhere says, dwell at the root of the tree of knowledge, nor survey the whole of it from an outside position, but are modestly lodged somewhere in its branches. To infer from this that the whole scheme is irrational would be legitimate only if we limit rationality to those trains of reasoning which are common to formal logic and fully applicable and fruitful only in an abstract geometrical world. But if we extend the meaning of the term Reason so that it embraces also the spiritual and transcendent, then, even what may now appear to be miraculous, paradoxical, or irrational, will dissolve in that higher reasonableness which was the ideal of Hegel's system, and which, though never

fulfilled, will ever remain and recur as the undying aspiration of the human intellect.

85. Religious interest in the problem of Society.

The interest which the human mind takes in the spiritual view of things, in the Divine Order, lies ultimately in this, that it interprets and supports the moral ideals of our race, and that it leads beyond the purely subjective, selfish, or utilitarian interpretation and conception of the voice of duty. As we saw, at the end of the last chapter, both schools of ethics — the theological and the anthropological— recognise the necessity of getting beyond the subjective or selfish point of view; both seek to place the motives of human action upon a broader basis and on a deeper foundation. The anthropological or naturalistic school do so by introducing and developing the idea of Humanity, of human society or of the human race as a whole. They do not think it necessary to introduce, or possible to maintain, any other principle than what they find in human experience individually and collectively; they are equally serious in recognising the necessity of interpreting and following the call to duty. The activity of this school has been very great during the nineteenth century; its teaching is much more recent and perhaps more original than the teaching of the other, the theological school. The writings of the former bulk very largely in nineteenth-century philosophy. In the following chapter I propose to take up this side of the moral problem. It will, accordingly, deal with the growth and diffusion of the idea or Ideal of Humanity.

CHAPTER X.

OF SOCIETY.

I.

MANY influences and interests have combined in the course of the nineteenth century to define and push into the foreground a problem which in its present comprehensive form did not occupy earlier philosophic thought. This is the social problem, the problem of human society, or, if we take it in the widest sense, the problem of the human race or humanity. Earlier philosophies, among which those of Plato and Aristotle in ancient times stand out prominently, have furnished contributions to the treatment of the problem; so have, in later centuries, from special points of view, such thinkers as St Augustine, Hobbes, Spinoza, Grotius, and others. But that the problem is a much larger one, and that its solution must be based on a natural and civil history, combined with a philosophy of the collective life of man, this does not seem to have been recognised before the latter half of the eighteenth century. Earlier writers dealt with special aspects of the great subject, starting from historical data or from dogmatic

1. The social problem in the largest sense not recognised before the eighteenth century.

conceptions, in the interest of government, of civil or religious legislation, of political, commercial, or industrial progress, sometimes only with a view of opposing conventional theories and bringing about much-needed reforms. But impartially to gather together data descriptive of the origin, the organisation, and the development of the collective life of man, to analyse his dependence on natural environment, on the growing complexity of his inner life, to understand the stages of historical development, the rise, culmination, and decline of nationalities and races, to forecast the future and to form some idea of the constitution of what has been termed the liberal state, and of the larger international and social organisation of mankind—the *civitas humana*,—all these various problems seem to have received conscious recognition only in the course of the last hundred and fifty years, and this again only since original thinkers have ventured to discard altogether existing conditions and to build a fresh fabric of human society upon rational and moral principles. No opportunity[1] to do this with full con-

[1] See, however, *infra*, p. 428 n. The philosophical writers who had most direct influence upon the drawing up both of the American and the French constitution seem to be Locke (following upon Hobbes) and Rousseau; the formulæ made familiar through them being the 'Rights of Man' and the 'Social Contract.' Montesquieu's inaccurate analysis of the English constitution played also an important part. Mr Whittaker refers to the following recent accounts of the subject for fuller information: 'Cambridge Modern History' (vol. vii. p. 174; vol. viii. pp. 19, 20, 177-178); 'Encyclop. Brit.' 11th ed. (vol. xiv.; 'Declaration of Independence'), and remarks: "What Rousseau had to give was compact form and a certain emotional effect. Carlyle's and Burke's prejudices (not the same but telling in the same direction) seem to affect most English writers; even those who see that the Revolution was inevitable think they are bound to make light of such 'formulæ' as unrealities. Without the formulæ, which might be talked by declaimers but were the result of a long process of thinking, it seems to me that the Revolution must have remained 'without form and void,'—a mere 'general overturn'

2. American struggle for independence.

sciousness and responsibility arose before the American struggle for independence and the consequent constitution based upon the declaration of rights. What was then done was fifteen years later repeated and modified in the French constitution of the year 1791, after the Revolution had swept away a great part of the older institutions and landmarks. It is not likely that European thinkers of the foremost order would all of a sudden have given so much attention to what is now termed the social problem[1] had it not been for the

ending in renewal of the old state of things; for in the absence of such expressions as 'rights,' 'social contract,' &c., everybody would have been unable to think in any but terms of 'status' (as Maine expresses the underlying conception of the old order)."

[1] This term is commonly used to denote some problem or problems which are at the moment of special practical importance. In this sense the problem is one of practical or applied philosophy and does not come into the programme of this History. Both in this narrower and in the wider sense the term forms the title of a comprehensive work by Dr Ludwig Stein: 'Die Soziale Frage im Lichte der Philosophie' (2nd ed., 1903), which, as we learn from the Preface, has met with a large circulation on the Continent, having been translated into French and other foreign languages. I desire to recommend this work as giving the reader a wide view of the enormous modern literature and the complexity of the subject, and to express my indebtedness to the author. At the same time, his use of the term is not quite identical with the plan of the present chapter. This might perhaps be more adequately described as the anthropological problem: the study of man as a member of an aggregate called Society and in his relations with external nature. And this as the introduction and foundation, not only of the phenomena of collective life, but also of psychology as the science of the individual mind. This is another instance how, in recent times, the study of phenomena in their isolation is more and more giving way to a preliminary study of such phenomena in their "Together," what I have termed the "synoptic" aspect. We have one of the most instructive examples of this development of thought in the life-work of so eminent a thinker as Prof. Wundt in Germany, who has crowned his philosophical researches —which started with a very special problem of physiological psychology —by his great work on anthropology: 'Völkerpsychologie.' From this point of view, with all acknowledgment of Dr Stein's valuable and encyclopædic work, I miss the due appreciation of such writings as Lotze's 'Microcosmus,' though we may perhaps be forced to consider this important work to be no more than a first approximation for the solution of the great problem. This problem is defined by Lotze in the question: "What significance have man and human life

3. The French Revolution.

much greater revolution of ideas which accompanied and followed in the wake of that political upheaval.

4. Herder and Rousseau.

If in the literature of the second half of the eighteenth century we look for the thinker who had the fullest and most modern conception of the problem before us, it is undoubtedly Herder; nor is it without significance for his comprehension of the vastness and intricacy of this problem to note that he published only 'Ideas towards a History of Mankind,' a programme which, under the widening and deepening influences of subsequent thought, assumed a larger expression on the title-page of Lotze's 'Microcosmus' as 'Ideas towards a Natural History and History of Mankind.' From a practical point of view the problem was, however, brought under notice some time before Herder wrote by several thinkers, notably by Rousseau in France, who denounced the artificiality of modern life and proclaimed a return to nature, but whose lasting contribution to the solution of the social problem consists probably in his profound influence on popular education in Switzerland and Germany. Some signs that the problem was independently before the minds of thinkers are to be found in the literature of other countries—for instance, in the earlier writings of Vico[1] in Italy, of

with its constant phenomena, and the changing course of history, in the great whole of nature, to the steady influence of which the results of modern science have made us feel more than ever in subjection?" (Introduction to 'Microcosmus,' Eng. transl., vol. i. p. xvi.) Robert Flint, in his 'Philosophy of History in France and Germany,' has correctly characterised Lotze's great work in this larger spirit: "Its subject is man, not merely in his historical development but in all his relationships" (p. 588).

[1] We are indebted to J. Michelet in France and still more to Robert Flint in this country for having made the writings of Giambattista Vico (1668-1744) better known to modern students; the former through a translation of the

5. Vico, Kames, and Monboddo.

Kames and Monboddo[1] in this country. The latter was known to Herder, but the class of researches which he initiated was not taken up in his own country till much later. More important and still less recognised were the original speculations of Vico during the earlier half of the eighteenth century: they have only in our day met with the appreciation they deserve.

Herder did more than any other writer to place

'Scienza Nuova' (1827), and a free version of his smaller works ('Œuvres Choisies de Vico,' 1835), the latter through his works on the 'Philosophy of History' (1874 and 1893), and his interesting volume on 'Vico' in "Blackwood's Philosophical Classics"(1884). Flint compares the absence of appreciation of Vico's writings in this country and of Butler's writings abroad, explaining this by the fact that the former was as specific a representative of Italian thought as Butler is of British thought. The editor of Hegel's Lectures "On the Philosophy of History," and one of his foremost disciples, Eduard Gans, mentions Vico as a forerunner of Herder, but gives probably the correct reason for the neglect of Vico's work in Germany, the fact that he is too much occupied with the history of Greece and Rome and that he does not mention the modern comprehension of Christian truth which dates from the Reformation, a criticism which he applies still more pointedly to Fr. v. Schlegel's 'Philosophy of History.'

[1] These two writers, Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696-1782); James Burnett, Lord Monboddo (1714-1799), of whom the latter was looked upon as a kind of curiosity in his time, have also more recently attracted merited attention, the former ('Essay on Criticism') *e.g.*, in the writings of Wilhelm Dilthey in Germany, the latter through Professor William Knight ('Lord Monboddo and some of his Contemporaries,' 1900). It is, however, interesting to note that whilst Monboddo "remained an isolated being, anointing himself according to the fashion of the ancients, growling at the degeneracy of mankind and regarded by them as a semi-lunatic" (Leslie Stephen, 'English Thought in the Eighteenth Century,' vol. i. p. 69), Herder in Germany was so much impressed by him that he promoted the translation of his work, 'Of the Origin and Progress of Language,' wrote an appreciative preface to it, designating the author as the foremost thinker on the subject—in contrast to Lord Kames—and this in spite of the fact that he himself did not agree with the theory propounded in that work. (See R. Haym, 'Herder,' vol. ii. p. 224; also Herder's 'Werke'; 'Zur Philosophie und Geschichte' (1827, vol. ii. p. 163 *sqq.*; vol. viii. p. 117.) The writer of the article "Monboddo," in the 9th ed. of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' has pointed out not only that the Neokantian position towards Locke's philosophy is anticipated by Monboddo, but that Monboddo was also one of the early propounders of the modern Darwinian doctrine of the descent of man.

6. Herder's idea of Humanity.

before his age the idea of humanity. This has been correctly considered as embodying the ideals which lived in the minds of all the great representatives of the classical period of German literature. It found its most perfect realisation in the person, the life, and the works of Goethe. Though Herder himself did not attain, either in his personal or literary activity, to that elevated expression of his ideal which lived in his contemporaries, Goethe, Kant, and Schiller, and was bequeathed through them to a large circle of poets and thinkers, he has the merit of having formed the conception of a 'History of the Human Race' as a development of the 'Idea of Humanity,' and this in a truly philosophical spirit, with no other practical and ulterior motive than that of the education and elevation of mankind.[1] But other and

[1] Considering the important part which Herder's 'Ideen' played in German literature, it is remarkable that his name is so little familiar to English writers, among whom Flint was probably the first to do full justice to him. Even Carlyle, to whom two generations of English readers were probably mainly indebted for their knowledge of German literature, has little to say about Herder, referring only to his relations with Goethe and quoting a characteristic passage from Jean Paul on the spirit of Herder's style (Miscellanies, 'Works,' vol. viii. p. 61). The main reason of the neglect which Herder's writings experienced in this, and for a time also in his own, country is probably to be found in the fact that he fell foul of the metaphysical interests and tendencies of his age which sprang up just after his principal work had created, for the time, a great sensation. But there is another reason which is indicated by Haym ('Herder,' vol. ii. p. 336). It is not in his larger unfinished work that Herder excelled but in the several collections of his smaller pieces, which, as Haym says, give us little gems, not all equally important, but each attractive in itself and together of the most beautiful effect. To express it in terms now familiar to the reader of this History, we may say that Herder's mind took a comprehensive "synoptic" view, that he lacked the power of the great artist to give full expression to the same, but that out of it he was able to elaborate smaller studies of great beauty and value. Thus it is that many of his younger contemporaries were stimulated through him to researches which, though much more limited, led to more definite results, whilst, with a comprehensive and a synoptic view of the world and life, Herder remained himself as Haym says, "always fragmentary." In addition to this, Herder

more practical interests were at work at the same time. These were more intimately connected with the political and social revolutions of the age.

Quite a separate succession of thinkers arose in France, and has continued there during the greater part of the nineteenth century. We may with some propriety characterise the difference of thought which ran through the whole of their writings as compared with that which animated the contemporaneous succession of German thinkers and scholars by saying that the former was

always brought history into connection with psychology, a study which the metaphysical interest of the age had pushed into the background (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 531 *sqq.*). But before leaving Herder we must note that he was the pioneer in another and most important branch of literature, which has given so much light and so much interest to the early history of living and bygone nationalities, and links the study of prehistoric times with the most recent and some of the most perfect creations of modern poetry, art, and composition. Herder is truly the centre of the researches into poetry and song of the early peoples, and of that stratum of a healthy population which lives in immediate contact with nature, and out of which the higher, more intellectual, and more cultivated classes always recruit themselves. In his 'Stimmen der Völker' we find one of those beautiful garlands of flowers and gems to which Haym refers, and which has been followed by innumerable subsequent collections, and led to valuable discoveries and the restoration and preservation of legends and stories which would otherwise have been forgotten. The history of this unique product in the classical literature of Germany forms an interesting and romantic episode in Haym's work. Some appreciative pages on it form one of the finest passages in Prof. C. E. Vaughan's volume on 'The Romantic Revolt' (vol. x. of Saintsbury's "Periods of European Literature," 1907). This line of study, among many others, but always connected with them, occupied Herder from his seventeenth year (1761) up to the end, when he published a translation of 'The Cid.' It is interesting to note that the Epics of Homer, the poetry of Job, the lyrics of Shakespeare, the 'Percy Ballads' and, *mirabile dictu*, the poems of Ossian in their early German translations, first awakened in Herder the idea of a collection of primitive and original poetry, turned him aside from learned criticism, and induced him to follow with undying interest the discovery, at the end of the last years of his life, of "the new world of oriental poetry which Sir William Jones and other scholars were just beginning to lay open. In this direction he may fairly claim to have prepared the way for the Schlegels, . . . and even to have cast the seed which was ultimately to bear fruit in Goethe's 'West-östlicher Divan.'" (Vaughan, p. 212.)

7. Contrast between Voltaire and Rousseau.

animated by the spirit of Voltaire, whereas the latter was largely indebted to Rousseau. Whilst Rousseau, and after him Herder, had recourse to the elemental forces of nature and mind, studied the origin of things, and favoured a poetical and romantic interpretation of nature, pointing always to unexplored regions, and drawing inspiration from the half-illuminated storehouse of subconscious thought, Voltaire and the encyclopædists lived in the clear daylight of scientific reasoning, of logical analysis, of methodical definition and construction, denouncing everything outside of it as mere sentiment or illusion. Whilst the former were Christian humanitarians, the latter were critical sceptics and freethinkers. That both lines of thought were working at the same problem, that, earlier or later, they both elaborated a similar ideal,—using even the same term "humanity" to define it,—is indeed a significant fact, as is likewise the circumstance that the scientific conception led in its greatest representative, Comte, to a fantastic and romantic elaboration, whereas the Christian humanitarian line of thought in Germany ended with Feuerbach and Strauss in a sort of scientific materialism not unlike the earlier materialism of Helvetius and Condillac in France, though much less elegantly expressed.

A more modest, though, in the end, a more lasting contribution to the treatment of the problem of human society came during the same age from this country. Thinkers here had also been profoundly stirred by the political events in America and in France; neither were there wanting solitary minds who treated single aspects of the social problem from a

larger, more abstract, and more philosophical point of view. For centuries past English philosophers had been occupied with theories of government and social order, of popular representation, of freedom of thought and religious toleration. Nor had the spirit of romance and fiction been slow to embody these liberal ideas in fanciful pictures of a human society reconstituted according to rational principles. Of these the 'Republic' of Plato was the great forerunner and model. Such were in the classical literature of this country the 'New Atlantis' of Bacon (1624), the 'Oceana' of Harrington (1656), and, earliest and foremost of all, the 'Utopia' of Sir Thomas More (1516). Single attempts were also made to carry them out in practice, some of them highly successful, such as the life-work of William Penn, others fantastic and unrealisable like the earlier scheme of Bishop Berkeley or the later of Coleridge.[1]

8. Utopism in earlier English literature.

[1] In 1670 an attempt was made in the colony of North Carolina to introduce a new system of government and form of social order called the "Fundamental Constitution," drawn up by John Locke at the request of the lords proprietors; but this and several subsequent attempts were so stoutly resisted by the colonists that the absurd and tyrannous scheme was formally abandoned. (See 'Encyclop. Brit.,' 9th ed., vol. xvii. p. 562). "The grant of the extensive territory called Pennsylvania, made by Charles II. in 1681 to William Penn, carried with it full proprietorship and dominion, saving only the king's sovereignty. Penn at once created a quick market for lands by publishing in England and on the Continent his liberal scheme of government and his intention to try the 'holy experiment' of 'a free colony for all mankind.' . . . The desire to escape from spiritual and temporal despotisms and the chance of acquiring rich lands in a salubrious climate on easy terms, drew thousands of immigrants; English Quakers, Scottish and Irish Presbyterians, German Mennonites, French Huguenots, men of all religions were alike welcome. . . . In December 1682 Penn summoned delegates . . . to confer about government; . . . in March following representatives chosen by the people . . . agreed on a constitution based upon popular suffrage and guaranteeing liberty of conscience." "This constitution, savouring strongly of Harrington's 'Oceana,' . . . was democratical in the purest sense." "Such a constitution . . . is in marked contrast with Locke's aristocratic one for Carolina, settled eight years previously." (See Articles "Penn" and "Pennsylvania," 'Encyclop. Brit.,' 9th ed., pp. 495, 504).

None of these, however, contributed much to the philosophical treatment of the social problem. What this country did contribute consists not so much, or perhaps not at all, in looking at the larger question in a comprehensive spirit, but rather in isolating certain definite and restricted questions which were suggested by the political and industrial progress of the country. Among these was the Economic Problem defined by Adam Smith as that of the 'Wealth of Nations,' and later on some problems of legislation defined by Bentham. Bentham's influence became more important and generally recognised through the labours of James and John Stuart Mill, who sought for a deeper foundation for political and economic theory in the study of psychology and logic. In addition to the psychological and logical studies of the Mills and their school this country has contributed valuable material for the study of the natural and civil history of mankind by a series of works upon Primitive Culture, among which those of Tylor and Lubbock stand out prominently. They are more purely anthropological or ethnological.

9. Special problems, Adam Smith and Bentham.

10. James and J. S. Mill.

We have thus, in the three countries, three tolerably distinct and for some time independent courses of thought which ultimately came together and are more or less absorbed in the larger problem with which I am now dealing—the problem of human society. The distinctive features of the thought of the three nations which I have had frequent occasion to point out, and which were more marked in the first half of the

11. Characteristic differences in the three literatures.

century than they are in our day, can be traced also in the way they consciously or unconsciously attacked this problem. French thinkers, who were probably the first in modern times to approach the subject, did so in a scientific spirit and upon the basis of a few simple generalisations which they attempted to work out logically; German thinkers progressed in a more speculative manner with a deeper appreciation of the vastness of the subject, which required, in their opinion, extensive research as well as speculative construction. English thought in the last instance was not as revolutionary as French thought nor as speculative as that of Germany, but it made the earliest successful attempts to deal patiently and elaborately with single restricted problems as they presented themselves through the work of the age and pressed for practical solution. These differences more or less disappeared in the course of the century, a term being introduced which enabled the various contributions of separate schools or isolated thinkers to crystallise into a definite problem. As a result of this a distinct science has sprung up under the name of sociology: this term was introduced by Comte in France. Though frequently found fault with, it has nevertheless now been accepted in the language and literature of all civilised countries. From being in the beginning a stranger and newcomer among the different members of the philosophical body, sociology has gradually usurped the central and leading position, and this under the influence of additional causes which it is important to explain somewhat more closely.

12. Sociology; Comte.

The first of these causes may be termed a theoretical

one, and can be traced to a habit or tendency of thought which has made itself felt in the course of the second half of the century. This tendency shows itself in the treatment of nearly every one of the great philosophic problems, and is likewise prominent in scientific thought. Many words suggest themselves by which this tendency may be characterised, but no term exists at present which is generally accepted and would be intelligible without much explanation.[1] It is more con-

13. 'Synopsis' as opposed to 'Atomism.'

[1] I have allowed this passage, which was written more than four years ago, to stand, though since that time and in course of the revision of the present section of this history some progress has been made in more clearly defining and naming the tendency of thought referred to in the text. The fact that practically the whole of this history has so far been written without the use of a comprehensive term wherewith to characterise the more recent thought of the century may be a proof to my readers that it has not been written from any preconceived point of view or with the object of proving some distinctive generalisation. The latter emerged only at the end of the composition of the text as a very broad induction resting upon a large amount of detail, and has, during the revision, been referred to on various occasions, for the most part only in the notes. As explained in two Papers read before the "University of Durham Philosophical Society" in May 1910 and in February 1913: "On a General Tendency of Thought during the second half of the Nineteenth Century," and "On the Synoptic Aspect of Reality," the tendency referred to had been already defined by Comte in an early tract as the *vue d'ensemble* in contrast to the *vue de détail*, and by various German writers, but notably by Wilhelm Dilthey, as the *Gesammtanschauung*, and I also explained there as I have done *supra*, vol. iii. p. 193 n., that in correspondence with Prof. Sorley of Cambridge I have fixed on the term the "synoptic view or aspect," contrasting synopsis with the combined process of analysis and synthesis; the former taking in at a glance the totality of a complex subject, the latter dissecting the same into its parts and then attempting to bring them together again to a united whole. For instances of the working of these different processes see various passages in this section, notably vol. iii. 192 *sqq.*, 240, 350, 395 *sqq.*, 415, 465, 608, 612 n. It seems to me that a similar view must have been before the minds of many thinkers on many occasions; I refer only to one example which casually caught my eye quite recently. In an Article entitled "A Sketch of a Philosophy of Order" ('Mind,' 1913, pp. 197 and 198), Prof. J. S. Mackenzie writes: "The modes of unity are not something foreign to the material which they build up but are rather contained in it from the very beginning. . . . To use one of Kant's own antitheses we

venient to define what I mean by its contrast with a habit of thought which prevailed in the first half of the nineteenth century, mainly, but not solely, under the influence of the scientific spirit. This latter tendency may be defined by calling it the atomising tendency of thought.

Great progress had been made in the course of the eighteenth century by a division of scientific labour, by a process of isolation of special problems, by studying such things and phenomena in the world of nature and of mind as could be neatly separated and defined. Thus, physical astronomy and mechanical physics had made enormous strides through the treatment of the single property of gravitation or of attraction. Following upon astronomy, chemistry had become an exact science through being founded by Lavoisier upon the property of weight, and subsequently upon that of the atomic weights of a limited number of elements and their combination in fixed proportions. Other sciences followed with the study of definite and distinct properties or species of things natural, such as the forms of crystals or the types of animated beings. A similar process of isolation was at work in some of the mental sciences—*e.g.*, in the earlier "faculty-psychology" as well as in the later doctrine of the "association of ideas," which was indeed significantly termed a mental chemistry. It is not necessary to labour this point any further. The reader will, from a perusal of earlier portions of this history, recollect many other instances in which scientific progress or philosophical thought was stimulated into increased activity by the discovery and description of phenomena or features which could be clearly defined, which allowed themselves to be examined in their isolation from a large surrounding mass of confusing detail. The enormous labour and ingenuity which have been spent over producing pure substances in chemistry or analysing with the microscope complicated tissues into their component parts are representative of this atomising tendency of scientific as well as of philosophical thought during the greater portion of the nineteenth century. In the course, however, of the long and successful career of this tendency of thought a conviction has gradually crept in that it grasps only one side of the things and phenomena which it undertook to study, and this for two reasons.

First, it became increasingly evident that by this process of atomising, of resolving the complex into its component parts, a something was lost, some important feature or principle seemed to drop out or disappear, a something which could not be recovered again in the subsequent synthesis or putting together of the elements which had been laboriously separated; something which was indeed undefinable but nevertheless equally real, something which—as in the processes of life and mind—marked the very character of their special reality. The atomising process failed to grasp it.

need no *synthesis* but only a *synopsis*. We need only to look and see what is contained in the material that comes before us. . . . When we recognise that atomism is untrue from the outset, we recognise that order is involved in our experience all the way through. The term 'order' seems to me on the whole the most satisfactory that we can use to cover all the modes of unity that are contained in our experience. . . . No doubt there is a good deal of difference between different types of order, . . . but they are all alike as being the modes in which the plurality of the content of our experience reveals itself as being at the same time a unity."

Secondly, this process of analysing, so prominent in the mechanical and chemical sciences, was in the beginning supposed to have some finality. In the sequel, however, it was found to lead further and further away from the starting-point, to be in fact interminable. Molecules were analysed into atoms, and these again enormously subdivided into electrons or particles. The cell, the unit of organic structure, was found to be a very complicated system, and even the nucleus or kernel with its nucleolus in the cell presented itself as a microcosm, an assemblage of an enormous number of units, which, being far beyond the powers of the microscope, are indeed most hypothetical and have received fanciful names, of which a whole catalogue might easily be written down.

For these two reasons the atomising process of scientific thought proved ultimately to be quite as endless in its application as it was hopeless in its capability of ever grasping the reality of things. Promising on the one side unlimited discovery of new facts and many practical results, it discouraged on the other side all hope that by and through it any comprehensive view could ever be attained. Thus it has come about that a contrary tendency of thought has made itself increasingly felt, the tendency to look at things in their together, not in their isolation: in their complexity and not in their simplicity. This was recognised, first of all, in the biological sciences.[1] It was seen that things

[1] There are, however, notable instances in which the same tendency showed itself also in the purely physical and mathematical sciences. Among these, two may be mentioned. How little the new methods fell in with the prevalent trend of ideas in their respective provinces of thought is shown by the fact that it took a long time before they were understood and recognised in their importance and fruitfulness. Both sprang up about the same time. One of these is the synthetic geometry which started with geometrical, *i.e.*, visible structures, such as lines and planes, and did not generate them through points and equations in the analytical fashion, but operated with them as wholes, moving them about, projecting them, and bringing them into various relations. Allied to this was the study of the mathematics of Order which may be termed "tactics" in contradistinction from "quantics." The enormous development of mathematical science through the later combination of the analytical and what was termed "synthetical" methods has been dwelt on at length in the last chapter of the first section of this History (notably pp. 441 *sqq.*) The second instance I single out is that of Faraday's method of observation and experimenting, resting on the conviction that electrical and magnetic phenomena cannot be studied exclusively by the point method adopted by Continental mathematicians, but that the whole of space must be considered as being filled with lines and tubes of force. How this introduction of the field instead of the point of action was slowly appreciated and led to the great modern development of electrical science, has been shown in chapters ii. and iii. (notably pp. 201, 266) of the first section. That the "synoptic" view leads to the discovery of new relations which can again be studied in their isolation, and, in consequence, always stimulates the analytical methods, making them more fruitful by leading them into new channels of research, is shown clearly everywhere, notably also in the influence of the Darwinian conception of the continuity of organic forms. The more we study Continuity in nature the more the existence of Discontinuities is forced upon us. The discontinuous may disappear and be smoothed down at one point, but only to reappear again in a more mysterious manner at other points.

natural cannot be understood by separating, dissecting, or arranging them in artificial order, that they exist only in company with others of similar or different nature, and that their reality is complex and manifold, and not simple or detached; that this applies to their together in space as much as to their succession in time. The scientific movement which has given the greatest impetus to this tendency is that which centres in Darwin. From this centre it has spread not only into all the natural sciences, but likewise into those regions of thought which profess to deal with the phenomena of mind. Here a great array of novel terms

has enriched our language, and testifies to the fact that this tendency has permeated not only all scientific and philosophical, but also the popular literature of our age. We may call it the spirit of comprehension in opposition to that of definition.

I may, later on, have an opportunity of dwelling more fully upon this change of thought in the course of the nineteenth century; at present it will suffice to point out that no subject of philosophical or scientific interest has been more profoundly affected by it than the study of man in his individual and collective existence. Formerly all the sciences which have to do with this subject started from the study of the individual organism or the individual mind, frequently disregarding altogether the environment or collective life of man or reaching this only by slow and uncertain steps. Latterly, however, not only has the collective life of man attracted more attention than the individual, it has become rather the fashion to place society, in some form or other, in the foreground, to start with some definition of the social "Together," of the collective life of human beings, and to approach in this way not only the study of humanity or mankind at large, but also, through it, to get a better understanding of the nature and life of the individual mind itself. It is not long since we have been told that the individual mind must be considered as exhibiting two sides which may be appropriately termed the subjective and the social self; nor is it unlikely that from this point of view much of earlier and later psychology may be

profitably rewritten.[1] All this simply means that sociology has become not only as the study of the collective interests of society and mankind, but also in its bearing upon other philosophical and scientific problems, an important and leading doctrine.

14. Ethical interest in sociology.

But there is a second and far more serious cause which has been operative in the course of the last fifty years in pushing into the foreground the problem of human society and the study of sociology. This, in

[1] The clearest indication of this doctrine, which we may term the doctrine of the two selves—the Self as Consciousness, containing the whole world-picture in the mirror of an individual mind (the firmament of the Soul), and the Self as one among a great many other selves, a unit in the society of other units and in the environment of many things—seems to me to be given in some articles of Josiah Royce contained in vols. iii. and iv. of 'The American Philosophical Review' (1894-95). "Just as there is no conscious Egoism without some distinctly social reference, so there is, on the whole, in us men, no self-consciousness apart from some more or less derived form of the social consciousness. I am I in relation to some sort of a non-Ego. And, as a fact, the non-Ego that I am accustomed to deal with when I think and act, is primarily some real or ideal finite fellow-being, in actual or possible social relations with me, and this social non-Ego, real or ideal, is only secondarily to be turned into anything else, as, for example, into a natural object that I regard as a mere dead thing. . . . As it is not true that we are primarily and in unsocial abstraction merely egoistic, just so it is not true that we primarily know merely our own inner life as individuals, apart from an essentially social contrast with other minds" (*loc. cit.*, vol. iv. p. 470). In the sequel of these Articles, the writer dwells on Memory, Anticipation, and Imitation as the fundamental functions of the infant mind in leading it, as it were, out of itself and conceiving itself as one among others. It seems to me that sufficient importance is not attached to language or intersubjective communication, and the same criticism seems to me to apply likewise to James Ward's doctrine of the "presentation continuum." As stated already (see vol. iii., chap. 3, p. 291), the doctrine of the "presentation continuum," as well as William James' conception of the "stream of thought," marks a real advance in psychology; but a new problem suggests itself: How is the continuum or the steady flow broken up into discontinuities? a problem analogous to that in physical science, given that the universe is a plenum, a continuum, How are we to conceive of those discontinuities in it without the existence of which nothing would happen?

distinction from the first cause which I have termed theoretical, marks a practical interest. It is the interest of morality itself, the ethical problem, that problem through the study of which I have, in the course of this history, led up to the subject of the present chapter.[1] We have seen how morality, whether it be treated from the naturalistic or the spiritual point of view, inevitably suggests and demands some deeper foundation and support. Some fact or interest must be discovered and acknowledged which gives to the ideal world of what *ought* to be an independent existence and meaning, which enables it to superimpose itself upon the world of things that *are* as something more than an illusion or a fancy, in fact, as that which to human reason — be this the common-sense of the ordinary man or the speculation of the philosopher — reveals itself as a thing of supreme reality and worth. Some view of the world of things must be gained which not only defines the good, the end and aim of all human effort, but in addition explains and confirms the sense of obligation through which it imperatively demands our recognition. Without entering upon a philosophical definition or criticism of the earlier systems of morality which prevailed in modern times before the era of critical thought which dates from the middle of the eighteenth century, it will here suffice to say that the older morality as taught in the schools and supported by prevailing religious doctrine rested upon two distinct commandments: they form the substance and essence of Christian morality: they are the very simple com-

[1] See *supra*, chap. viii. end.

mandments of the New Testament, "Love your Maker" and "Love your Brother." Isolated thinkers may in single instances have emancipated themselves from the stricter interpretation of those precepts, theological systems may have surrounded them with all kinds of doctrinal and much irrelevant matter; but it cannot be held that any popular teaching or even any largely influential system of philosophy of modern times and up to the middle of the eighteenth century openly disregarded either or both of these simple but solemn injunctions. And this statement is not invalidated by the admission that the existing practical morality both of the Church and the World rarely upheld those sacred injunctions in their purity but had frequent recourse to awkward compromises. On these I need not dwell at present.

15. Ethical and theological interests separated in France.

The eighteenth century for the first time produced in France a widespread and influential school of thought in which the first of those two supreme commandments was discarded. What brought this about was probably, in the first instance, the spirit of tyranny, intolerance, and cruelty which stigmatised a large section of the priesthood as one of the most unchristian organisations that ever existed. Through its alliance with political absolutism it brought about an impossible state of society. It was against this that Voltaire raised the battle-cry on behalf of freedom and humanity—*i.e.*, of those interests of which the Church and the State should have been the supreme guardians. It was not the spirit of purely intellectual rationalism and scepticism such as spread from this country under the leader-

ship of Locke and Hume, that really furthered the general spirit of unbelief. Hume himself said to an assembly of twenty-six encyclopædists in Paris that he had never met a speculative atheist, to which he received the reply: "Sir, you have twenty-six in this room." What is significant for our present purpose is to note that whilst the French freethinkers, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, discarded as untenable the first of those two supreme commands, they only so much more firmly and seriously upheld the second, some of them were veritable enthusiasts in the cause of humanity. In the age of the Revolution this found characteristic expression in the popular cry for "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," and some more practical, though very partial, recognition in the Articles of the Constitution and the Statutes of the Civil Code. What was not recognised at that time, but has become more and more evident in the course of the last one hundred and fifty years, is this, that in maintaining the principle of universal brotherhood as independent of religious piety and not necessarily relying upon the belief in a Divine Ruler, not only the first article of Christian morality was cancelled, but the second article was deprived of that sanction and authority through which it rises to the dignity of being, for every member of human society, an obligation and a duty. It may indeed be said that the whole history of purely humanitarian Ethics ever since has been a search—and as it seems to some, a fruitless search—for a new sanction, a new authority to take the place of that which had been

destroyed. The older systems of morality started with a command or with what has been termed the form of morality, and followed this up with a simple definition of the substance or essence of morality: the spirit of love. Recent systems of morality start with a definition of what the essence of morality or the supreme good is —agreeing mainly on this point with the second half of Christian ethics—and then follow this up with an attempt to show how and why the ideal expressed therein assumes the form of a command, and how its realisation becomes a duty.

We see then how in this movement of thought there is inevitably involved a transition from what we may call the theological and theocratic to the anthropological and democratic point of view. The latter has in recent times received a philosophical name as the sociological. Formerly the centre of gravity of the ethical system was the Personal Deity, the Creator, Ruler, and Lawgiver of the Universe; latterly, in the naturalistic schools of thought, the centre of gravity in the system of morals is Society, some social organisation, let us call it the liberal state. The anchorage used to be a firm belief in the Divine Being, it is now more and more being sought in a belief in humanity. So much have these two ideas changed places that in the later phase of Comte's philosophy Humanity receives the name of the *Grand-Être*. In moving from the one to the other pole of thought there is an intermediate stage, an attempt to base the moral system upon the individual human reason, upon an intuition or an axiom. This was practic-

16. Centre of gravity of the ethical system changed.

ally attempted for a moment during the French Revolution when Reason was exalted to the position of a goddess.[1]

In philosophical thought this intermediate phase is

[1] "L'État seul reste debout, et offre seul un point d'attache; tous ces lierres rampants vont s'enlacer en un seul faisceau autour du grand pilier central. Ne leur permettons pas de s'égarer, conduisons-les, dirigeons les esprits et les âmes, et, pour cela, enveloppons l'homme de nos doctrines. Il lui faut des idées d'ensemble, avec les pratiques quotidiennes qui en dérivent; il a besoin d'une théorie qui lui explique l'origine et la nature des êtres, qui lui assigne sa place et son rôle dans le monde, qui lui enseigne ses devoirs, qui règle sa vie, qui lui fixe ses jours de travail et ses jours de repos, qui s'imprime en lui par des commémorations, des fêtes et des rites, par un catéchisme et un calendrier. Jusqu' ici la puissance chargée de cet emploi a été la Religion, interprétée et servie par l'Église; à présent ce sera la Raison, interprétée et servie par l'État.—Là-dessus, plusieurs des nôtres, disciples des encyclopédistes, font de la Raison une divinité et lui rendent un culte; mais, manifestement, ils personnifient une abstraction; leur déesse improvisée n'est qu'un fantôme allégorique; aucun d'eux ne voit en elle la cause intelligente du monde; au fond du cœur, ils nient cette cause suprême, et leur prétendue religion n'est que l'irréligion affichée ou déguisée.—Nous écartons l'athéisme, non seulement comme faux, mais encore et surtout comme dissolvant et malsain. Nous voulons une religion effective, consolante et fortifiante, c'est la religion naturelle, qui est sociale autant que vraie. Sans elle, comme l'a dit Jean-Jacques, il est impossible d'être bon citoyen. L'existence de la Divinité, la vie à venir, la sainteté du contrat social et des lois, voilà tous ses dogmes; on ne peut obliger personne à les croire; mais celui qui ose dire qu'il ne les croit pas se lève contre le peuple français, le genre humain et la nature. En conséquence, nous décrétons que le peuple français reconnaît l'existence de l'Être suprême et l'immortalité de l'âme.—Cette religion toute philosophique, il importe maintenant de l'implanter dans les cœurs. Nous l'introduisons dans l'état civil, nous ôtons le calendrier à l'Église, nous le purgeons de toutes les images chrétiennes, nous faisons commencer l'ère nouvelle à l'avénement de la République . . . nous substituons partout les réalités de la raison aux visions de l'ignorance, les vérités de la nature au prestige sacerdotal." In this passage, containing quotations from contemporary documents, H. Taine paraphrases the Jacobin programme for a new religion (see 'Les Origines de la France Contemporaine—La Révolution,' vol. iii. pp. 109, 110). Carlyle, in his 'French Revolution,' gives a graphic account of the new religion and the ceremonies at the Feast of the "Être Suprême" on the 8th June 1794, in the National (Tuileries) Garden (see 'Collected Works,' vol. iv. pp. 282-333). Similar ceremonies were performed all through the provincial towns of France.

represented by the philosophy of Kant in which the practical reason, with its supreme command—the categorical imperative—is elevated to the highest position in the world of thought, theoretical reason having been found incapable of affording the necessary foundation. The position taken up by Kant proved, however, to be unstable. Not only did Kant himself demonstrate how, in its further elaboration, his fundamental ethical conception necessarily implied the beliefs of the older theological system, but the term reason itself lost, in the subsequent idealistic systems of German philosophy, its individualistic and subjective meaning, becoming identified in Fichte with the Divine Order, in Schelling with the Absolute, and in Hegel with the World-Spirit.

17. Kant's position.

Through the whole of this movement German philosophy, down to Feuerbach, stands in distinct opposition to French as well as to English philosophy. It was essentially theological, whereas French and English philosophy developed, in all their more original representatives, a distinctly sociological interest. There is, however, a marked difference between sociological speculation in France and England in the earlier half of the nineteenth century, as has been clearly pointed out by J. S. Mill, the greatest figure in the sociological movement of that period. As Mr Whittaker says,[1] "he and Comte started equally clear of theology from boyhood. Comte indeed was brought up as a Catholic; but he was thrown at school into the intellectual atmosphere of post-revolutionary France; and he himself relates that

18. Contrast between English and French sociology.

[1] "Comte and Mill," by Thos. Whittaker, in Constable's 'Philosophies Ancient and Modern' (pp. 7, 8).

at thirteen he had rejected all historic religion, including Theism. James Mill brought up his son in the conviction that 'concerning the origin of things nothing whatever can be known.' Christianity, he held with the school of Bentham in general, is not only false but pernicious, the God of orthodoxy being 'the most perfect conception of wickedness which the human mind can devise.' . . . But, as J. S. Mill observes, during the period in which he grew up, opinion in England on religion was more compressed than it has been earlier or later. If the Utilitarians were not to throw away all chance of influence they must observe a rule of strict reticence in public; though, as a matter of fact, their real opinions were well understood. Comte was more fortunately situated in this respect. Even under the restored monarchy he could speak as he liked in lectures as in writing; and he never left any doubt that he regarded every form of theology, including the Christian, as superseded, to use his own expression, for all minds at the level of their age."[1]

The school of ethics which was represented in France by Comte, in this country by Mill and later on by Spencer, has been variously termed naturalistic or positivist, though Spencer refuses to be considered as influenced by the positivism of Comte. For our present purposes we may more conveniently term it the sociological school, inasmuch as it is distinguished from the earlier theological ethics which had its anchorage in a

[1] Nevertheless Comte was at one with the Jacobin programme in imitating in his later positive polity the hierarchical system of the Roman Catholic Church, though emptying it of its specifically Christian content.

Divine order and command by the endeavour to cast its anchor into the ground of a social order and command. The transition from the earlier to the later position took place in this country, and still earlier in France, without passing through the intermediate stage which I referred to above. Following a terminology introduced by Comte we may term the latter the metaphysical stage.[1] It is represented in Germany by the successive phases of idealism. As I have stated on a former occasion, these aimed at supporting or replacing the traditional and historical religious beliefs by a philosophical or reasoned creed. It may be said that for the greater part of a whole century the majority of serious-minded persons in Germany believed that such a philosophical or reasoned creed was a feasible achievement of the human intellect, and expected its realisation. In the same degree as this expectation was destroyed the transition to the positive stage has become more and more accentuated. With it, German thought has taken up the sociological point of view. The problem of society and humanity has been pushed into the foreground and is there studied with quite as much ardour as it was studied in England and France fifty or a hundred years earlier: and this in the clearly established interest of morality, of the solution of the ethical problem. Not only have societies and periodicals been founded to serve the purposes of "ethical culture," but sociology, in the largest sense of the word, as the study of humanity, is represented by an enormous and still increasing literature. German thought has in this instance as in so

19. Absence in both alike of metaphysical stage.

[1] See *infra*, p. 483.

many others the advantage of being based upon a much broader foundation, inasmuch as, quite independent of the ethical and practical interest which now rules supreme, historical and anthropological as well as juridical and economic studies had independently prepared the ground for a larger and more comprehensive treatment.

In consequence of these various interests and influences the problem before us has not only been raised to a position of great importance but has also become extremely complex, so much so that it is difficult, perhaps even impossible, to do justice to all its sides, or to give any tolerably concise survey of the many lines of thought which in the region of sociology have come into action or into conflict. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this History, some disposition of the large material must be attempted. I will try to put it in order by making use of the different points of view which these introductory remarks have so far disclosed.

20. Division of the problem.

The philosophy of human society may conveniently be divided into the discussion of three main questions. These are: the Constitution of Society, the Work of Society, and the History of Society. The first of these may be termed the Social problem *par excellence*, or in the narrower sense of the term. The second may be termed the Economic problem, and the last has, till quite recently, been termed the Philosophy of History.

During the greater part of the Nineteenth Century each of the three countries with which I am dealing has, in a fairly distinct manner, taken the lead in one of the three directions mentioned, and this for reasons which are historically easily understood. The fundamental

question, that of the foundation, government, and constitution of society, has been treated in the most radical manner in France, where the existing historical foundations were most profoundly shaken, and where thinking minds were naturally invited to give their attention to the work of re-constitution and re-organisation.

21. Constitution of Society treated in France.

Before the great Revolution French thinkers had attacked both the social and the economic problem in an independent and original manner, but the fact that the edifice of the State was shaken in its very groundwork through the great cataclysm made it necessary to attend more to the work of laying new foundations or restoring the old ones than to the internal economic arrangements of the structure. The Revolution did not materially shake the foundations of society in this country. The Constitution was sufficiently broad and elastic to weather the storm; also sufficiently liberal to allow of internal adjustments. Peace at home combined with enterprise abroad had enabled industry and commerce to develop in a degree quite unparalleled in any other country of the modern world. Great Britain had taken the leading position, which had before that time been occupied by other nations, but lost through internal or external warfare. The conditions, therefore, existed here for a patient study of the problem of the peaceful Work of Society: the economic problem.

22. Economic problem in Britain.

And, lastly, if we look to Germany, we find that the numerous existing states into which it was divided were neither so fundamentally shaken as was the case in France, nor did peaceful conditions and constitutional government exist together as they did in England.

Neither the social question, in the narrower sense of the word, nor the economic question demanded, therefore, that special attention which they respectively enjoyed in France and England.

23. Problem of History of Society in Germany.

Germany, however, possessed through her universities and educational system great liberty of thought and a great organisation for intellectual work, which, in the absence of more practical problems, furthered philosophical speculation on the one side, historical learning and research on the other. It was therefore natural that the third special problem, that of the origins and history of Society, should be there taken up as worthy subjects for academic teaching and study.

24. Centre of Sociology in France.

In spite, however, of this partial but tolerably well-marked division of labour connected with the sociological problem, it is well to recognise that the centre from which the great impetus emanated, both so far as practical and theoretical treatment are concerned, was undoubtedly France, and that her politics as well as her literature have during the last one hundred and fifty years exerted an enormous, perhaps the leading, influence over the whole region of sociology, and this not only in Germany and England, which we are specially interested in, but also over other European countries and in the United States of America.

During the second half of the Eighteenth Century the philosophical literature of France brought into prominence two very different but equally stimulating conceptions, both of which exerted great influence on the thought of the neighbouring countries, though in very different directions. The first was the idea of

25. Ideas of Return to Nature and of Perfectibility.

a return to nature, a revolt against the artificiality of the existing state of society. Of this idea Rousseau was the great champion, the extreme and passionate exponent. The second was the idea of the perfectibility of the human race, a not less "passionate faith in the illimitable possibilities of human progress. Nothing short of a general overthrow of the planet could, in the eyes of the best minds of the latter half of the Eighteenth Century, stay the ever upward movement of human perfectibility."[1]

As already mentioned above, the latter conception was connected with the growth and diffusion of the scientific spirit, which owed much to Voltaire, though he himself was in this respect only a populariser. Although, in the long run, this scientific spirit has got the upper hand, and probably a greater hold of

[1] "They differed as to the details of the philosophy of government which they deduced from this philosophy of society, but the conviction that the golden era of tolerance, enlightenment, and material prosperity was close at hand, belonged to them all. Rousseau set his face the other way. For him the golden era had passed away from our globe many centuries ago. Simplicity had fled from the earth. Wisdom and heroism had vanished from out of the minds of leaders. The spirit of citizenship had gone from those who should have upheld the social union in brotherly accord. The dream of human perfectibility which nerved men like Condorcet, was to Rousseau a sour and fantastic mockery. The utmost that men could do was to turn their eyes to the past, to obliterate the interval, to try to walk for a space in the track of the ancient societies. They would hardly succeed, but endeavour might at least do something to stay the plague of universal degeneracy. Hence the fatality of his system. It placed the centre of social activity elsewhere than in careful and rational examination of social conditions, and in careful and rational effort to modify them. . . . It substituted a retrograde aspiration for direction, and emotion for the discovery of law. We can hardly wonder when we think of the intense exaltation of spirit produced both by the Perfectibilitarians and the followers of Rousseau, and at the same time of the political degradation and material disorder of France, that so violent a contrast between the ideal and the actual led to a great volcanic outbreak." (See Lord Morley's 'Rousseau,' 1883, pp. 306-307.)

the French mind than of that of any other nation, it was for the time being thrown into the background and superseded by the thoroughly unscientific and unmethodical denunciations of Rousseau. The latter gained his great influence on French, Swiss, and German thought mainly through two works, 'The Social Contract,' and his educational treatise, 'Emile.' The former was the gospel of many of the leaders in the excesses of the French Revolution, the latter, as I stated above, inspired Swiss and German educationalists. Both dealt with great social problems.

26. Rousseau.

Rousseau looked upon the existing organisations of society and the fabric of the State as mechanical contrivances, deliberately formed by contract or convention. He looked upon them not as the natural outcome of the social instincts of human beings, but as an inevitable contrivance through which a much better state of things, the state of nature, has been artificially modelled and controlled. Instead, however, of setting patiently to work trying to improve the existing machine of society, the treatise lays much more stress upon the desirable return to nature which, nevertheless, is admitted to be impossible. So far as any attempt is made towards construction, the treatise is full of contradictions and inconsistencies, accompanied by historical allusions frequently incorrect or misapplied; nevertheless it preached successfully the gospel of Fraternity and of the sovereignty of the People, a doctrine which was not new, which had been promulgated by Locke in this country, and had entered into the democratic spirit of the small republic of Geneva, Rousseau's native place.

Combined with this doctrine of the sovereignty of the People there is, with Rousseau, a patriotic sentiment and, even more than that, a humanitarian spirit, a love of the common people in their country homes, their interests, their pleasures, as well as their sufferings and their sorrows. This latter was thoroughly genuine with its author, who had himself risen from the lower ranks, and loved the free air and charms of country life as opposed to the life of large and congested cities. Through insisting upon these, among many other points, the teaching of Rousseau had a beneficial literary influence in other European countries, especially Switzerland and Germany, but was dangerously employed in France itself by those who led the way towards an overthrow, but not towards a reconstitution and reform, of contemporary society.

The teaching of Rousseau acted as a great ferment thrown into the seething mass of the thought of continental Europe, then striving to liberate itself and develop in many new ways. These ways were not clearly indicated by Rousseau himself, but suggested themselves spontaneously to those original minds who felt themselves liberated, stimulated, and elevated by his teaching. Accordingly, this influence was chiefly individual and temporary, and is now—except for the literary qualities and elegance of Rousseau's style—to a great extent forgotten. The case is quite different with the other and opposite school of social philosophy which flourished in France at the same time. It has left its mark upon the subsequent development of systematic thought on social problems. In this already

we can notice a great difference. Whereas Rousseau stood alone, the other and opposite school numbered many representatives, enunciated definite principles, and received a generic name. Central figures in this school were Quesnay [1] and Turgot,[2] who in the earlier part of

27. The "Physiocrats."

[1] François Quesnay (1694-1774) is not the only example of a prominent French physician who, after publishing important medical and surgical treatises, turned his attention to other equally important subjects. From 1756 onward he wrote original articles in the 'Encyclopédie,' the last in 1768, ending his literary activity with mathematical studies. His works were first collected by Du Pont de Nemours with the title 'Physiocratie, ou Constitution Naturelle du Gouvernement le plus avantageux au genre Humain' (2 vols., 1767-1768). Quesnay did not invent the theory, but collected the elements contained in previous and contemporary writers, out of which he formed the system and gave it cohesion and rigour, and, by adding new traits, produced something original and effective: "L'analyse du droit naturel comme principe d'une science générale de la politique et de l'économie, la subordination de tous les éléments économiques à l'élément agraire, la théorie du produit net et de l'impôt direct sur les propriétaires, le libre échange, la théorie du gouvernement despotique éclairé, en un mot tout ce qu'il y a d'essentiel et de fondamental dans la doctrine des physiocrates est dû à Quesnay. Son influence personnelle a été très grande, sa place dans l'historie de l'économie politique est considérable." (H. Bourgin in 'Grande Encyclopédie,' article "Quesnay").

[2] Robert Jacques Turgot (1727-1781) was a younger contemporary of Quesnay. Before entering on his short but illustrious career as one of the great statesmen of the period preceding the Revolution, he had an opportunity of applying, as Intendant of the *Généralité* of Limoges, the physiocratic principles of Quesnay and Gournay to the improvement of a poor and neglected agricultural district, introducing many economic reforms and taking a large view of the social problem. He has, in virtue of his 'Réflexions sur la Formation et la Distribution des Richesses' (1766, ten years before Adam Smith), been considered by some writers to be the real founder of Political Economy, sharing, however, this title of distinction with his elder contemporaries Quesnay and Jean Claude Gournay (1712-1759). The latter added to the agricultural factor in wealth, exclusively dealt with by Quesnay and Turgot, that of industry and commerce. Both Turgot and Gournay had an extensive practical training and experience, the former through his administrative work, first as Intendant and then as Comptroller-General of Finance (see on this especially Lord Morley's Essay on Turgot in 'Critical Miscellanies,' vol. ii.); the latter through his residence and business travels in Spain, Hamburg, Holland, and England. "Gournay a fourni aux physiocrates leur principe fondamental, le *laissez faire, laissez passer*. Il a emprunté le principe aux mouvements du commerce international qu'il a très bien suivis et observés. Mais il n'a pas accepté le second principe des physiocrates: la terre est le seul élément de la richesse. Il se sépare par là de Quesnay et de Turgot pour se rapprocher d'Adam Smith et de l'école anglaise. Il ne lui était pas possible, après avoir manipulé toute sa vie les produits de l'industrie, de leur refuser ainsi qu'au commerce d'être un facteur puissant de la richesse." ('Grande Encyclopédie,' article "Gournay.")

the second half of the eighteenth century laid down the principal articles of a social philosophy which, by the editor of Quesnay's Works (Du Pont de Nemours), was termed the school of the "physiocrats," from the principle upon which the theory of production is based. This principle is that of nature, the soil of the country. By its attaching paramount importance to the cultivation and the cultivators of the land, we see that this line of thought connects itself with that of Rousseau. Both turn to nature itself as the foundation of Society, but the treatment and the results diverge into different paths. Rousseau, full of poetry and sentiment, inspired his disciples and followers with a true interest in the welfare of the uneducated masses of the people; they cultivated the human rather than the natural soil, kindling that enthusiasm for popular education which spread over the central countries of Europe greatly under the leadership of Pestalozzi. Disciples of the other school looked more at the economic side of nature. They studied the natural conditions under which its resources could be profitably developed, attacking the existing forms of government and administration which had failed to utilise them. In doing so they indeed went to an extreme. In opposing the mercantile system they went the length of denouncing as unproductive all industry and commerce. Those engaged

in the latter pursuits were termed the "sterile class," as distinguished from the tillers of the soil who were the productive class. But Quesnay and his school were emphatic upholders of free trade, of free competition, and of free international exchange. They combated all the impediments and restrictions which the mercantile system had imposed.

Although this school of social doctrine has become known outside of France mainly by its economic theories, being also termed the school of the agriculturists in opposition to the mercantilists, it gave attention to other social factors and interests. Among these, through the original influence of Rousseau, the problem of education occupied a prominent position, being intimately connected with the belief in the illimitable perfectibility of the human race. In the sequel, however, some of the leading representatives narrowed the meaning of education very considerably, and prepared the way for that conception of the educational problem which for a long time ruled supreme in French administration, and, by confining it to mere instruction, distinguished it unfavourably as compared with the great strides which were made in the direction of popular education and lifting-up of the masses in Switzerland and Germany, and—we may add—Scotland during the same period.[1]

[1] See *supra*, vol. i. p. 112, 258 n. We have in French official literature on education, during three-quarters of a century, an example of the almost absolute disappearance of the word "education." In the place of it, we hear only of "instruction" and "enseignement," of schools, primary, secondary, and superior, of colleges and lycées, of academies and the great university of France. "Chose étrange, c'est l'instruction seule qui a pris depuis un demi-siècle, chez un grand peuple, le nom et la place de l'éducation." (Dupanloup, 'De l'Education,' 1851, vol. i. p. 180.) And yet it is to French literature that we are especially indebted for marking the difference which exists between education and instruction. This subject was treated on two memorable occasions, at the time of the first Revolution and again when France had run through its course of three Revolutions, by two men of great ability, representing quite opposite directions of thought: the first was Condorcet, the other Mgr. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans. The first heralds the going out of the word education, the latter its restitution in French educational literature. Larousse says, in 1870, "Malheureusement plus on avance, plus on semble vouloir identifier l'éducation avec l'instruction." (See for further details a Paper on "Education and Instruction in England and Abroad," by J. T. Merz: 'Proceedings of the University of Durham Philosophical Society,' vol. i.) This phenomenon may be connected with the circumstance mentioned by Lord Morley in his interesting studies on the leaders of French Thought during the Eighteenth Century (see notably his articles on Turgot and Condorcet in the second volume of his 'Miscellanies'). He there points out that both Turgot and Condorcet, in their otherwise memorable and advanced conception of the philosophy of History, laid exclusive stress on the intellectual factor, leaving out of consideration the evolution of moral forces. After showing that both thinkers advance beyond the static views of Vico and Montesquieu according to which history presents a cycle and human affairs move in a constant and self-repeating orbit, introducing instead a dynamical theory of unlimited progress, he says of Turgot that his "conception of progress regards it mainly, if not entirely, as a gradual dawn and diffusion of light, the spreading abroad of the rays of knowledge. He does not assert, as some moderns have crudely asserted, that morality is of the nature of a fixed quantity; still he hints at something of the kind. . . . And because he could not perceive there to be any new growths in moral science, he left out from a front place among the forces that have given strength and ripeness to the human mind, the superior capacity of some men for kindling by word and example the glowing love and devout practice of morality in the breasts of many generations of their fellows."—('Miscellanies,' ii. p. 106, 107.) And of Condorcet he says: "The freedom of the reason was so dear to him that he counted it an abuse for a parent to instil his own convictions into the defenceless minds of his young children. This was the natural outcome of Condorcet's mode of viewing history as the record of intellectual emancipation, while to Comte its deepest interest was as a record of moral and emotional cultivation." (Ibid., p. 554.)

28. Adam Smith.

The most important contribution which the physiocrats made towards social philosophy was, however, their influence upon economic theory in this country as manifested conspicuously in the writings of Adam Smith. It marks one of several instances in which French thought transplanted upon foreign soil has

there become enriched, and has returned to its own country with increased vigour.[1]

29. Hume.

It is, however, well to note that David Hume, the other great forerunner of Adam Smith, began to publish his political essays in the year 1741, seven years before the appearance of Montesquieu's 'Esprit des Lois,' and fifteen years before Quesnay's first articles. In these he lucidly criticised some of the favourite doctrines of the mercantile system, pointing to the difference between wealth and money, and to the advantages of free trade. He has, therefore, been rightly considered as the more original though less consistent enunciator of the new doctrine, for which he paved the way through a series of brilliant essays, though without attempting any systematic treatment. The latter was left to his friend and disciple Adam Smith, who was as much influenced by him as by the new school of economists in France.

In three main directions Adam Smith (1723-1790) made a great advance upon his predecessors, to whom he ungrudgingly admits his indebtedness. First, as an academic teacher he was charged with delivering lectures on various branches of practical philosophy, his teaching embracing four distinct subjects. They formed the four parts of his Course. The first embraced Natural Theology, the second Ethics, the third the Principles of Jurisprudence, and the fourth the nature of Political Institutions. The second part was published as the 'Theory of Moral Sentiments' in 1759, the fourth was

[1] Other important instances are the theory of Descent (see *supra*, vol. i. p. 201, vol. ii. 321 n., 426 n.), and the Dynamical theory of Heat (vol. ii. p. 57, 73 n., 102 n.), and not less also the positive philosophy of Comte.

published as 'The Wealth of Nations' in 1776. Through this combination of several subjects in his full Course he was obliged to place them in definite relations, and although his publications cover only one half of his whole Course, we have in Adam Smith the first instance of a clearly recognised distinction of the principles which should respectively form the basis of ethics and political economy.

30. Contrast between A. Smith's Ethics and Economics.

Ethics is based by him upon a sentiment, that of sympathy. This is put forward at the beginning of his 'Theory of Moral Sentiments' as a psychological trait of human nature. On the other side his economic speculations are based upon a similarly distinct enunciation of the psychological principle expressed in the statement that there is a special instinct in human as distinguished from other living beings; which is probably developed by reason and speech. This is the propensity to truck, barter, and exchange one thing for another. No animal does this.

31. Social harmony sought in principle of justice.

It is not correct either to identify the moral principle of Adam Smith, the sentiment of sympathy, with what Auguste Comte later on termed altruism, or to term the other simply egotism. Nevertheless, the view taken by Adam Smith draws attention to a dual interest which governs human conduct and action. But Adam Smith does not represent his two psychological principles or instincts as entering into a kind of contest, but interposes between them, as a regulative and higher principle, the principle of justice.[1]

[1] The fact that Adam Smith, as well as several contemporary thinkers in this country such as Adam Ferguson, took a broad—we may say an anthropological—view of the problem of human society, was, till quite recently, overlooked by historians of philosophy; the

The second important advance which Adam Smith made in the treatment of the social problem was that he took a broader view of the real sources of economic prosperity than the French school had done. According to him the moving principle in social life is labour, the land being only one of the objects upon which labour is spent. By this he pushed into the foreground the interests of labour as distinct from those of property, and this foremost position labour has not lost but increasingly asserted ever since.

specially economic problems which he treated attracting, almost exclusively, the attention of thinkers and statesmen to his work. Recent historians of political economy have, however, drawn attention to the broader, if not deeper, philosophical setting of Adam Smith's doctrine. This was clearly indicated in a well-known passage at the end of the 'Theory of Moral Sentiments,' in which the author promises to give "in another discourse . . . an account of the general principles of law and government and of the different revolutions they have undergone in the different ages and periods of Society, not only in what concerns justice, but in what concerns police, revenue, and arms, and whatever else is the object of law." And as J. K. Ingram says: "This shows how little it was Smith's habit to separate (except provisionally) in his conceptions of his researches the economic phenomena of Society from all the rest, . . . the words above quoted . . . containing an anticipation, wonderful for his period, of general sociology, both statical and dynamical, an anticipation which becomes still more remarkable when we learn from his literary executors that he had formed the plan of a connected history of the liberal sciences and elegant arts, which must have added to the branches of social study already enumerated, a view of the intellectual progress of society. Though these large designs were never carried out in their integrity, as indeed at that period they could not have been adequately realised, it has resulted from them that though economic phenomena formed the special subject of the 'Wealth of Nations,' Smith yet incorporated into that work much that relates to the other social aspects, incurring thereby the censure of some of his followers, who insist with pedantic narrowness on the strict isolation of the economic domain."—('A History of Political Economy,' 1893, p. 89.) In fact, economic science fell, for a long time, under—and is only now gradually emerging from—the exclusive sway of the atomising spirit of thought. The peculiar connection of Adam Smith's ethical and economic philosophy, centring in his conception of justice as a harmonising tendency towards an equitable state of things not unlike the pleasing spectacle of a "well-arranged mechanism," is interestingly brought out by Dr Ludwig Stein in 'Die Soziale Frage' (2nd ed., p. 369).

And, lastly, Adam Smith did not confine the idea of property so exclusively to that of landed property as did the agriculturists, still less did he go back to the superficial and mistaken conception prevalent in the earlier commercial system, which made money—*i.e.*, the precious metals—the main object of its interest, but he introduced a truer conception of capital or stock which, next to land and labour, formed the third important factor in his economic system.

So far as free trade is concerned, of which Adam Smith is frequently represented to be the first and greatest exponent, he was not original in attacking the mistakes of the protectionist and prohibitive systems which then prevailed all over Europe, though he probably did more than any other writer on the subject to influence practical reform and legislation in that direction.

Although the great work of Adam Smith laid stress upon certain philosophical principles, it was not systematic nor methodical, still less strictly deductive; it was full of illustrations and valuable reflections, and, in consequence, gave rise to an enormous literature which branched out in various directions, investigating special points of his doctrine, combating some of his theories, or attempting to bring more system and logical consistency into the exposition of the whole or special departments of the subject. In the latter respect David Ricardo (1772-1823) attained for a time great celebrity; but though he is fond of logical dialectic and deductive reasoning, it is now generally admitted that he did not introduce any very novel point of view, and, least of all, any philosophical principle which would be helpful in

32. Ricardo and Malthus.

dealing with the larger problems of social science. In relation to these his celebrated contemporary, Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834), is of much more importance, and this for several reasons. His well-known treatise on 'Population' directed the attention of social philosophers to a subject which has since become of increasing importance, and upon which most extreme and opposite views have sprung up.

At a time when economists all over Europe considered that economic prosperity went hand in hand with dense populations, when some of the leading countries of Europe were very thinly populated, and when Adam Smith's "Theory of Labour"—emphasised in a one-sided way by Ricardo—encouraged a natural desire to see populations grow, Malthus gave, for a time at least, an opposite turn to speculation on this subject. He did this by his well-known, though somewhat exaggerated, formula, that population tends to increase in a geometrical, while the means of subsistence increases only in an arithmetical, ratio. Malthus does not seem to have been stimulated by Adam Smith, but rather by opposition to views expressed by William Godwin, a direct disciple of Condorcet, on the one side, and by his own father, Daniel Malthus, who had been a personal friend of Rousseau's, on the other.

We thus trace through him the direct influence in this country of a special line of French thought of which Adam Smith took little or no notice. On the other side, Malthus points forward to a much more recent line of thought, which has made itself as acutely felt in sociology as it has done in other regions of philosophy

and science. It is well known that Darwin, with his co-discoverer Wallace, as both have put on record, got from the work of Malthus the idea of a general struggle for existence, applied by Malthus himself only in relation to social competition. I shall come back to this point when dealing later on with the influence of biological ideas upon sociology.

The change which came over philosophical thought in this country during the last quarter of the Eighteenth, and gave it a specific character during the first half of the Nineteenth Century, was, as I stated above, largely owing to the influence of French pre-revolutionary thinkers. For a long time this influence seemed, indeed, confined to this country, for neither France itself nor Germany made any original contribution to this side of the subject. The French Revolution had produced a general unsettlement which was little favourable to the calm consideration of existing problems in France, but which was, on the other side, in Germany stimulating and productive of speculative theories for the most part far removed from the arena of practical economics and politics. Thus England had for nearly fifty years a monopoly in the domain of genuine social philosophy.

But the very different conditions which existed on the Continent had, *inter alia*, the effect of developing the other two principal departments of social philosophy which I mentioned above; that department, on the one side, which deals with the fundamental questions of the Constitution and Government of Society, and that, on the other side, which deals with the History of Societies. For the long period during which England's monopoly in

political science lasted, the latter confined itself almost exclusively to the economic question—*i.e.*, to the discussion of the Work of Society, and more narrowly to that of a society possessing as much stability and liberty as that of Great Britain in the time of its enormous industrial development and of its dominant position in the trade of the world.

On the other side of the Channel we have during the same period two distinct movements, both dealing with the fundamental problems of the constitution of society and of the State. Forms of government, the relation of Church and State, and of the different classes of society, the security and tenure of property, the representation of the People,—these were some of the foremost questions which thinkers and practical men dealt with immediately after the Revolution had created a feeling of insecurity and unrest, and a sense of the need for some kind of Order, be it natural or artificial, new or old.[1] Thus we have two schools of thought which deal more precisely with

[1] It is interesting to see how thinkers on the question of the rehabilitation of social order, such as de Maistre (see *infra*, note to p. 464), put the question of the truth of any doctrine such as that of the infallibility of the Pope in the second order compared with the question as to the practical efficiency of such a doctrine. Their opponents, such as Saint-Simon and others (see *infra*, p. 466), consider that the human mind has got hold of some fundamental scientific truth—occasionally narrowed down to the law of gravitation — and that such affords a principle from which to construct a social order. Using the terminology now current in philosophical literature, we may say that the former are Pragmatists, the latter Rationalists. Since, in the course of the last thirty years, the belief in the certitude of scientific knowledge has gradually given way and is being replaced by that in its exactitude or definiteness, a tendency has arisen to see the value of any doctrine in its usefulness and applicability for the purpose of the increase of knowledge or as a power of organisation. Such passages as that quoted from Huxley (see *supra*, p. 229 n.), as also that quoted later from Lord Morley (*infra*, p. 465 n.), would in the present state of philosophic doubt have to be reconsidered and rewritten.

what is now specifically termed the Social question, and we have also, as a result brought about by the influence of both sides, the distinct enunciation of a new and special science with a special name, that of Sociology; further, we have the first distinct declaration that it deals with the central and most important problem in philosophy.

33. Reactionary school: de Bonald and de Maistre.

The first of the two schools referred to may be termed the Reactionary school. It was the school which was favoured by the Restoration. Its philosophical exponents were de Bonald (1754-1840) and de Maistre (1754-1821). Both belonged to the aristocracy of France. The title of de Bonald's principal work, 'Théorie du pouvoir politique et religieux dans la société civilisée' [1796], indicates clearly the subject he is dealing with. For de Bonald the Order of Society is not a thing created by men, but is of Divine origin, not simply composed of individual units added together, but an association instituted by the Creator and organised by His law. This stands in direct opposition to the theory of the natural rights of man as proclaimed by the Revolution in 1789.[1] The general conception, which has

[1] And it also stands in direct opposition to that prominent phase in modern thought represented by such very different thinkers as Rousseau on the one side and Adam Smith on the other; the belief in the natural goodness of man and the assumption, not clearly brought out but implied, in Adam Smith's ethical and economic theories, of a natural justice, a *jus naturæ*. "In his view nature has made provision for social wellbeing by the principle of the human constitution, which prompts every man to better his position; the individual aims only at his private gain, but in doing so 'is led by an invisible hand' to promote the public good, which was no part of his intention; human institutions, by interfering with the action of this principle in the name of the public interest, defeat their own end; but when all systems of preference or restraint are taken away, 'the obvious and simple system of natural liberty establishes itself of its own accord.' This theory is not explicitly presented by Smith as a foundation of his economic doctrines, but it is really the secret substratum on which they rest." (Ingram, *loc. cit.*, p. 91).

been called Traditionalism, is worked out in detail and results in the dictum that law is the servant of morality and morality the servant of theology. Only Divine institution gives stability to any sovereignty, otherwise the latter would be exposed to continual change.

It is philosophically interesting to note that de Bonald finds the original and primitive instrument towards social order to be language, the spoken word, and that he considers this, together with the human intellect of which it is the first and most important function, to be a Divine revelation. We may incidentally note also that his contemporary in Germany, Herder, likewise looked upon the origin of language as one of the fundamental questions in the larger problem of humanity.

Still further in the direction of reaction proceeds de Maistre, who looks upon the whole revolutionary movement as a chastisement inflicted by Providence on the French nation. He does not believe in any form of government deliberately formed by human beings. Social order grows out of historical conditions, its best form is a monarchy, but above the monarch he places the religious Head, the worldly representative of God, the Pope, who has to act as a kind of supreme arbiter in case of international wars or of internal conflicts such as that between oppressors and oppressed. He believes in a general restoration of religion. His principal works appeared during the first twenty years of the century. He is considered to be the founder of what is now termed Ultramontanism.[1]

[1] The phase in modern thought usually termed the Catholic reaction in the beginning of the century, and represented in France by de Bonald, de Maistre, and Chateaubriand (1768-1848), had been too little recognised in this country till Lord Morley drew attention to it in one of the most interesting and luminous of that series of Essays in which he, with unrivalled mastery, expounded to English readers the principal doctrines of French political philosophy from the middle of the eighteenth century down to Auguste Comte. His Essay on "Joseph de Maistre" ('Critical Miscellanies,' vol. ii., 1886, pp. 257-338) is a masterpiece of exposition by one who belongs to the very opposite school of thought, and it amply suffices to impress upon the reader the strong points of de Maistre's position as well as the political and social surroundings among which his philosophy sprang up. This is shown to be an emphatic appeal to the restoration of Order in a state of social and political anarchy, maintaining that there must exist a supreme tribunal of appeal, which is to solve not only, and not in the first instance, questions of truth, but questions of law and order. The regulation of society under a Supreme Power which is recognised to be infallible is more important than the discussion of the proofs of such infallibility. The burning problem of the time was a practical not a theoretical one. The only power which after the great Revolution still existed, and which would be able to restore Order was, according to de Maistre, the organisation of the Roman Catholic Church with the Pope at its head; so he devoted his literary ability to preach the restoration of the Roman Catholic power in the most celebrated of his works ('Du Pape,' 1817), the enormous influence of which he did not live to witness himself. In this work he proved his thesis through an historical exposition of the work of the Church and a series of practical reflections tending to show that it was the only remaining power which could regenerate and tranquillise society. In discountenancing the modern scientific spirit proclaimed by the new school of thought as the salvation of humanity, de Maistre "had no selfish or official interest in taking away the keys of knowledge, entering not in himself, and them that would enter in hindering. The true reasons for his detestation of the eighteenth century philosophers, science and literature, are simple enough. Like every wise man, he felt that the end of all philosophy and science is emphatically social, the construction and maintenance and improvement of a fabric under which the communities of men may find shelter, and may secure all the conditions for living their lives with dignity and service. Then he held that no truth can be harmful to society. If he found any system of opinions, any given attitude of the mind, injurious to tranquillity and the public order, he hastily concluded that, however plausible they might seem when tested by logic and demonstration, they were fundamentally untrue and deceptive. What is logic compared with eternal salvation in the next world, and the practice of virtue in this? The recommendation of such a mind as de Maistre's is the intensity of its appreciation of order and social happiness. The obvious weakness of such a mind, and the curse inherent in its influence, is that it overlooks the prime condition of all; that social order

34. The Socialists.

The social philosophy of the Reactionaries has some traits in common with that of their opponents, whom we may term the Socialists. The latter declared for an

entire reconstruction of society. They broke with the historical past and desired to institute a new Order on the foundation of the natural rights of man; but some of the representatives of this line of thought are inclined to consider the natural rights of man—which should form the laws of society in the same way as the natural properties of things form the laws of nature—to be of higher, of Divine origin. That identification of laws of nature and laws of society which has done so much mischief in both directions—*i.e.*, in the philosophy of nature [1] as well as in the philosophy of society—was familiar already to Montesquieu.

35. Saint-Simon.

One of the principal leaders, and by far the most influential apostle of socialism during the first half of the nineteenth century, was the Count de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), of noble family descended from that Duke who left us the celebrated 'Mémoires.' After having quarrelled with his father and lost his fortune and elevated social position, he passed what the French call *une jeunesse bien orageuse*, during which scientific and commercial interests went hand in hand with a disorderly and cynical way of living. He combined with the philosophical and abstract interest, which he inherited from the philosophers of the eighteenth century, a practical knowledge of men and affairs. Science and humanity were his leading ideas, as they had been those of the encyclopædists; but he was less systematic and timid, more daring and practical than they had

can never be established on a durable basis so long as the discoveries of scientific truth in all its departments are suppressed, or incorrectly appreciated, or socially misapplied" (*loc. cit.*, p. 301).

[1] See *supra*, vol. iii. p. 572 *sqq.*

been. He was not without the genuine religious, even a mystical, turn, but his religion seemed to be satisfied with a Ruler of the Universe formed somewhat on the mistaken French interpretation of a well-known passage in Newton's 'Principia' reminding us of the lines of Goethe—

> What were a God who only pushed the world
> And in a circle round His finger twirled?

In fact, the law of attraction or gravitation seemed to him the ultimate and sufficient law explaining the universal order of things;[1] this reminds us again of the well-known Treatise of Father Boscovich.[2]

Saint-Simon believes both in a spiritual power and in a temporal power in the State, but he proposes to transfer the former from the priests to the men of science and the latter from the nobles to the propertied class. These have therefore, as M. Ferraz says, not much to fear from this nascent socialism. To those who are not proprietors, he assigns the right and duty of electing the *savants* who have to wield the spiritual power. But the real *savants* are the astronomers and biologists, not the moralists and metaphysicians. "This means," as M. Ferraz continues, "in unmistakable terms that the philosophical and moral sciences have no value, and count only from the day when they are founded upon the physical and natural sciences. This idea, which became the main principle

[1] "Je crois en Dieu. Je crois que Dieu a créé l'univers. Je crois que Dieu a soumis l'univers à la loi de la gravitation" (quoted from 'Nouvelle Encyclopédie' (1810) by Georges Weill in 'Saint-Simon et son Œuvre' (1894, p. 53).

[2] See *supra*, vol. i. p. 356 *sqq.*, and vol. ii. pp. 29, 351.

of Positivism, is not quite so original as has been alleged. We find it everywhere during that age: with Vicq-d'Azyr, who makes of psychology a branch of physiology; with Destutt de Tracy, whose ideology is simply a chapter of zoology; with Volney, who gives to his 'Catechism of Natural Law' the sub-title, 'Physical Principles of Morality'; this is the last word of the sensationalism of that age as also of that of the present day."[1]

The "physicism" of Saint-Simon is further distinguished by the constitution of his supreme council of twenty-one *savants* who have taken the place of the deposed Pope and Cardinals and are elected by the whole of humanity and presided over by a mathematician. They will build a mausoleum sacred to the memory of Newton. The principal mission of the great council will be to study gravitation, the only law to which the Universe is subjected, and to direct the peaceful labours of mankind; for all men will have to work either with their hands or their brains as belonging to one and the same workshop.

The opinions of Saint-Simon underwent material changes in the course of his life. These are significantly indicated by the titles of his writings. Thus we have in 1807 an 'Introduction to the Scientific Labours of the Nineteenth Century'; seven years later a 'Reorganisation of European Society'; seven years after that a treatise 'On the Industrial System'; and four

[1] 'Histoire de la Philosophie en France,' 1re Partie, "Socialisme, etc.," 3 ed., p. 8.

years after that 'The New Christianity.' To these have to be added two periodicals entitled respectively 'L'Organisateur' (1819-20) and 'Le Producteur' (1825). These titles mark sufficiently the change and development of his ideas. From laying stress upon abstract science he proceeds to an appreciation of its practical results in industry and commerce, taking note of the various industrial problems, of the necessary organisation of labour as well as of finance, and latterly he realises that a unifying and spiritual principle is wanting, and thus is led to emphasise the Fine Arts as the guardians of the moral sentiments, pre-eminently of sympathy. And with this he is led to the problems of education. He ends, as a great many social reformers have done, with the re-assertion of many of the religious factors of society which his earlier theories had tended to undermine or to disregard. He passes in review the historical forms in which the Christian ideal has been embodied, that of Catholicism, of Protestantism and of other sects, and preaches the religion of Love; "in fact he thinks that a single principle must be held to be eternal and immutable, that which has emanated from a Divine source, and according to which we are bound to treat one another as brethren."[1] With this principle we advance from an individual to a social existence. "He remarks that the Christian principle, disengaged from superstitions which paralyse its efficiency, works already in many noble souls, if not among the priests who are absorbed in details of dogma and cult and

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 23.

have lost the sense of religion, at least among the laity who are passionately in earnest regarding the welfare of their fellow-men." [1]

There is no doubt that Saint-Simon acted as a great ferment, pushing the main social problem, the organisation of society, into the foreground, and treating it from many points of view, anticipating prophetically but frequently unconsciously much that has happened in social theory and practice since his time. Hardly any of the innumerable problems which now agitate social reformers over the whole world escaped his notice. Accordingly we find among his followers men of very different stamp and occupation all interested in the social problem, and concentrating their labours upon it. Under their influence the doctrine of the master, unstable, fragmentary, and inconclusive as it always was, underwent many changes, the most important of which were in the direction of an extreme Socialism or Communism, in which Saint-Simon himself certainly was not a believer. Thus we must distinguish between the doctrine of Saint-Simon himself and that of the Saint-Simonians.

Quite apart from this extreme development, one of his disciples became pre-eminent as having given systematic coherence and an important elaboration to some of the brilliant ideas which in Saint-Simon's writings are buried among a mass of collateral, disturbing, and frequently contradictory reflections. The disciple I refer to is Auguste Comte, who worked into a system two conceptions which were familiar to Saint-Simon and which

36. Relation to Comte.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 24.

are now considered as the main characteristics of Positivism. The first is that of the hierarchy of the sciences, and subsequently also of Social Order upon the foundation of the exact and the natural sciences. The second is one of the first great comprehensive, and to a large extent successful, attempts in the direction of a history of human thought and human society, of a philosophy of History. In working out this, as also by conceiving of sociology as a separate and distinct science, Comte has placed himself at the head of all those who have, before and after him, dealt with the social problem in its largest sense as the problem of Humanity.

But before treating more in detail the main points of Comte's teaching and the growth and diffusion of the positive philosophy—which indeed belonged to a much later period—it is well to note what was done in Germany at the end of the eighteenth and during the first third of the nineteenth century. There, as I stated above, Rousseau's gospel of the return to nature, including his natural religion as well as the proclamation of the natural rights of man, had created a great impression. But no sympathy was felt with the scientific or naturalistic interpretation which was given to these ideas in the school of the encyclopædists and of many of the French reformers during the Revolution. The word Nature was not narrowed down to mean merely the physical side of things. The term Nature as applied to human affairs was conceived in a much larger sense as including the intellectual, the moral and the spiritual, as well as the physical factors in the life of man and mankind. Social problems, so far as they were

considered at all, did not occupy in the realm of philosophy the first place, with the important exception perhaps of education, which, as I have had repeated occasion to point out, received great attention from two sides, in the direction of popular education and elevation of the masses and in the direction of academic and higher culture. Economic problems, in the narrower sense of the word, as studied methodically in England and in a summary and radical manner in France, were hardly treated at all by leading German thinkers, or if they were, only as corollaries and in the way of the application of abstract metaphysical principles. These were laid down and elaborated in the general systems of philosophic creeds. Neither did there exist in Germany any great practical need, any pronounced demand on the part of the existing governments and societies to deal with these more definite and circumscribed problems.

II.

Jules Michelet begins his 'History of the Nineteenth Century' by introducing three great Socialists, Babeuf (1760-1795), Saint-Simon, Fourier (1772-1835), who, with the end of Jacobinism, "emerge about the same time from the prisons of the Terror. Their ideas, to begin with, are in no wise discordant; they have the same point of departure: humanity, pity, the outlook on extreme misery. The burning centre was Lyons, on the one side, where Fourier lived; Picardy, on the other, the home of Babeuf; and the deep centre of the world,

the Commune of '93, where Chaumette, his apostle, received the Socialists of Picardy and of Lyons. The people were dying of hunger. Paper, laws, clubs, were not sufficient. Bread was wanted. . . . Whatever opinion one may form of the three famous Utopists, we must admit that their systems, even their eccentricities, sprang from an admirable emotion, from the rising of a most generous feeling. Babeuf . . . asks only for the division of deserted lands, abounding everywhere . . . in order to make them productive; *Right* is the single basis, the universal right of men to a sufficient living. Saint-Simon desires *Progress*. . . . Fourier raves for *Harmony*."[1] "The state of France in '93 will never be understood, the crescendo of its miseries accumulated from century to century . . . so long as a terrible book has not been written which is wanting: the history of Hunger."[2] Whether this picture of the causes of the downfall of the old régime in France is exaggerated or not does not concern us here. It is sufficient to say that such a picture could not have been drawn of the social state of things in Germany[3] in the latter part of

[1] J. Michelet, 'Histoire du XIX^e Siecle' (vol. i. p. 1).

[2] Ibid. (p. 4).

[3] A living picture of the beginnings of a more prosperous age in Germany, disturbed as it indeed was by the foreign invasions during the Seven Years' War, will be found in the 6th chapter of Gustav Freytag's 'Neue Bilder aus dem Leben des Deutschen Volkes' (1862). It bears the title "Es wird Licht." A fuller account of the state of 'Germany in the Eighteenth Century' is given in the large work of Biedermann bearing this title (3 vols. in four parts, 1854-1880). The earlier part of the period referred to is also covered by Goethe's 'Autobiography.' Stimulating foreign influences on Germany were mainly in two very different directions. First, there was the influence of the age of Louis XIV., which showed itself in the field of literature and taste, and more doubtfully in the culture of the aristocracy and the many small courts. The second influence was in the province of Trade and Industry, through the immigration of

the eighteenth century. After the devastations of former centuries, after the ruin of national prosperity through the Wars of the Reformation, the Thirty Years' War, and the Wars of the Succession, light had begun to dawn in the middle of the eighteenth century and an era of progress and comparative prosperity, and certainly of national hope and confidence, seemed to have set in, especially during the thirty years of peace which succeeded the Seven Years' War: the inspiring figure and hero of the age being Frederick the Great.[1]

37. Influence of France on Germany.

This increasing tide of prosperity and hopefulness, under the influence of which were indited the well-known opening lines of Schiller's *Künstler* (1789),[2] received a serious check during the greater part of twenty years through the Wars of the Revolution. It was the latter with its seemingly hopeful beginnings, not the social misery of the masses,[3] which gave the

the Huguenots at the end of the seventeenth century. Late in the eighteenth century, as Biedermann shows, the influence of the more advanced state of England and Holland made itself felt in many directions, notably in Agriculture and some of the trades.

[1] Inspiration came not only from his military renown, but quite as much, as Biedermann shows, from the reforms in many directions of legislature, administration, trade and industry in which, during the afternoon and evening of his life, he, first among German princes, led the way in the direction of popular progress. His literary tastes, on the other side, as is well known, were distinctly French. See also Carlyle's 'Friedrich II.,' Book XXI., Introduction.

[2] On these verses Kuno Fischer remarks: "The mastery of man over nature, the reign of culture which Bacon had proclaimed as the theme and aim of the modern age, is in full development. . . . The moment in which Schiller composes his 'Künstler' is one of 'eventful silence,' the last before a storm. The poem appeared in March 1789. Two months later and the Assembly of the French States General begins its session" ('Schiller als Philosoph,' vol. i., 2nd ed., p. 152).

[3] That such misery existed in many parts of Germany at the time of the outbreak of the French Revolution there is no doubt, and more recent historians are inclined to insist on the fact that the revolt took place in France rather than in other European countries not because of the greater misery of the working classes in that country, but because they were more enlightened, because the hard rule of the landed proprietors was much relaxed in France as compared with the state of serfdom and bondage in which the peasant population still lived in the more eastern countries of Central Europe.

first and most powerful impetus to a discussion of the social problem by German thinkers. They realised quite as fully as did those of other countries that the age had great problems to solve, nor did they approach them in a less hopeful spirit, though it was a spirit at once less radical and subversive than that which ruled in France, less practical and commonsense than that which spread in England.

With French contemporary thought German thinkers had indeed in common that they believed in abstract constructions, in logical formulæ. But whereas in France abstraction meant the methods of the exact sciences, the logical ideal being that of the mathematician, in Germany abstraction meant the lifting up out of the lower region of the ordinary interests of life into the higher realms of Poetry, Art, and Speculation, and logic meant a higher intellectual process which dealt not with the mechanical connection of things but with their meaning, interpretation, and value. It was in fact a great scheme of intellectualising and spiritualising, of looking at things from a higher point of view.

38. Kant.

The first systematic attempt to carry out this ideal, which engrossed German thought for fully half a century, was, as we know, the philosophy of Kant, and in it the supreme position assigned by him to the moral law which he conceived to be, when thought of as command, the highest kind of Revelation. It was the task

of the philosopher to define this highest law and to show its application and working in the whole region of practical morality, both individual and social. Whereas the French philosophers put in the foreground the natural rights of man and attached little or no importance to the ideas of obligation and duty except as necessary arrangements of convenience and expediency, the Kantian philosophy put in the foreground the idea of duty, of an obligation, and discussed the social order in the light of facilities bestowed and limitations imposed upon individual members of society so as to enable them to follow the highest command, "to order all their relations with freedom according to reason," as Fichte said; but the highest law of reason was the moral principle, the call to Duty.

During the various phases in which the philosophical ideal of German thought, which we may define as a spiritualised rationalism, found embodiment, we see how it came into closer and closer contact with the higher practical questions, notably those of society. This was inevitable, and was brought about through the personal positions which the several leading thinkers of the nation successively occupied.

Kant, who was the prime mover and gave the impetus to this whole course of thought, lived secluded in a small out-of-the-way university town in the north-east of Germany. Fichte, originally destined to be a preacher, went from Saxony to Switzerland, from there to the classical centre of Germany, and finally settled in Berlin, where he helped to lay the foundation of what became in the course of the century the foremost German university and perhaps the most important centre of modern German thought and learning. Schelling and Hegel came from Suabia, the home of German poetry. But, whereas Schelling lived more in the regions of Art and Literature, Hegel was early interested and active in political life, and had at the end of his career in Berlin a distinctly political influence. Finally, in Schleiermacher, the last great representative of German idealism, philosophy came into immediate contact with the practical problems of religion and the Church. In another way we may see what very different aspects social problems would present to these various thinkers in the course of the fifty years from 1780 to 1830.

Kant lived under a despotic government which, in one instance, censured him for stepping outside the legitimate sphere of his duties. His successors enjoyed greater academic freedom. They witnessed great changes of literary taste and sentiment, the birth of a new literature abounding in original creations of Poetry and Art. But more than this, they lived in an age of political and social unrest, of revolution and reaction, of humiliation and despair, followed by national regeneration with renewed confidence and success. No one was more alive to these stirring events and changes than Fichte. In spite of the very abstract and forbidding terminology which he invented and through which he introduced his theoretical philosophy, he was really a man of action much less contemplative and patiently critical than Kant was. He, more than any other of the great thinkers, felt the necessity of infusing into the rising generation an enthusiasm for ideal objects, for intel-

39. Fichte.

lectual and spiritual ends. This may be shown in many ways,[1] but is interesting to us, in the present connection, mainly for the important part played by Fichte's political writings and addresses.

He had been deeply moved by the want of patriotic spirit during the invasion of Napoleon, in whom Hegel for a moment saw an embodiment of the World Spirit.[2] But Fichte was powerful and successful in awakening

[1] The two sides of Fichte's activity, oscillating somewhat abruptly between highly abstract analysis and practical applications, are brought out in a most instructive article by Gustav Schmoller (1864-65, published in 1888, 'Zur Litteraturgeschichte der Staats- und Socialwissenschaften,' pp. 28-101). He deals there at length with Fichte's Socialistic Treatise, to which I shall revert later on. For his Socialism, in opposition to that of Saint-Simon, "originates in the solitary seclusion of the scholar, battles systematically with the moral evils of an egoistical age, attaches itself everywhere to the ultimate and highest reason of things, remains without immediate practical influence, nay, slumbers nearly half a century forgotten and unread. But the moral kernel which it contains still nevertheless bore its fruits; the practical force with which the idealism of Kant and Fichte reacted upon the life of the German nation was not less for the fact that its effects do not lie on the surface. German philosophy had by no means the smallest part in contributing . . . to maintain a healthy morality and to produce an equable cultural development" (*loc. cit.*, p. 80).

[2] The admiration which Napoleon enjoyed for a time in Germany, especially in the western districts, is easily understood if we take note of the wretched political and social conditions which prevailed in many of the innumerable small states with their despotic governments, different legal systems, and the many petty restrictions and hindrances in the way of trade, commerce, and industrial life. There were, of course, brilliant exceptions among them, notably some of the smaller states of middle Germany; but to have swept away much of the obsolete institutions, to have introduced a simple and intelligible civil code and other improvements, was considered as the work of a true liberator. Whoever desires to understand this temporary phase of admiration for the foreign invader, which survived in the minds of many long after his real character as a selfish tyrant and oppressor had been revealed, should read the memoirs of K. N. von Lang, 'Aus der bösen alten Zeit' (1st ed., 1842, republished by Petersen in 2 vols., 1910). They deal mainly with the conditions which existed in the south-west of Germany and in Bavaria before, during, and after the Napoleonic invasion, and give also a graphic picture of the disenchantment and the reaction which set in and endeavoured to bring back many of the abuses of the old régime.

the spirit of patriotism and giving it a high tone and great aims.

Schelling took, among all these thinkers, the smallest interest in social problems, but he had a very high, perhaps an exaggerated, idea of the mission of Poetry and Art, agreeing on this point with Schiller, with whom he otherwise had little in common. But all these thinkers after Kant had a common interest in historical development, for they had come not only under the influence of Kant, but also, through Herder, under the influence of Leibniz and Lessing, and they combined to push into the foreground one side of the great social problem, the history of Culture or of Humanity. Herder had, as I stated before, made a beginning in this direction.

The contributions of Fichte originated in his desire to understand the age he lived in, to expose its weaknesses and shortcomings, and to educate a younger generation to a better comprehension of its tasks and duties. But neither Fichte nor Schiller possessed sufficient learning to deal adequately with the subject. In this respect Hegel was far superior to them. He had a true historical sense,[1] and influenced a very large

40. Hegel.

[1] Among the four great idealistic philosophers in Germany it is interesting to note how, with Kant and Hegel, the systematic arrangement and the respective dialectical methods emerge only after a lengthy period of preparation. The genesis and maturation of these final products of intense thought have accordingly formed special subjects of study with historians of philosophy. On the other side, both Fichte and Schelling start at once with more or less systematic attempts which they develop, modify and elaborate, as it were, before the eyes of the public. And this gradual development is really more interesting and important than the latest expositions which, with Fichte, remained unfinished, and with Schelling were distinctly disappointing. The Neokantian literature is rich in expositions of the different phases of Kantian thought prior to the publication of the

number of scholars who, during the greater part of the century, discovered, collected and arranged an enormous mass of historical detail which furnishes, in almost every department, the greater proportion of the material which is at the disposal of the historians of our day: and Hegel himself was, with the exception of Friedrich Schlegel, the only thinker who ventured upon the task of composing a philosophy of history. Into his treatment of this subject he introduced two prominent ideas, both of which are capable of very various interpretations, but which have through all these retained a permanent hold of the philosophical mind so far as it is interested in the study of history. These are, first, the conception of the whole progress of development in history as an enlarging of the notion of freedom from the notion that only one is free (Oriental despotism) to the notion that only some are free (Greeks and Romans), and from that again to the notion that all men are free. The second important conception is that embodied in the 'History of Philosophy,' in which Hegel tries to show how the progress of thought in the different stages of ancient

'Critiques.' Among these expositions the writings of Paulsen and of Höffding, quoted on former occasions (see *ante*, vol. iii. pp. 28, 340 and 284, 317), are specially concise and luminous. The earlier biographies of Hegel, notably those of Rosenkranz (1844) and Haym (1857), already contained much information on Hegel's mental development prior to his Jena period. The most interesting study, however, is that of Dilthey, "Die Jugendgeschichte Hegels," published in the 'Transactions' of the Berlin Academy (1905). Two subjects seem to have prominently occupied Hegel's mind. The first and more important was theological and historical, dealing with the Christian religion, its founders and its relation to philosophical or natural religion. But not less interesting is the fact that we possess two distinctly political treatises on the Constitution of Würtemburg, his native country, and on the Constitution of Germany. This shows that Hegel was better prepared to deal with the political and historical sides of the social problem than any of his three distinguished predecessors.

and modern philosophy runs parallel with, and is intelligible through, the logical development of the abstract ideas or categories of speculative thought. This has been termed the dialectic of the world process as unfolded in the dialectic of the philosophical system.

41. Comte's philosophy of history.

About the time when Hegel's reputation and influence were at their height in Germany, an equally comprehensive, but very differently constituted, mind approached and dealt with the historical problem in France. This was Auguste Comte, who began to publish his original speculations with a Tract bearing upon the reorganisation of Society.[1] He was then twenty-six years of age.

In some respects the personal history of the two philosophers shows a resemblance. Both Hegel and Comte were early influenced by thinkers of great originality and considerable daring, but similarly deficient in definiteness and consistency of thought. Both philosophers, in their first independent publications, broke away from the influence of their respective masters. Both maintained from that moment a more or less unfriendly attitude to the teaching which had at one time stimulated and inspired them. Both had, what their masters were deficient in, great powers of systematisation and the love of consistent and logical development of thought.

Hegel announced his opposition to Schelling in the Introduction to his first great work, 'The Phenomenology of the Mind,' where he promises to develop, patiently

[1] 'Plan des travaux scientifiques nécessaires pour réorganiser la Société' (1824). Comte was twenty-four when this was first printed (1822). See *infra*, p. 486 n.

and consistently, ideas which were only vaguely adumbrated by Schelling. As Hegel considered that a new logic would have to precede and make possible the systematic exposition of a new spiritual gospel, which was then striving to liberate itself in the philosophical world, so Comte indicated in the original title of his Tract his conviction that the reorganisation of Society, which was the aim of Saint-Simon and the need of his age and country, must be preceded by a theoretical discussion which adopted and explained that line of thought which had throughout the changing phases of the Revolution, and the reaction of the negative and retrograde movements, proved to be safe and eminently fruitful. The true methods were the scientific, or, as Comte termed them, the positive methods, with which mathematical, mechanical, and biological research had been successfully carried on.

42. Comte and Hegel compared.

To express it in other words and to characterise the essential difference as well as the formal resemblance of Comte's and Hegel's work more clearly, we may say that Hegel was surrounded and impressed by the idealistic movement of thought which, in literature, poetry, and art, in the schools of classicism and romanticism, had completely revolutionised the intellectual life of Germany. The principle of this great, fruitful, and creative movement he desired to grasp in a new organon of logic, and to employ in the building up of a complete philosophical system. This was to embody and revive in a reasoned creed the ideal possession of humanity, on the point of being lost through orthodox formalism or materialistic unbelief.

On the other side Comte desired to lay bare and apply the approved logic of the exact and natural sciences, and to use it for the solution of practical problems which his master Saint-Simon and some of his disciples had attempted to solve by hasty generalisations. Neither the work of Hegel nor that of Comte, neither the logic of the idea nor that of science was so easily grasped as these two leaders of thought might perhaps imagine; but they have respectively defined problems which have not ceased to occupy the attention of critics and analysts ever since. Unconscious, perhaps, of the difficulty which equally besets both these tasks when treated in a purely theoretical manner, they nevertheless both resorted to an empirical method which was easier and certainly more interesting, namely, the historical method. Both founded a philosophy of history.

A study of history was, in both cases, to define as well as to exemplify the main principle or fundamental truth which each of these two thinkers respectively wished to establish; and accordingly the two chief works in which they embodied their main thesis are, to a large extent, historical. The result is more definite in Comte's work than it is in that of Hegel. Comte's main idea is that expressed in the celebrated 'Law of the Three States,'[1] which in his earlier treatise he ex-

43. 'Law of the Three States.'

[1] The 'Law of the Three States,' which Comte repeats endlessly throughout his writings, has been traced to other thinkers before him, and similarly the dialectical formula of Hegel—thesis, antithesis, and synthesis—has been traced back to the writings of Fichte. So far as Comte is concerned, there is an interesting and instructive passage in Ravaisson's 'Rapport' (p. 54 *sqq.*), frequently quoted already. He traces it to Burdin, a medical friend of Saint-Simon's, who in 1813, in a conversation reported by the latter, remarked that all sciences had begun by being conjectural, and that they must end by being positive; adding that some sciences arrive earlier at this stage than

presses by saying, "From the nature of the human intellect each branch of knowledge in its development is necessarily obliged to pass through three different theoretical states: the Theological or fictitious state; the Meta-

others, and that philosophy must be the last. But Ravaisson goes on to remark that the first origin of these ideas, *i.e.*, of the law in question and the hierarchy of the sciences, is to be found in the writings of a philosopher whom Comte, Saint-Simon, and Burdin looked upon as a visionary. This was Turgot, from whose 'Histoire des progrès de l'esprit humain' Ravaisson quotes the following interesting passage: "Avant de connaitre la liaison des effets physiques entre eux, il n'y eut rien de plus naturel que de supposer qu'ils étaient produits par des êtres intelligents invisibles et semblables à nous. Car à quoi auraient-ils ressemblé? Tout ce qui arrivait sans que les hommes y eussent part eut son dieu. . . . Quand les philosophes eurent reconnu l'absurdité de ces fables, sans avoir acquis néanmoins de vraies lumières sur l'histoire naturelle, ils imaginèrent d'expliquer les causes des phénomènes par des expressions abstraites, comme essences et facultés, expressions qui, cependant, n'expliquaient rien et dont on raisonnait comme si elles eussent été des êtres, de nouvelles divinités substituées aux anciennes. . . . Ce ne fut que bien tard, en observant l'action mécanique que les corps ont les uns sur les autres, qu'on tira de cette mécanique d'autres hypothèses, que les mathématiques purent développer et l'expérience vérifier" (p. 55). It has not been quite as generally remarked that Comte, in the second period of his speculations, actually reverses the formula which, as J. Stuart Mill said, was the backbone of his first great work. This took place somewhat on the lines which I have indicated in the Introduction to this section (vol. iii. p. 43 *sqq.*), and which Mr A. W. Benn (in a notice of that volume, 'Literary Guide,' June 1913) suggests as being exactly what Comte had in view. Renouvier has on this point made a relevant remark: "C'est que les illusions familières aux philosophes des écoles qui prétendent ramener les phénomènes supérieurs aux phénomènes inférieurs par l'emploi des catégories de cause ou de substance, ne vont pas en quelque sorte au plus profond de leur propre esprit, et leurs thèses de matérialité pure n'épuisent pas pour eux le concept de l'univers. Il arrive que le *matérialiste* Cabanis est dans son œuvre posthume, un panthéiste stoïcien, que le *matérialiste* Broussais laisse un testament déiste, et que le *matériuliste* Auguste Comte, en sa seconde manière, élève des autels à quelques universaux de la vieille scolastique, *Grand-Être*, *Grand-Milieu*, et à quelques dieux plus concrets de l'antiquité dont le premier s'intitule *Grand-Fétiche*." —(Renouvier, 'Principes de la Nature,' new ed., 1912, p. 157). To this list one is tempted to add the names of Büchner and Haeckel, inasmuch as Büchner conjoins the principle of Force with that of Matter, while Haeckel places behind the inert principle of substance the movable cosmic ether "as a creative deity," not unlike (as 'Uberweg-Heinze,' 10th ed., pp. 282-3, remarks), "the stoical doctrine which likewise expands its monism into an apparent dualism."

physical or abstract state; lastly, the Scientific or positive state." And the correctness of this enunciation he proves by reference to the four fundamental sciences which had already at that time entered upon the last stage—viz., Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, and Physiology.

Turning, then, to Morals and Politics, he proceeds to show how the former "are conceived by some as the result of a continuous supernatural action; by others as incomprehensible results of the action of an abstract entity; and lastly, by others as connected with organic conditions susceptible of demonstration, and beyond which it is impossible to go." And so far as politics as a science is concerned, he looks upon the supernatural idea of Divine right as belonging to the Theological state of politics; the doctrine of the sovereignty of the People as expressing the Metaphysical condition of politics; while, lastly, the Scientific doctrine of politics "considers the social state in which the human race has always been found by observers as the necessary effect of its organisation." The aim of practical politics accordingly consists in facilitating natural tendencies when these have been sufficiently ascertained. And the main natural tendency of man he considers to be "to act upon nature in order to modify it for his own advantage."

Comte considers that politics could not before his age become a positive science for two reasons. First, because the science of politics, or what he later on termed Sociology, being the highest and most complex science, could not enter upon the last, *i.e.*, the positive stage, before the other sciences had attained that position;

and, secondly, because the two earlier forms of practical politics named above had first to be tried and found to be wanting before the last stage became possible or practical. The first remark leads him to a doctrine which holds an important position in his system, and which has, by some of his followers, been considered to rank as an important discovery. It is his classification or his doctrine of the "hierarchy of the sciences."[1]

[1] These quotations are all taken from the reprint of the earlier Tract (1822), in the Appendix to the fourth volume (p. 547 *sqq.*) of the 'System of Positive Polity, or Treatise on Sociology.' (Eng. transl., London, 1875-77.) The object which Comte had in view in reprinting a collection of his earlier Tracts was, as he says, "to demonstrate the perfect harmony which exists between my youthful efforts and my matured conceptions" (General Appendix, p. 1) "... when reproducing ... the third Essay, published in May 1822, ... in 1824, ... I thought it right to add to its special title that of 'System of Positive Polity,'—a title premature indeed, but rightly indicating the scope of my labours" (p. 3). This is important as bearing upon the question to what extent Comte modified his philosophical creed in the latter part of his career. Two extreme views exist on this point, represented among others by Littré and Robinet, of whom the former discards everything that Comte published after the year 1842, whereas the latter considers the principal merit of Comte to consist in the foundation of a new religion, the Religion of Humanity. In spite of the extravagances of the later doctrine, which drew from Mill a strong condemnation, we are bound to look upon Comte's last practical effort as a highly instructive object-lesson. He recognised the necessity of establishing some authority or spiritual power which should guarantee a moral control, superior to the intellectual and practical spheres of social and political life and work, and which should keep in order the Intellectuals as well as the Industrials. It is well to note that the spiritual power is vested in those who have been drawn from the intellectual class, and who, as is more fully explained in the 'Politique Positive,' have learnt from history that the altruistic feelings more exactly defined as attachment or sympathy, reverence and benevolence, are on the way of gradually conquering the egoistic or animal tendencies inherent in human nature. With this is also connected the emphasis laid by Comte upon education, which he nowhere limits to instruction, as was at that time very common in his country. We may also note that he does not believe that the higher grades of positive knowledge can ever become general, and we infer that among the Industrials he also classes the Proletariat or the masses, of whom Mill complains that he does not take sufficient note in his political scheme.

44. Early Tract on 'Social Polity' involves Comte's whole programme.

It is interesting to see how this earlier Tract of Comte defines already with remarkable clearness the main points which his later voluminous systematic works were intended to bring out, prove, and illustrate in greater detail. This programme consisted in the main of two parts: the theory of Society or Sociology, and the new Order of Society or Polity. These two parts are represented in the 'Cours de Philosophie Positive' (6 vols., 1830-1842) and the 'Système de Politique Positive' (4 vols., 1851-1854). We now know, thanks, to a large extent, to Comte's own labours, that the phenomena of society must be approached from three sides: from the side of biology, from the side of history, and from the side of psychology. Unfortunately Comte did not admit the last, or if he, in his later work, included a psychological theory, he did so without distinctly admitting it; hence the psychological foundations of his system are incomplete and unsatisfactory. The two separate sciences which should have contributed their share to the theoretical portion of the work, psychology and ethics, did not find a place in the earlier work which constructed the hierarchy of the sciences, beginning with mathematics and ending with sociology, which was represented as a further development of biology. In dealing, in his later work, with moral, as distinguished from purely intellectual progress, he does indeed introduce a psychological distinction which has become of capital importance in the Positivist School. This is the recognition of a purely empirical fact or observation. He points out that human nature is possessed of two tendencies, of sym-

pathetic as well as of selfish emotion, and he notes that in human history the former, for which he has coined the word Altruism, gradually gains the upper hand over the latter, *i.e.*, over Egoism. But he does not enter on any psychological or critical analysis of this remarkable compound of human nature, but takes for granted that what he considers to be an observed fact in human history, the growth of the altruistic feelings, is an indication of what ought to be, or rather of what will be.[1] Consistent with his early announcement that all practical policy—including, of course, his later spiritual cult—can only consist in furthering and facilitating tendencies in human nature which have been historically discovered, he elevates the ethical principle of altruism into the position of a supreme moral precept or command: "live for others." He thus introduces into the religion of humanity the great central idea of

[1] Mill in his criticism of Comte's scheme of reorganisation, notices a break in the continuity of Comte's ideas, inasmuch as the "comprehensive view of the progress of human society in the past," is not used as a "basis of practical recommendations" for the future. " . . . we fail to see any scientific connection between his theoretical explanation of the past progress of society and his proposals for future improvement" ('Auguste Comte and Positivism,' 2nd ed., 1866, p. 118). It is however possible in the light of the more recent developments of Positivism to look upon this break of continuity in Comte's speculation in a more favourable way. Comte saw clearly that ever so complete a knowledge of what is and has been, and ever so clear a foresight of the future (if such were possible), does not bring with it an obligation to promote or expedite by personal effort this natural process. It was the object of the later labours of Comte to emphasise the feeling of duty and obligation and to establish sanctions and a supreme authority. An exclusive acceptance of the earlier teaching of Comte such as Littré represents necessarily implies an extinction of the sense of moral obligation. Co-operation could be recommended merely as a means of more efficiently and more rapidly gaining the mastery over the natural forces, which is an important but not the highest aim of human progress. (See on this also *supra*, p. 485.)

Christian ethics. But, as already remarked,[1] neither psychology nor ethics forms an integral part, or receives adequate recognition, in Comte's philosophy. As it was only at the end of his philosophical development that he came to assign to ethics an important position, so also it was only after having completed the greater of his two larger treatises that he liberated himself from the early conception, inherited from Cabanis, that psychology is merely a department or appendix of physiology. He came to see that the individual man is not merely a biological unit but is an object of special scientific study.[2] Still the subordination of man as an individual to his existence as a social being remains; and with it the emphasis given to a truth which has played an increasingly important part in recent psychology and sociology.[3]

[1] See also *supra*, p. 487.

[2] This is well brought out by Mr Whittaker in his Tract on 'Comte and Mill' (Constable's 'Philosophies Ancient and Modern,' 1908), especially chapter v. "By the time he had completed the 'Cours de Philosophie Positive,' Comte perceived the necessity of a revision, as he told Mill in their correspondence. Hitherto the individual had not been explicitly considered at all except as a biological organism. . . . Individuality had seemed at first to be a mere biological notion, and then to be effaced under the conception of a social unity. From Comte's later point of view . . . there is a true science of man as individual; but it is posterior, not prior, to sociology. To this science Comte gave the name of Morality, making it the seventh in his hierarchy. . . . Theoretically, it must be noted that Comte's new science is properly not ethics, but psychology of the individual. . . . But he failed . . . to distinguish it from moral philosophy. . . . Just as he does not discuss philosophically the criterion of scientific knowledge, but takes it for granted, so he does not discuss the criterion of action, but supposes it to emerge as a matter of course from his theoretical 'moral science'" (pp. 52 and 53).

[3] As psychology, theory of knowledge, ontology and ethics, are all wanting in Comte's 'Positivism,' some have refused to call the latter a philosophy at all, regarding positivism merely as a general attitude of the philosophical mind, requiring to be scientifically defined but capable of very various interpretations and containing a number of aspects which have, since its proclamation, more and more

With the exception of this later addition to his original scheme, the early Tract—re-edited by Comte in 1854 as an appendix to his second great work in order, as already remarked, to prove how consistently he had carried out his original programme—contains all the main points of his doctrine,[1] and, in addition, a great array of suggestive remarks which have since his time, and largely through the influence of the positivist school, received fuller treatment by writers on naturalistic ethics. It is useful to draw attention to a few of these remarks.

Although Comte urges so strongly what we may now call the exact methods of research, he sees a great difference between phenomena that can be treated by purely mathematical processes and those that cannot, and among the latter he mentions the phenomena peculiar to organised bodies. These, he says, are characterised by an extreme variability; *a fortiori*, this applies to moral and political phenomena. It is needless to point out how this remark anticipates, in various ways, truths which have been more clearly recognised

governed philosophical thought. Thus Dr T. Ruyssen says pertinently: "L'influence diffuse d' A. Comte sur la génération des penseurs de la seconde moitié du siècle dépasse tout ce que l'on pouvait attendre d'un écrivain à peine connu de son vivant. Défiance à l'égard de toute métaphysique, culte de l'expérience, croyance à l'efficacité morale de la science, hiérarchie des sciences, notions de progrès et d'évolution, subordination naturelle de l'individu à la societé, théorie des milieux, établissement de la morale sur la solidarité humaine, reconnaissance de la grandeur sociale du catholicisme et du moyen âge, enfin création d'une science nouvelle, la sociologie, telles sont les grandes idées qu' A. Comte a mises ou remises en circulation." (Article "Positivisme," 'Grande Encyclopédie,' vol. xvii. p. 407.)

[1] This has been brought out against Littré and Mill, both by Hermann Gruber in Germany ('Auguste Comte,' 1889), and very clearly by Whittaker in the Tract already mentioned.

in the progress of biological and philosophical thought since the time of Comte. The superior definiteness of conception also in the sciences capable of mathematical analysis is clearly pointed out by Comte, though he suggestively refuses to identify definiteness with certainty of knowledge: a difference which has since been more clearly brought out.

Further, in dwelling upon the necessity of getting hold of the natural co-ordination of biological as well as political phenomena through observation rather than by submitting them to mathematical analysis, he has anticipated the more recent reaction against the purely atomising tendency of thought. To this, which reigned supreme, notably in French science, under the influence of the school of Laplace, he opposes, or rather adds, the *esprit d'ensemble* as indicative of the right line of reasoning in the biological and social sciences. Laplace, as before him Condorcet, fancied he had found in the calculus of probabilities a valuable instrument for dealing, *inter alia*, with social phenomena. Whilst he condemns this we must note that Comte adopts and perpetuates Montesquieu's identification of the laws of nature with those of society, and that he commends Condorcet for his attempt to foretell the march of civilisation and give a picture of the future, and this in spite of his contention that it is impossible to give a definition of goodness.

Thinkers who belong to a different school consider that incalculable harm has been done by obliterating the essential difference that exists between natural laws as mere statements of existing actual regularities, and

moral laws as precepts of human conduct. And the attempt to foretell the future and define the ideal of social Happiness in any other way than through an appeal to the call of Duty has given rise to those visionary and impracticable constructions by which extreme socialists again and again strive to bring about the millennium, but in reality do a great deal to retard and impede the slow but sure march of human progress.

45. Contemporary reception of Comte's and Hegel's doctrines.

The philosophy of Comte which at the present day appears comparatively simple in its main features, and which contains so many germs of newer thought, was nevertheless not at the time appreciated by his countrymen. In this respect it contrasts very markedly with the philosophy of Hegel, which, in spite of its abstract ideas and difficult exposition, may be said to have almost exclusively governed, for the time being, the thought of Germany. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Hegel gave expression to the spirit of his age and country, which, frequently undefined and unconscious, lived in all the great minds who were his contemporaries. This spirit was striving to find a definite form, and the very fact that Hegel's language, both in his lectures and in his works, was so expressive of the wrestling of the mind with a deep and difficult subject of which it gave prophetic glimpses, alternating with felicitous and suggestive verbal definitions, made it attractive to hearers and learners who could bear anything but the triviality and prose of rationalism.

Hegel's works and lectures were a kind of rhapsody, a dithyrambus of the searching and aspiring soul in a poetical and creative age. Hegel caught up the prevailing enthusiasm and gave just enough expression to it not to deprive it of its mystical depth and poetic colouring. We know that this was followed by a great disillusionment from which the nation has probably not yet recovered.

On the other side Comte lived, as he was well aware, in an age of complete mental and social anarchy, of a disintegration of thought and of political floundering. His task was that of a reformer and reorganiser. But he had to contend with two prevailing errors or maladies which surrounded him: the spirit of reaction on the one side and of extreme radicalism on the other. He was not less prophetic than Hegel, though much more definite and clear. He was full of enthusiasm, but not gifted with that persuasive eloquence without which constructive thinkers in his country rarely gain a hearing. He was not an orator who could charm or harangue large audiences. His writings did not appeal, in the earlier stages of his thought, to the emotions. In this respect his opponents, on all sides, had the advantage over him.

For in spite of the steady cultivation of the exact and natural sciences which had continued all through the Revolution and the Restoration, the age in which Comte lived was a literary, poetical, and rhetorical age. The three schools of thought which then prevailed were eloquently, though hardly methodically, represented by brilliant writers and orators; such were de Maistre and de Lammenais on the side of reaction—not to mention great preachers like Lacordaire—such were Fourier and Proudhon on the side of Socialism; and, above all, Victor Cousin, the eloquent exponent of spiritualism

and eclecticism. Moreover, all these, and many others among their associates and followers, were active politicians or popular lecturers commanding large and representative audiences. On the other side, Comte, though a founder of the science of politics, was not a politician, and was rather a teacher in a class-room than an elegant lecturer. The wave of poetry, romance, and oratory which then ran very high in his country, both in politics and literature, left him out of sight and unrecognised. He had to wait till it had spent its force or till others, largely inspired by him, added the charm of language and diction to the solid ideas which he had elaborated.

46. Greater appeal of some of Comte's qualities to English readers.

But the very absence of some of those qualities of style which are so prominent in the great models of French literature and thought and so seductive to the French public, was a recommendation in the eyes of such sober and methodical thinkers as then formed the utilitarian school of thought in this country, with John Stuart Mill as its principal exponent. The rhetorical side of French speculation has never appealed to the British mind. It is difficult to translate, being foreign to the idiom of the English language. If rendered in this it is apt to appear thin and trite or even ludicrous. Now it is, *inter alia*, a remarkable fact that the English translation of such writings of Comte as the early Tract referred to above exhibits few traces of its foreign origin, and reads much more like the exposition of an English writer, such as, for instance, Buckle. To these somewhat external qualities, through which no doubt Comte's writings found favour with

thinkers like Mill, Grote, and Lewes, we must add the much more important fact that Comte offered exactly that which Mill was occupied with and in search of, but for which Comte's own countrymen were not yet prepared, a patient and scientific analysis of the methods of the exact sciences and an examination as to how far these could, or could not, be employed in the treatment of political and social questions.

47. Influence on J. S. Mill.

Mill had[1] completed about two-thirds of his 'System of Logic'; he had at an earlier stage already become acquainted with Comte's writings when the latter was still classed as a disciple of Saint-Simon. Having for a time lost sight of him, he again fell in with him when the first two sociological volumes of the 'Cours de Philosophie Positive' were published. In them he found assistance in elaborating his theory of "the Inverse Deductive Method as the one chiefly applicable to the complicated subjects of History and Statistics."[2] We know that Mill's logical studies were originally prompted by a similar desire to that of Comte—viz., to make the methods which had proved so fertile in natural philosophy useful and applicable in dealing with political, or what we now term social problems. The further development of Comte's ideas on the subject of social science had disappointed him, but his "enthusiasm was rekindled" when in the sociological volumes Comte expounded his 'Connected View of History' which contained his celebrated 'Law of the Three States.' Mill then carried on an interesting correspondence with Comte, which terminated when, as Mill says, "I found, and he probably

[1] See 'Autobiography,' p. 209. [2] Ibid., p. 210.

found likewise, that I could do no good to his mind, and that all the good he could do to mine he did by his books."[1]

Mill's later contributions to the solution of the social problem were various and important, but he never advanced to the conception of sociology as a whole as Comte had done, and this probably for two reasons. First, political economy had, since the time of Adam Smith, and greatly through the influence of James Mill and his friends, Malthus and Ricardo, become an independent science. Hence among social questions the economic question was mainly studied, while other equally important social questions received only scant attention. The existing political Order in this country with its enviable constitution,—considered by many foreign philosophers as a model of political organisation to be imitated by the aspiring peoples of the Continent,—relieved English thinkers from dealing with fundamentals or answering the abstract question of what society is or should be; and secondly, the comparative stability and constitutional order of English society and politics suggested a variety of practical problems in legislation and administration, and to these Mill applied himself with conspicuous success. But Mill himself was far from satisfied with the stagnant condition of the intellectual atmosphere which surrounded him;[2] he

[1] See 'Autobiography,' p. 211.

[2] "Where there is a tacit convention that principles are not to be disputed, where the discussion of the greatest questions which can occupy humanity is considered to be closed, we cannot hope to find that generally high scale of mental activity which has made some periods of history so remarkable. Never when controversy avoided the subjects which are large and important enough to kindle enthusiasm, was the mind of a people stirred up from its foundations, and the impulse given which raised even persons of the most ordinary intellect to something of the dignity of thinking beings. Of such we have had an example in the condition of Europe during the times immediately following the Reformation; another, though limited to the Continent and to a more cultivated class, in the speculative movement of the latter half of the eighteenth century; and a third, of still briefer duration, in the intellectual fermentation of Germany during the Goethean and Fichtean period. These periods differed widely in the particular opinions which they developed; but were alike in this, that during all three the yoke of authority was broken. In each, an old mental despotism had been thrown off, and no new one had yet taken its place. The impulse given at these three periods has made Europe what it now is. Every single improvement which has taken place either in the human mind or in institutions, may be traced distinctly to one or other of them. Appearances have for some time indicated that all three impulses are wellnigh spent; and we can expect no fresh start until we again assert our mental freedom." (Mill 'On Liberty,' pp. 62-63.)

had a very clear perception that there were existing in this country, *inter alia*, two distinct needs which would have to be supplied before a great reorganisation could be attempted or hoped for.

The study of Comte's premature constructive efforts probably helped to convince him that there was needed, first, an effort towards the general education and enlightenment of the mass of the People; and secondly, a greater harmony among philosophers as to the main articles of a reasoned creed enabling them to become the intellectual leaders of society in the manner that Saint-Simon and Comte proposed and Mill essentially approved of. For Mill was one of those thinkers in this country who thought an adherence or a return to the traditionally accepted beliefs impossible.

The fact that these two needs had been felt on the Continent, and notably in Germany, long before they presented themselves clearly to the mind of Mill in this country, was probably one of the various causes which created here an interest in the intellectual life of Germany; directing the glance of many prominent

leaders of thought towards that country and giving added importance to the literary movement which had originated in Coleridge and was carried on by Carlyle. In fact, Mill himself clearly recognised in English thought two distinct movements which he identified with the names of Bentham and Coleridge, and emphasised also in his appreciative Review of Carlyle's 'French Revolution.' It cannot be maintained that Mill himself was ever a sympathetic student of German transcendentalism.[1] A taste for this sprang up in Oxford after Mill's great influence was there on the decline, but it is interesting to note that among the few leaders of German thought singled out by Mill for special notice there stand Pestalozzi, the father of the education of the People; Wilhelm von Humboldt, the leader of academic education and culture; Fichte, the independent exponent of Kant's ethics; and lastly, Goethe, who has been termed the apostle of inner freedom.

48. Attitude of Mill to German thought.

The need of a general system of popular education and uplifting of the Masses, and various attempts in the direction of a reasoned creed, have both increasingly occupied the attention of British legislators and thinkers since the time of Mill. Continental schools have been visited and reported on, and philosophical creeds have been formulated both in the direction suggested by Comte and in that suggested by Kant and Hegel. But what was done on the Continent, notably in Germany, cannot be imitated in this country. The work of

[1] Even his knowledge of Kant seems to belong to the late period when he wrote his 'Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy.'

Pestalozzi and Humboldt and of the large array of those inspired by them, founded the educational system of their country at a time when a firm belief existed that the fundamental truths and precepts of the Christian religion, as put forward by the great reformers of the sixteenth century, could and would be supported and interpreted by philosophical reasoning that would, at the same time, destroy dogmatic formalism and sceptical unbelief. The somewhat prosaic spirit of the earlier *Aufklärung* was deepened and enlivened by its alliance with the classical and romantic spirit. This firm belief which lived in the great educationalists in the German-speaking countries and animated German schools and universities, has been materially shaken since the middle of the century when the outcome of the idealistic movement became doubtful. Similarly, but to a lesser extent, it has become doubtful whether the Positivist movement in France is capable of realising the hopes of Condorcet and Comte. In the absence of a generally accepted reasoned creed, which should supply a moral foundation, education has, in many instances and unawares, drifted into the channels of mere instruction. The educational problem has been to some extent solved, but only in one direction.

This is, however, merely an incidental remark which leads us away from the main subject now before us: the philosophical conception of human society and its problems. Having treated of Hegel and of Comte as instituting two original but very different systems, we must note that it took fully fifty years before the comprehensive problem of human society again attracted

the attention of foremost thinkers in all the civilised countries, and attempts were made to do more thoroughly and adequately what Hegel on the one side, Comte on the other, had only adumbrated. The interval was filled up by that large volume of research which both schemes needed and presupposed, but which neither could supply; this is the work of the historical school, or better, the historical schools, which started everywhere, sometimes consciously but mostly unconsciously, gathering and preparing the material for larger generalisations and the solution of the greater problem.

49. The historical spirit in Hegel and Comte.

The true historical spirit lived both in Hegel and in Comte, exhibiting in each a distinct but very different character. It would be quite incorrect to classify historians by this distinction. There can, however, be no doubt that two distinct tendencies exist among those modern historians who desire to be more than mere annalists, that these tendencies appear sometimes apart, sometimes united, now clearly recognised, now only implied, and that they are in the abstract represented by Hegel and Comte. It will be of use if I try to put in words somewhat more clearly what these two tendencies are.

50. The idealist conception.

The first, and, in time, the earlier philosophical conception regarding the essence of human culture, civilisation and progress, is that this progress brings out and unfolds an ideal content. Ideas are the motive power in the history of the race. According to Schelling and Hegel not only human but also natural history, not only the living and thinking portion of creation but inanimate nature itself, is the playground of the Spirit

or, as Hegel said, the Idea. But in this whole region the development of the human mind in history is the most conspicuous and instructive instance of the working of the universal spirit. This conception, implying an apparent dualism between the living and active forces and the material substance, was not peculiar and original to Schelling and Hegel. It constituted a view which was very generally accepted, and ran through the whole of German literature and poetry ever since the time of Leibniz, Lessing, and Herder. It was the older form of the doctrine of evolution. Hegel attempted to put it into a systematic form, to give it a logical expression, and to invent a method which could be employed for tracing coherently and in definite detail what was indefinite but implied in the higher mental work of his age and country. Although in certain directions Hegel's attempt at defining the indefinite led to conspicuous success, notably in the history of philosophical and religious thought, as also in that of æsthetics, the extreme formalism peculiar to his writings, and still more conspicuous with some of his followers, led to a kind of revolt of the genuine historical school against what they considered to be a construction rather than an exposition of historical facts and events. On the whole this school, which had in Niebuhr and Ranke its greatest representatives, and acquired European fame and influence, disliked and turned away from the historical speculations of Hegel. It did not abandon the fundamental point of view from which that classical age looked upon history; the difference may rather be stated by saying

that the ideas which govern the culture and progress of humanity cannot be logically deduced from some highest conception but that they must be patiently searched for; that they disclose themselves only to the diligent and painstaking student of historical facts and detail, and that they reveal themselves not so much explicitly as in and through the course of historical narrative and portraiture, refusing to be put into definite terms and language. Other representatives of this view followed Hegel in the main conception, but instead of adopting the abstract and spiritual view which Hegel took, fastened upon certain definite restricted historical factors and agencies, the workings of which they attempted to trace in limited periods and narrower regions of historical development. Some of these produced works which likewise, though in a very different direction, acquired European reputation, exerting a far-reaching though one-sided influence. To these I will revert further on.

Quite different from the tendency in what we may term the idealistic school of German historians was that which I have identified with the name of Comte. Comte did not believe that what lay, as it were, behind historical events and facts—what we may term the hidden or ideal content—could be found out by the human intellect; he did not absolutely deny that such existed, but it constituted, in his opinion, a region inaccessible to the human mind.

51. Comte's search for the *ensemble*.

In the place, however, of the search for the ideal element Comte put another method. This consisted in the search for the *consensus* or *ensemble* of historical

events and facts. The *esprit d'ensemble* was to guide the student of social life and progress in arriving at a co-ordination of facts in the same way as it must guide the biologist.[1] In this respect Comte took up the same cue as Schelling had done before him. He was equally impressed by recent researches, which had raised the organic or biological sciences to such a high level, but he took a different view of the principle of this advance. In one respect also Comte resembled Hegel: both were animated by a universalistic tendency; both attempted to grasp the whole of history, not a restricted or limited development in a special period or country. And so it happened to Comte as it did to Hegel, that his followers benefited by the use of the method he had defined, but mostly discarded the first and grand application which he had made of it.

It took, as I stated above, a considerable time

[1] This introduced an apparent dualism into Comte's system and led, in the sequel, to antagonism between two sides in the positive school not unlike the split which took place among Hegel's followers. This is clearly brought out in an important work by Dr Paul Barth which bears the title 'Die Philosophie der Geschichte als Sociologie' (1897): "In the sketch which we owe to Comte a closer scrutiny reveals a contradiction: the social series is a continuation of the animal but it is impossible to deduce it therefrom. From the properties of individuals — Comte frequently insists — the evolution of society cannot be deduced; sociology cannot be got out of physiology however much biology may form the foundation. The latter gives only certain general conceptions, of development, of specialisation of organs, of consensus or solidarity. The positive law of development is that of the three states, by no means a biological but a logical principle. Thus Comte is by no means a monist, for, with him, these two principles at least confront each other. It is therefore quite natural that among the students of sociology that follow, a division should take place. As the intellectual principle strongly predominates with Comte, so much so that it is by no means surprising that it led, in his subjective period, to a fantastic spiritualism, his disciples saw their task in an elaboration of the same. On the other side the natural sciences made, after Comte, great progress, so that it appeared enticing to cultivate the biological side of the system" (vol. i. p. 58).

before, in his own country, Comte's historical method was recognised or practised at all. It had to be explained and recommended by careful thinkers like Mill in England before it was, as it were, reintroduced into France in a more sober and practical form. But nothing contributed more to make Comte's *esprit d'ensemble*, or his co-ordinating process, popular than the special application of it which came from a quite unexpected quarter, but exactly from those sciences which had given Comte his original suggestion. This was the revolution which the biological sciences underwent through the publication of Darwin's great work in the year 1859, two years after Comte's death.

52. Relation to Darwin's discovery.

This revolution has by historians of science and by the followers of Darwin been traced, in a one-sided way, to the discovery of what is called the law of natural selection. There is no doubt that this constituted the most startling among Darwin's discoveries; that it was, in fact, a signal instance of a co-ordination such as Comte desired to introduce into the study of biological as well as social phenomena. As a brilliant example of this more general process of reasoning, as a splendid fruit of a more universal method, it did, in a large realm of research, as much or more than Hegel's method had done in a very different region.[1]

But the discovery of Darwin, like other discoveries of his own and his followers, was really the outcome of that

[1] As an example of the latter we may refer, *e.g.*, to the celebrated work of David Strauss, the 'Life of Jesus,' which attempts to explain the main features of the sacred narrative as an outcome of an intellectual feature, the "mythenbildende Phantasie," or myth-forming propensity of the human imagination.

larger and wider spirit of research which, since the age of Comte, had been introduced by the great naturalists of France, Germany, and England. To this Comte had given a name: he called it the *esprit d'ensemble*. The essence of this method consists in the frequently unconscious habit of looking at things natural not in their isolation but in their "together" both in space and in time. This habit had been introduced by such naturalists as Comte himself reckoned among his forerunners, by Lamarck and Blainville. It also lived in Humboldt and still more in von Baer.[1] In England Lyell practised it with conspicuous success; it has resulted in—and been popularised by—the introduction into the scientific and literary vocabulary of such terms as the environment, the habitat, the *milieu*. This habit of thought which frequently replaced or compensated the one-sided spirit of analysis—the dissecting and atomising process of thought—was not fully appreciated in its fundamental importance before Darwin had made such brilliant use of it, but it was, in the sequel, nowhere appreciated more than in Comte's own country, where we meet with one of its greatest representatives in the region of historical writing. I refer to Hippolyte Taine.

53. Generalised Positivism: Taine.

No one did more than Taine to establish in his country the rule of Positivism. But this Positivism was only

[1] In the first section of this work this larger view, which led to such great advance in the natural as distinguished from the mechanical sciences, was treated in three chapters dealing respectively with the morphological (panoramic), the genetic (genealogical), and the vitalistic views of nature. All these views depend primarily on a comprehensive or synoptic, in contrast to an atomising and dissecting, habit of the mind, and this was much stimulated by extensive travels, as also by an artistic trait in the intellectual constitution of many of the great naturalists.

indirectly connected with that of Comte. In fact, what is now generally considered by French writers as characteristic of Positivism is a modification, at once an enlargement and a curtailment, of the original Positivism of Comte. It is a curtailment in so far as the later phase of Comte's speculation is discarded and forgotten. On the other side Comte's Positivism is enriched by the addition of a genuine psychological interest, and it is also enriched by a more definite conception of the "together" of things in time. Comte himself employs the word *evolution*. This term had already been used by Herder, but with both thinkers it remained vague and indefinite. It acquired greater precision through Herbert Spencer's earlier Essays, but still more through Darwin's 'Principle of Natural Selection' and subsequent popular phraseology, as the "struggle for existence" and the "survival of the fittest."

Taine's philosophical creed was formed under the influence of English thinkers like Mill, Bain, and Spencer, and through a study of English literature and the characteristics of English life, political and social. In one of his earlier works on the French philosophers of the nineteenth century he attacks—and, as it seemed to many—demolishes the conventional spiritualistic and eclectic philosophy which then ruled in his country under the leadership of Victor Cousin; but his attack was led from a position which he had gained through English psychology and English evolutionism. Probably it was only after he had imbibed the spirit of both that he came to recognise how much had been done already by Comte in marking out an opposite and more fruitful

line of philosophic thought. To this he drew attention in the above-named work upon French thinkers, and still more in the Introduction to his 'History of English Literature.' Like Comte, he connects psychology with physiology; but with him physiology no longer meant the vitalistic physiology of Bichat, but the experimental physiology of Claude Bernard. He did not share Comte's belief in phrenology, and yet he accepted a mechanical explanation of sensation and put it forward in his work, 'De l'Intelligence' (1870).

This work formed, as it were, a landmark in the history of French psychology,—the beginning of a new life of that science in France.[1] In it also he revives that connection which existed between the earlier French psychology of Cabanis and Broussais and the medical sciences, notably the study of pathological states. In fact, Taine's psychology has a pathological flavour. But so far as the subject of this chapter is concerned Taine's most important contribution is to be found in his attempt to explain and understand historic events and persons by looking at their surroundings. He has adopted and enlarged an idea thrown out by Comte, that of the *milieu* or environment.[2] To this he has added two other factors

54. His theory of environment, race, and epoch.

[1] See *ante*, vol. iii. p. 270 n.

[2] The word *milieu* is one of the terms by which Comte's influence has become perpetuated in the history of French thought, but he did not create it as he did the other two watchwords of his system—Sociology and Altruism. He took it over from biology, but thinks it necessary to defend the use and extend the meaning of the term: "Il serait superflu, j'espère, de motiver expressément l'usage fréquent que je ferai désormais, en biologie, du mot *milieu*, pour désigner spécialement, d'une manière nette et rapide, non seulement le fluide où l'organisme est plongé, mais, en général, l'ensemble total des circonstances extérieures, d'un genre quelconque, nécessaires à l'existence de chaque organisme déterminé. Ceux qui auront suffisamment médité sur le rôle capital que doit remplir, dans toute biologie positive, l'idée cor-

or agencies which mould "each distinct civilisation as the effect of a permanent force." They are race and epoch [*moment*, momentum]. Thus race, surroundings, and epoch are the three different sources which contribute to produce the whole moral and social constitution. "What we call the Race means the innate and hereditary dispositions which man brings with him into the world." But "man is not alone in the world; nature surrounds him and his fellow-men surround him." And there is yet a third series of causes; for, "with the forces within and without there is the work which they have already produced together, and this work contributes to produce that which follows. Besides the permanent impulse and the given surroundings there is the acquired momentum."

To illustrate this theory Taine wrote his 'History of English Literature,' seeking in it "for the psychology of a people," and the reason why he chose this special subject is because "there are few nations that have, during their whole existence, really thought and written." "Besides there is a peculiarity in this civilisation, that, apart from its spontaneous development, it presents a forced deviation, it has suffered the last and most effectual of all conquests, and the three grounds whence it has sprung, race, climate, the Norman invasion, may be observed in its remains with perfect exactness: so

respondante, ne me reprocheront pas, sans doute, l'introduction de cette expression nouvelle. Quant à moi, la spontanéité avec laquelle elle s'est si souvent présentée sous ma plume, malgré ma constante aversion pour le néologisme systématique, ne me permet guère de douter que ce terme abstrait ne manquât réellement jusqu'ici à la science des corps vivans" ('Philosophie Positive,' iii. p. 301 n.) He makes extensive use of it in his later work, and it has there been rendered in English by the term "environment."

that we may examine in this history the two most powerful springs of human transformation, natural bent and constraining force, and we may examine them without uncertainty or gap, in a series of authentic or unmutilated memorials."[1]

Attempts to understand the collective life of man, as distinguished from the individual life, were made, more or less independently of Comte, both in England and Germany. In the latter country Comte remained unknown long after his works had been studied and translated in England. But in England also one brilliant attempt was made to understand and define the

[1] These quotations are all taken from the Introduction to the 'History of English Literature' (transl. by Van Laun, 1887, pp. 16 *sqq.*) Although Taine has done so much to impress upon his readers the importance of the *milieu*, taking this in the larger sense which he gave it, and has thus emphasised an important sociological principle, he has not received a prominent place among the great teachers and founders of sociology. Political historians, such as Lord Morley ('Miscellanies,' vol. iii. p. 265), have indeed pointed out that, *e.g.*, his great work on the 'Origins of Contemporary France' belongs more to the region of sociology than to that of history. But on the other side Dr Barth (*loc. cit.*, p. 58), though recurring frequently to Taine's principle, remarks that he has not treated sociology as a whole. If we have to note in Comte's writings an inherent dualism, we have, still more, from a philosophical point of view, to complain of the unreconciled ideas which we discover in Taine's various writings. They comprise in a long series such very different but equally original treatises as the 'History of English Literature' (1863), the 'Philosophie de l'Art' (1865), the psychological treatise 'De l'Intelligence' (1870), and the 'Origines de la France Contemporaine' (1876-91). The fact is that Taine is much more of an artist than a philosopher or a scientific thinker, though he is both these to a certain extent. His works are more like great tableaux or outstanding portraits, and, like all works of art, self-contained and, to a great extent, mutually exclusive. In this respect he belongs more to the history of literature and poetry, and has in this capacity probably exerted a much wider though very varying influence upon the thought of his country. It is also interesting to note that though he did more than any other writer to develop one of Comte's fruitful ideas and generally to fix the modern conception of French positivism, his allegiance to Comte is not very much dwelt on by himself or by his critics.

55. Buckle.

forces at work in historical development and progress. This was that of H. T. Buckle in his Introduction to the 'History of Civilisation in England' (2 vols., 1857-1867). Buckle does not stand so much under the influence of Comte as under that of the statistical school of which Quetelet in Belgium was the most celebrated representative. This school had developed the conception of the *Homme Moyen*, the "mean man," and the doctrine of the statistical regularity of moral not less than natural phenomena. Progress accordingly does not depend so much upon individuals as upon the average or collective mind. Buckle's special theories, which attracted great but short-lived attention, soon became antiquated for reasons which I shall presently refer to. How little he foresaw the coming developments and changes can be gathered, for instance, from the fact that he considers that intellectual progress, by which he means the power of the human mind over nature, is limited to Europe; for, as he says, outside of Europe the human mind is in subjection to nature. Buckle does not find any progress in the moral ideas. These, he maintains, remain always the same. Progress depends only upon knowledge, which has enabled the European nations to enter upon a progressive civilisation consisting mainly in combating two great evils—viz., War and Religious Persecution, establishing Peace and Tolerance. The two great tendencies which move the world are the desire for wealth and the desire for knowledge, but he does not enter into a detailed exposition of the first of these two tendencies, but really limits himself merely to the

intellectual factor which he considers the most important. This produces also what others may consider the higher products of culture, including the Fine Arts.[1]

About the same time, and, as it appears, in entire ignorance of the writings of Comte and of the English school, two philosophers in Germany—Lazarus (1824-1903) and Steinthal (1823-1899)—started a new departure by founding a Review, which, by its title alone, indicates a new class and co-ordination of studies. It is entitled a 'Review for Ethnology and Science

56. Lazarus and Steinthal.

[1] If we have to note in Comte a certain dualism, that of the biological (animal, egoistic) and the psychical (mental, altruistic) factors in the progress of society, we find in Buckle not one, but a great many unreconciled contradictions. In fact his work opens with emphatic statements which at the time must have appeared startling, but for that very reason attractive also, to the general reader; they formed the subject of a whole literature of criticism both in England and abroad. Unduly impressed by the progress of scientific ideas and scientific methods, he desired to initiate an entirely new method of writing history. His vivid style attracted the general public, and the one-sided use he made of certain scientific theories—notably those of Quetelet—compelled philosophers, frequently against their will, to take notice of his immature speculations. Like Schopenhauer, he created a great ferment among professional philosophers and historians, putting forward a number of startling theses which required special examination. His influence on German thought was probably quite as great as on that of his own country, and perhaps not so soon forgotten. Robert Flint, the greatest authority on philosophy of history in this country, has given a list of nine ideas, more or less detached and unreconciled, to be found in Buckle's History. They are: 1. The want of a science of history; 2. The statistical regularity of moral actions; 3. Influence of natural environment; 4. Unique character of European civilisation, owing to, 5. The increase of intellectual control over natural forces; 6. Use of the method of averages in contradistinction to the older metaphysical methods; 7. Stationary nature of moral as compared with intellectual agencies; 8. Depreciation of individual effort; 9. That the things generally called culture (religion, literature, and government) are the product, and not the causes, of civilisation (see 'Encyclop. Brit.,' 9th ed., article "Buckle"). All these points have been much discussed and his theories criticised, but they have furnished endless material for thought, and as a recent writer very truly remarks: "His book has marked an epoch in the life of readers all over the world, and gave an immense impetus to the sociological investigation of the past" (G. P. Gooch, 'History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century,' 1913, p. 585).

of Language.' The founders of this Review and of the studies which it represents came from the school which had carried on a long protest against the Hegelian philosophy. They were from the school of Herbart; the main interests of which had centred in psychology and the theory of education, meaning by education, not so much the higher academic culture of Wilhelm von Humboldt, as the endeavours towards a realistic and practical education represented by Pestalozzi and Fröbel.

Several followers of Herbart[1] then created a new branch of philosophic research by widening the field of psychology in the direction of what we should now term social psychology. This they conceived to be the psychology of the collective mind, also termed the objective mind, not unlike the objective mind in Hegel's system; but not conceived, as with Hegel, in a metaphysical sense. The title of the Review which represented these studies and started in 1860 also shows that the study of the collective mind was to be conducted in connection with the science of language or comparative Philology. The latter science was then, likewise, a recent branch of research. Another disciple of Herbart, Theodor

[1] Herbart's own contributions to the problem before us are insignificant, yet there is a pertinent remark to be found in his 'Practical Philosophy' (1808, 'Collected Works,' vol. viii.) at the end of the first book (p. 101), which deals with the doctrine of Ideas. He there says: "When individuals are actuated by one spirit which no one considers as belonging, but no one also as foreign, to him; they may then consider it as a soul which lives amongst them all in their community. But if in truth this spirit is to count as more than a similar disposition which repeats itself in every one, it must, according to its nature, transcend individuality." He then proceeds to say that the spirit must show itself in judgment which "deposits its results in ideas. They alone can truly animate a society." And though they do not originate with, they are valid for, the individual.

Waitz, although brought up in classical studies, of the thoroughness of which he gave evidence in his excellent edition of the Aristotelian 'Organon,' started upon a similar line of study but, as far as he was concerned, not in connection with the science of language, but with elaborate and detailed researches into the life and history of what he termed "*Naturvölker*." These were the savage as distinguished from the civilised or historical Peoples and nations. The work of Lazarus and Steinthal was introduced by elaborate philosophical discussions as to the principles on which anthropological research was to be conducted, and it started a long controversy, not yet concluded, as to the definite meaning to be attached to such terms as the "Soul of the People," the "popular mind," the "social mind or self." Is this a definite and useful conception, or is it only a name for the average of individual characteristics, mental and moral, of an age or a country? 57. Th. Waitz.

The work of Waitz approaches a region of research which had, for a long time, been neglected in Germany, though that country had one illustrious representative in the earlier part of the century, a naturalist of European celebrity, Blumenbach of Göttingen (1752-1840). After his time the term anthropology was used more in the philosophical sense as denoting a study of human nature from the psychological point of view, whereas in England and France it was used to denote the study of man as the highest product in the animal scale of creation. Anthropology became thus rather a branch of natural than of mental history. As such, 58. Blumenbach.

59. J. C. Prichard.

it was for a long time represented by the almost solitary researches of Dr J. C. Prichard (1786-1848), who is not incorrectly called the founder of Ethnology or Anthropology in England. His 'Researches into the Physical History of Man,' dedicated to Blumenbach, appeared in 1813 in two volumes (afterwards extended to five). He was one of the first who decided to proceed in the study of the primitive history of the human species not by any preconceived notion "but by the ordinary method of observation and experience."[1] Although following Blumenbach and appreciated by Orientalists such as A. W. v. Schlegel in Germany, Prichard for a long time stood alone, little known outside of Britain, one of the many independent and isolated pioneers in research who were so numerous in this country.

It may be noted that Herder's writings contained already the idea of anthropology as a natural as well as mental science. But if we except the researches of Humboldt into the earlier civilisations of Peru and Mexico, the study of anthropology in Germany had, in the schools of Kant, Fries, and Herbart, established itself in alliance with the comparative study of languages rather as an extended psychology than as a natural science. In the latter direction it attracted much attention in the middle of the century in France, where

60. Broca.

Broca founded in 1859 the "Société d'Anthropologie de

[1] Although the author himself states that he was led into the inquiry by the diversity of races being alleged as a disproof of the Mosaic records, in argument he endeavoured nevertheless not to rely on theology, &c. See 'Encyclop. Brit.,' 9th ed., Article "Prichard."

Paris" after several earlier societies had already prepared the way.

But all these beginnings of a more comprehensive science of man, mankind, and human society—in their natural and prehistoric as well as in their civilised and historic conditions—remained isolated and disconnected up to the year 1860. In the previous year, when Broca had founded the anthropological society in Paris, there appeared the first great work of Darwin on the 'Origin of Species'—followed in 1871 by the 'Descent of Man'—which did so much to revolutionise biological science and bring it into contact with historical research. All previous researches in a very large region of natural and civil history became at once antiquated. The appearance of Buckle's 'History of Civilisation' had already, to some extent, eclipsed the work of Lazarus and Steinthal; but it was itself to be cast into the shade by the flood of light which emanated from the peculiar expression Darwin gave to those ideas of evolution and development which had from different beginnings already permeated German, French, and British thought. For it is doubtful whether even Spencer's comprehensive view of evolution, published before Darwin came on the scene, would have ever, without the latter, succeeded in that great unification of thought which from 1860 onward has brought together so many different and frequently distant lines of reasoning and research.

61. Influence of Darwin and Spencer.

No problem of philosophic interest has benefited more by the suggestions contained in Darwin's and Spencer's

writings than that with which we are at present occupied: the cluster of sciences which from various points of view had approached the social problem in the larger sense of the word. Merely to enumerate them would be to give a long catalogue; for we have not only the various biological researches which deal in one way or another with man and humanity; we have likewise psychology, the science of language, the history of culture and civilisation, and on another side economics, jurisprudence, the science of religion and theology. As from one point of view we may maintain that all these various researches have, during the last fifty years, co-operated in laying the foundation for a philosophy of society, so we may, on the other hand, hold that this combined service has been amply repaid by the reaction of social interests and studies upon these different researches themselves. I can here merely attempt to point out a few general ideas or tendencies of thought which have during this period gained the upper hand, dispelling earlier lines of reasoning or imparting to them new life and vigour.

The first, and perhaps the most important, among these more recent conceptions, is what we may term the biological view of society. This dates back to the founder of sociology, Auguste Comte himself. But the biological conceptions at his disposal were crude compared with those which stood at the disposal of Darwin or were introduced by him. Nor did Comte show much sagacity in appreciating the enormous progress which biology made during his lifetime. And it is probably owing largely to this fact, pointed out, *e.g.*,

by Huxley,[1] that it was not Comte himself but Positivism modified under the influence of Mill, Spencer, and Darwin which became such a prolific vein of thought in Comte's own country.

[1] The discussion of this subject by Huxley in two of his earlier Addresses (see 'Lay Sermons, &c.,' 1891, pp. 104, 128) is still of great interest in the history of philosophical thought as distinguished from that of science and philosophy themselves; for he has shown how a long list of flagrant mistakes of fact and theory in science, philosophy, and history, which he has collected from Comte's works, has not stood in the way of the marked and lasting influence which Comte's philosophy has had, first in this country and then on the Continent; so much so that the term Positivism and the spirit of positive research has outlived the many attacks made upon it. It is well worth while to inquire into the hidden causes of so remarkable a phenomenon in the history of Thought. So far as Huxley himself is concerned he sums up his opinion of Comte in the words: "I shall be sorry if what I have [said] should lead any to suppose that I think M. Comte's works are worthless; or that I do not heartily respect and sympathise with those who have been impelled by him to think deeply upon social problems and to strive nobly for social regeneration. It is the virtue of that impulse, I believe, which will save the name and fame of Auguste Comte from oblivion. As for his philosophy, I part with it by quoting his own words, reported to me by a quondam Comtist, M. Charles Robin: 'La Philosophie est une tentative incessante de l'esprit humain pour arriver au repos; mais elle se trouve incessamment aussi dérangée par les progrès continus de la science. De là vient pour le philosophe l'obligation de refaire chaque soir la synthèse de ses conceptions; et un jour viendra où l'homme raisonnable ne fera plus d'autre prière du soir.'" Incidentally it may be remarked that the earlier of the two Addresses referred to, that entitled "The Physical Basis of Life" (1868), contains two remarkable passages, the first emphasising the fact that even in the science of inanimate nature the atomising process consisting of analysis into parts and synthesis into compounds does not lead us back to the natural products we start with. "It is, in strictness, true that we know nothing about the composition of any body whatever, as it is. The statement that the crystal of calc-spar consists of carbonate of lime is quite true, if we only mean that, by appropriate processes, it may be resolved into carbonic acid and quicklime. If you pass the same carbonic acid over the very quicklime thus obtained, you will obtain carbonate of lime again; but it will not be calc-spar nor anything like it" (p. 112). The other passage gives concisely what may be supposed to be Huxley's own philosophical creed: "It is necessary to be fully possessed of two beliefs: the first, that the order of nature is ascertainable by our faculties to an extent which is practically unlimited; the second, that our volition counts for something as a condition of the course of events" (p. 126). On Comte's disregard of biological discoveries during his lifetime, such, *e.g.*, as the cellular theory, see also Dr P. Barth, *loc. cit*, p. 90.

Before Darwin various important biological ideas and discoveries connected with the names of Oken, Schleiden, Schwann, Kölliker, Milne-Edwards, and others had completely revolutionised the earlier biology of Bichat; but there remained the perplexing problem of the different types or classes in the living creation and their origin. Darwin not only solved this by his idea of natural selection, but through it brought natural things and events into connection with each other in a way which had not been attempted before. This broadening of the basis of research was increased by the study of environment. Thus individual things and events were brought together and connected both in their temporal and spatial existence. No idea could be a more suitable example of Comte's *esprit d'ensemble* nor more welcome to the student of society, who had before that been troubled how to find the transition from the individual to the social unit. Accordingly we find a whole school taking up with more hope of success the idea, familiar already to Comte, that society is an organism, and we have the counterpart of this idea in Virchow's conception of the animal organism as a society of cells.

62. Society as an Organism.

No thinker has done more to urge this analogy between the individual animal organism and society as the collective organism than Spencer himself,[1] whose earlier

[1] An elaborate and very interesting exposition and criticism of this portion of Spencer's Sociology will be found in Dr Barth's work, pp. 100-115. In following up the rudiments laid down by Comte for a methodical study of social phenomena Dr Barth deals first with what he terms the classifying sociology represented in Comte's system by the hierarchical principle in the development of the sciences, and then proceeds to show how the other side of Comte's sociology, the biological conception of Society, was taken up and further developed. But he significantly remarks that Spencer, the most prominent representative of this line of thought, misses or only very inadequately appreciates one important aspect which runs through the whole of Comte's biological and sociological philosophy; the insistence on proceeding from the whole to the parts, or what he terms the *vue d'ensemble*, the necessarily synoptic spirit which must always guide these sciences. It appears that in spite of the great prominence given by Spencer to organic or super-organic evolution, he never really breaks with the underlying conviction, fixed probably in his mind through his engineering education, that purely mechanical principles are sufficient to explain not only changes but also progress in nature, mind, and society. Comte was aware of the impossibility of this deduction from the beginning, and does not pretend that sociology is merely a sequel to biology, and his personal quarrels with some of the prominent geometricians of his time seem to have strengthened his early conviction that the purely analytical and synthetical methods of the abstract sciences are not sufficient for the comprehension of the actual phenomena of nature. There are many points in Spencer's 'First Principles' which might have suggested a similar scepticism. And quite independent of all this, we must note that Lotze already, during the fourth and fifth decades of the century, had very fully expounded the capabilities as well as the shortcomings of a purely mechanical construction, which he defined much more clearly than Spencer did, who remained entangled in the old-fashioned conception of "Force."

writings were already occupied with setting forth to what extent this analogy holds good, and how it may be used to understand the structure and the growth of the social organism. He also pointed to the essential difference which exists between the higher organisms and social organisations—the former having a centre of consciousness, whereas the consciousness of the latter resides only in the individual members of which it is composed. But it has been pointed out that in the sequel Spencer is by far more interested in elaborating those resemblances than in recognising this essential difference; and that he, in the end, entangles himself in a contradiction which becomes more evident as he introduces the principle of natural selection. This, according to Darwin, reigns supreme in the world of living things, which are subject to a much greater multiplication than the means

of subsistence everywhere can afford. This principle Spencer had already recognised in his earliest work, 'Social Statics' (1851). He terms it there the "discipline of nature," and he brings it home to his readers through a quotation from Shakespeare's "Winter's Tale":—

> "Nature is made better by no mean,
> But nature makes that mean: so, over that art
> Which you say adds to nature, is an art
> That nature makes."

The importance of this view probably grew upon him as the principle received a mechanical definition in the formula which Darwin found for it.

63. Antithesis between Individual and the State.

The question then arises, not only as to what are the units among which selection takes place, but, in the case of society, the further question: is this selection carried on for the benefit of the individual members or for that of the aggregate, the State? If the latter, then we come back to a view which prevailed among the classical nations of antiquity, where man was considered to be subordinate to the State; if the former, then we are led to that individualism, peculiar to Mill and Spencer, which manifests itself in the objections they urged against the revival of ancient and mediæval absolutism in Comte's system of positive politics. It has also been pointed out, by English as well as by foreign critics, that in human society there exist forces of a different kind from those that are at work in nature. This existence of intellectual and moral forces, constituting the ideal element, which should govern, and has in an increasing degree governed, the collective life

of man, Spencer fails to define or to estimate according to its true importance—so much so that he does not arrive at an adequate conception on which to build up a system of ethics. And, indeed, the ultimate defect of this biological theory of the social organism is evident, inasmuch as it fails to explain not only moral progress as a form of purely natural evolution, but even the principles of life and consciousness themselves. It seems to some preferable and more practical to start, as Comte did, with the empirical dualism inherent in human nature, that of egoism and altruism, than to attempt to reduce both to one and the same principle.

With Spencer this aim at an extreme simplification and unification of thought goes hand in hand with the destruction of the idea of final causes—a doctrine which had been used in an extravagant way by philosophical naturalists of an earlier generation. Darwinism showed it to have merely heuristic value, as pointing to the purely mechanical teleology of the process of natural selection: the result of the struggle for existence is an indication not of what was, according to some pre-existing scheme, meant to survive, but merely of what actually is the outcome of the concourse of mechanical forces.

The biological view of society has found many advocates, not only among the numerous followers of Spencer in this country and America, but also on the continent of Europe. I limit myself in this connection to the mention of only two prominent representatives—one in the German-speaking countries and one in France. In the former the work of A. Schäffle, with the significant title, 'Structure and Life of the Social Body,' marks a

64. Schäffle.

kind of epoch, and is one of the principal channels through which Darwinian ideas and the English philosophy of evolution, in the larger sense of the word, found entrance into German philosophical literature. In some respects he develops Spencerian ideas [1] in an independent manner. Thus he points to the analogy between human and animal

[1] The first edition of Schäffle's work was published in 4 vols.—1875-1878. From the preface to this it appears that the author is less of a Spencerian than might be supposed from the title of his work. He came to sociology from the side of economics, which taught him the necessity of studying the phenomenon of society by an analytical process similar to that which firmly established biology upon the analytical labours of histology, anatomy, and physiology. These were to form the preliminaries to larger generalisations, such as had been attempted by Comte and Spencer, both of whom were imperfectly known to the author when he started on his independent researches. It is especially interesting to note that his philosophical view is largely influenced by Lotze, from whose 'Microcosmus'—the only comprehensive anthropological work which at the time Germany could place alongside of Comte in France and Spencer in England—he quotes extensive passages, *inter alia*, one in which the universal but subordinate rôle which mechanism plays in the universe is specially dwelt on. He also in the Introduction (2nd condensed edition in 2 vols., 1896), introduces the Lotzian term Value as indicating the element of free mental intelligence not to be found in the Metabolism of the animal organism. And yet it does not seem as if Schäffle had appreciated the true Lotzian position, which implies an inevitable dualism, for he was evidently drawn away into a movement which thought took at the time in the Neo-Kantian school headed by F. A. Lange, who aimed at establishing a monistic view, and who, like so many others, had an understanding only for one side of Lotze's speculations and none for his metaphysics (see *supra*, vol. iii. pp. 562, 563). The result is that Schäffle, like so many others, has a difficulty in introducing the spiritual or mental factor into his sociological scheme. As this was pointed out by some of his critics, who seem to have taken offence at the extreme employment of biological analogies, he wrote in the Preface to the second edition: "After all even the first edition never operated for the purposes of the social problem with the notion of the organic, always considering the social body as a living connection not of a physiological but of a higher independent mental order which raises itself above the organic and inorganic existences." And as a proof of this he refers to a special point of his doctrine, the discovery of the family as the sustaining and mentally improving factor in the social body, *i.e.*, as the sociological unit. We have accordingly here, as indicated in the text, an analogy with Herbert Spencer's search in his data of biology for the physiological unit as the characteristic factor of the living as contrasted with the inanimate creation.

societies. To the latter attention had been drawn in France by the writings of A. Espinas. Schäffle also takes a step in advance of Spencer, inasmuch as he does not look upon the individual man as the social unit in every respect. The social unit, to him, is the family, which is entrusted with the function of the increase, preservation, and procreation of the personal elements of society. We are here reminded of the fact that Spencer already in his biology saw himself obliged to adopt the conception of "physiological units," the origin of which could, as little as their structure, be clearly brought back to their physical or molecular constitution. We have here again in both cases a proof of the necessity of starting, both in biology and sociology, with some given *ensemble* or "together" as defining the units out of which and the basis on which an insight into complicated organisms may be attained.

65. Fouillée.

In France a philosopher of a different stamp has devoted much attention to the analogy between the animal and the social organism; but A. Fouillée (1838-1912) conceives the word "organism" in a larger sense than Spencer. He looks upon society as an organism of a higher order than the animal organism. In it the process of organisation in nature has risen to a higher level. The social organism has more life than the physical organism; for, what has been considered to be the miracle of Life, the "conspiration" towards a common end, is more evident in the social organism, where the common end is not only instinctively pursued by the different members but has become a conscious aim. The social organism has not only the mechanism corresponding to the

nervous system; but it has also conscious ideas or ideals such as those of right and justice, or of nationality, upon which social life and political life are founded. The biological view of society is, in fact, with Fouillée only one side of the truth; for his social philosophy is essentially an outcome and application of a psychological doctrine developed originally under the influence of the Platonic ideology,[1] between which and the modern theory of evolution Fouillée desires to effect a reconciliation. He does so by introducing his conception of the *idées-forces*, the doctrine that ideas, when once generated in the human mind, become active or propelling forces, desires requiring realisation. Through ideas a new agency is introduced into the development and progress of life.

Applied to the social problem which deals with the origin, the nature, and the aims of society, the reconciliation is effected by bringing the contractual (idealistic) theory of Rousseau[2] into relation with the biological

[1] See *supra*, vol. iii. p. 286.

[2] In his most important work on the subject ('La Science Sociale Contemporaine,' 5th ed., 1910), the author deals exhaustively with the criticisms of French sociology, and especially of Rousseau's theory of the *contrat social*, which have come from German (Hegel, Strauss, Bluntschli), English (Mill, Spencer, Maine), and French (Comte, Taine, Renan) thinkers, maintaining at the outset that social science must study human society from a two-fold point of view, in its ideal and in its reality. It is especially the idealist school of Rousseau which took up the former point of view: it preceded the naturalistic school of recent times (p. 3). He expresses surprise that in ridiculing Rousseau's theory critics like Bluntschli, Maine, Littré, Taine, and Renan should have been guilty of a misunderstanding of the real meaning of that theory. "Autre est l'origine historique, autre est le fondement rationnel de l'État. La théorie du contrat social, bien interprétée, ne considère pas l'État tel qu'il a été, mais tel qu'il peut et doit devenir. J'étudie, disait lui-même Rousseau, les hommes tels qu'ils sont et les lois telles qu'elles *peuvent être*. Sans doute Rousseau, cédant à l'illusion commune du xviii^e^ siècle sur les beautés de *l'état de nature* et sur les mœurs des temps primitifs, a pu raconter l'histoire de l'avenir comme si elle était celle du passé; mais d'abord il faut voir là une critique indirecte du présent; tout en parlant beaucoup des 'sauvages,' les écrivains d'alors se préoccupaient surtout des générations à venir et de la civilisation future" (p. 6).

[1] "En résumé, on peut et on doit admettre que la société est un vaste organisme physiologique sans admettre pour cela qu'elle soit une vaste individualité psychologique. Nous proposons donc de reconnaître trois sortes d'organismes: les uns où la conscience est à la fois confuse et dispersée, comme les zoophytes et les annelés; les autres où elle est claire et centralisée, comme les vertébrés supérieurs; les autres où elle est claire et dispersée, comme les sociétés humaines. Dans le premier genre d'organisme, la conscience réfléchie et le moi n'existent encore nulle part; dans le second, les éléments n'ont pas de moi, mais l'organisme en a un; dans le troisième, les éléments ont un moi, et, par cela même l'organisme n'en peut avoir; il ne peut plus exister là entre les consciences qu'une unité d'objet et de but, non une unité de sujet; car ce sont précisément de sujets multiples qui, se connaissant eux-mêmes et connaissant les autres, s'associent avec réflexion et liberté" (*loc. cit.*, pp. 245-6). Dr Barth has (*loc. cit.*, p. 156) criticised Fouillée's doctrine of the social organism with much appreciation, but considers that Fouillée has not drawn the full and valuable conclusions which his original premises involve. He has, in fact, not got sufficiently beyond the Spencerian point of view; maintaining that the conscious principle in society is diffused among the members, he has deprived the *ensemble* of such members of an independent mental existence. This, applied to practical sociology, means that in the ultimate or ideal state of society there would exist only private (contractual) but no public law or right. "He recognises for the future, like Spencer and other social philosophers, no other voluntary activity of the members than that of contract. They all seem to have in their mind the state of things in which only one command exists: keep your contract — in which there remains only private law and in which all public law is abolished. This would be the absence of a state, the ideal anarchy, of which Proudhon and others dreamed: certainly it would ultimately be so if all and every inequality was removed. . . . So long, however, as differences of thinking and willing exist—and these will probably never disappear—so long also those who are strong of mind and will will rule over the weaker ones, and that, indeed, in the real interest of the latter. . . . Hence, as Wundt says, ideal anarchism is a psychologically and morally impossible order of things."

(positivist) theory of Spencer. The former is adopted not as a theory of how society originated but as a theory of what society must be: an organisation based upon justice; and this must ultimately be of the nature of a contract, a conscious acceptance of a fair and just system of distribution. The latter, the biological view, is developed beyond the conceptions of Spencer into that of the higher organism.[1]

M. Fouillée also grapples, in an original way, with the question of the unity, or the whole of society, as a higher organism. This is not to be found in an independent existence, but resides really in the diverse members, so that the difference which Spencer had noted as existing between the animal and social organisms is considered by Fouillée to mark a higher development: the decentralisation and diffusion of the mental principle in the form of ideas. For the social organism does not exist only as a regulative principle, in the way that Spencer conceives of the nervous system; it exists also as a productive force through ideas and their realisation in Industry, Art, and other intellectual creations.

66. Spencer's intellectual history.

So far as Spencer himself is concerned, though he laid great stress upon the biological analogies, his treatment of the social problem, like that of other problems such as those of biology, psychology, and ethics, rests, in addition, upon a more abstract structure of fundamental principles. How he gradually arrived at this is explained by himself in his Autobiography.[1] Unlike Hegel and Comte, Spencer did

[1] See notably vol. ii. pp. 165-169, where he shows also how the gradual growth and development of his own philosophical scheme is itself an example of Evolution; "the changes passed through by the conception of Evolution themselves conformed to the law of Evolution." Two points may be noted referring to Spencer's philosophy. The first is this, that although trained as an engineer and thus practically dealing with exclusively mechanical conditions, his philosophy starts from conceptions gained through natural history and biology, joining to these sociological notions and arriving only much later at an incorporation of inorganic, purely mechanical, processes. In 1858 he wrote: "Another general law of force has occurred to me since I saw you—viz., the universality of rhythm; which is a necessary consequence of the antagonism of opposing forces. This holds equally in the undulations of the ethereal medium, and the actions and reactions of social life" (vol. ii. p. 19). And about the same time he, according to his own account, inserted into his scheme the purely mechanical principles of "the indestructibility of matter, the continuity of motion, the rhythm of motion and the law of the direction of motion. It became clear that all the changes to be interpreted are consequences of the ceaseless redistribution of matter and motion everywhere going on, and must conform to those ultimate physical principles which regulate this redistribution" (p. 168). The second point is emphasised by Spencer himself. The general mechanical substructure of his system met with little or no appreciation. It was, as he tells us, the earlier, shorter, and purely preliminary portion of 'First Principles,' his Agnosticism, which attracted attention. "The general theory which the body of the book elaborates was passed over or but vaguely indicated. And during the five-and-twenty years which have since elapsed [1887] I have nowhere seen a brief exposition of this general theory." In fact, Spencer's influence on philosophical thought is very much limited to his biological conception of Society and his Agnosticism as to ultimate problems. The uniting principle, however, deserves special attention. I shall revert to it in the following chapter.

not in his early years come under the dominating influence of other philosophical thinkers. His indebtedness to others, so far as his special formula of Evolution is concerned, was only slight. Mill's logic and Hamilton's discussions bearing upon the relativity of knowledge are almost the only philosophical writings which seem to have had an important influence upon Spencer. So much greater was the influence of the exact, and still more of the natural, sciences. But, with Mill, Spencer holds that the problem of society is the most important philosophical problem of the day. He and his friend G. H. Lewes were the first to experience and proclaim the necessity of elaborating a reasoned creed which should take the place of the religious creed then prevalent in slightly varying forms among Anglicans, Nonconformists, and the members of the Scottish Churches. Through this practical tendency he worked together with the Positivism of Comte. And, on the other side, he unconsciously went about the performance

of his task in a spirit similar to that of Hegel: he constructed a general scheme which should comprise and explain natural as well as mental, cosmic as well as human, phenomena. Uninfluenced probably by Leibniz, who introduced the idea of development into modern philosophy, he put this idea into a definite shape. In his 'First Principles' he elaborated a general scheme which he—in a manner analogous to that of Hegel—applied to the special objects and problems of physics, biology, and philosophy.

But the formula he started with was not purely logical as it was with Hegel. It was derived by a process of incomplete induction from a large mass of observed facts, and then generalised as applicable to the whole of existing things. This formula, which occurs with wearisome iteration all through Spencer's writings, can be expressed as the doctrine of the instability of the homogeneous, the tendency of every aggregate of elements and things to progress from a homogeneous but unconnected assemblage of similar units to a complex system of definite, differentiated, but connected parts. There is a continuous play of the processes of differentiation and integration. This formula finds nowhere a more suitable material for its application than in the phenomena of human society; the historical development of which, past, present, and future, is accordingly passed in review. This general scheme of Spencer's philosophy benefited much by the growing anthropological literature of the age, which deals with primitive man and savage races, and it was still more powerfully assisted by the theories of Lamarck,

von Baer, and Darwin on the genealogy of species and the results of adaptation to surrounding circumstances, the theory of the environment.

67. Spencer and Hegel contrasted.

We can at once see where lay the difficulty in carrying out such a view as compared with that which presented itself in Hegel's system. In the latter the moving principle was intellectual or spiritual, and the difficulty was to find a way from the logical, intellectual, or spiritual conceptions into the world of material things and events which form the playground of these mental agencies. Hegel's system had, however, the advantage of selecting a formula which defines correctly a very common experience; this is the inevitable and spontaneous movement of thought which is not a lifeless mode of motion, but continually applied for a definite end and purpose. On the other side the formula of Spencer enabled him to group a vast number of physical and biological phenomena and processes into an intelligible synthetical view, but it did not permit him clearly to bring out what is the distinguishing characteristic of progress as compared with mere change. The question of the deeper meaning of things, of the ideal or spiritual essence, which played such an important part in the many historical researches which were inspired by the Hegelian view, has no place and receives no answer in Spencer's philosophy.

But Spencer's formula opened out a very large region and many lines of research, as was clearly seen by himself, and has nowhere been better stated than in his own words:—

"Setting out, then, with this general principle, that

the properties of the units determine the properties of the aggregate, we conclude that there must be a Social Science expressing the relations between the two, with as much definiteness as the nature of the phenomena permits. Beginning with types of men who form but small and incoherent social aggregates, such a science has to show in what ways the individual qualities, intellectual and emotional, negative further aggregation. It has to explain how slight modifications of individual nature, arising under modified conditions of life, make somewhat larger aggregates possible. It has to trace out, in aggregates of some size, the genesis of the social relations, regulative and operative, into which the members fall. It has to exhibit the stronger and more prolonged social influences which, by further modifying the characters of the units, facilitate further aggregation with consequent further complexity of social structure. Among societies of all orders and sizes, from the smallest and rudest up to the largest and most civilised, it has to ascertain what traits there are in common, determined by the common traits of human beings; what less-general traits, distinguishing certain groups of societies, result from traits distinguishing certain races of men; and what peculiarities in each society are traceable to the peculiarities of its members. In every case it has for its subject-matter the growth, development, structure, and functions of the social aggregate, as brought about by the mutual actions of individuals whose natures are partly like those of all men, partly like those of kindred races, partly distinctive. These phenomena of social evolution have, of course, to

be explained with due reference to the conditions each society is exposed to—the conditions furnished by its locality and by its relations to neighbouring societies." [1]

This passage shows sufficiently how much more comprehensive and many-sided is the view which Spencer takes of the social problem than that of Comte; how his principle, consisting, like Hegel's, in a continual action and reaction of two elementary processes—that of differentiation and that of integration—affords a great variety of combinations, illustrating and explaining many social and historical phenomena. With Hegel the two processes were the logical processes of affirmation and negation and the union of both in a higher affirmation. But what marks by far the greatest advance of Spencer's principle upon that of Hegel as well as upon that of Comte, is the introduction of specifically Darwinian ideas into his scheme. These ideas centre in the conception of descent or inheritance which Spencer does not limit to accidental and unexplained variations (as the extreme followers of Darwin do), but extends also to acquired characters (as the followers of Lamarck do). By accepting this he is able to do justice to the marked difference which exists between living organisms and lifeless structures; a difference which Comte had already emphasised, but which, with him, is characterised rather by a statical arrangement than by a dynamical process.

By thus introducing into his sociology the Darwinian or genealogical principle, Spencer is able to give a plausible account of those moral tendencies in human

[1] 'The Study of Sociology' 11th ed., 1884, p. 52.

nature which, before his time, had been traced either to intuitions or to higher commands, or lastly, to utilitarian purposes. Being inherited by the individual through a long line of ancestral growth these moral sentiments are intuitive or innate so far as the individual man is concerned. To him whose memory covers only a portion of his own experience moral precepts appear as commands; the combined memory of the race, however, would reveal them to be natural expedients useful for the preservation, multiplication, and improvement of the race.

68. Combination of utilitarian and intuitional views in Morals.

This plausible combination of the utilitarian with the intuitional aspect has made a lasting and deep impression on recent ethical theory, as it has likewise done in the theory of knowledge, giving in both cases a fresh meaning to the *a priori* or innate principle which plays such an important part, *e.g.*, in Kant's mental and moral philosophy. Whilst the importance given to it through Darwinian speculation both in this country and abroad is undeniable, its value as a philosophical explanation has been much exaggerated. As little as Darwin's biological theory gives an account of the genesis of species, being really concerned only with their descent or genealogy, as little does the evolutionist theory of morality give a satisfactory explanation of its origin. This is thrown back into a remote and shadowy past. The older ethical theories which dealt primarily with the moral criterion or with the fundamental distinction of good and evil are superseded by a historical exposition, showing how moral ideas have in course of time been changed and upon what circumstances these

changes depend. The extreme rigidity of Kant's categorical imperative has been abandoned, giving rise to a tendency in the direction of indefiniteness in moral theory and leading inevitably—as it seems to many—to laxity in practice. Before dealing more fully with this important ethical tendency of modern sociology, it may be useful to summarise in a few words what the Nineteenth Century has, so far as we have seen, accomplished in dealing with the social problem.

69. Scientific and practical interests.

And first, we may note that this has been treated in two distinct interests. The one is purely scientific, taking this term not in the sense in which it has been used in this country and in France, but in the wider sense prevalent in Germany, where it denotes investigations by any suitable method of any phenomenon with the sole object of ascertaining its nature. The other interest is practical, the object being to gain a basis for social reform; and this, either in the more limited sense of improving the laws and customs of an existing order of things—such was, in the main, the aim of the older school of English social and political philosophers—or with the more ambitious object of a fundamental reorganisation of the whole fabric of human society. With these two interests in view, placing either the one or the other in the foreground, we have three tolerably distinct sociological theories.

70. Three sociological theories.

The first is that view which places the idea of humanity in the foreground, conceiving this as an intellectual and spiritual principle which lies at the foundation of culture and civilisation, permeating and gradually transforming the natural and cruder forms of

earlier societies. The beginnings of this view are to be found in the writings of Herder, but it has had its most influential exponent in Hegel. Though originally merely a speculation, it found both a theoretical and a practical application; the former in the philosophy of history and in the ideal treatment of the historical narrative; the latter through the position which Hegel took up to the political questions of the day, of the age and state in which he lived.

The second is the philosophy of Auguste Comte, in which sociology, as a special region of research, for the first time receives full recognition. It was prepared by the suggestive but abortive attempts in the direction of social reform which followed in the wake of the French Revolution. This sociological view has two distinct characteristics. It is based upon a philosophy of history, illustrating, in the main, an intellectual feature of human progress as expressed in the Law of the Three States; its second characteristic is, that it takes for granted, as an empirical fact, the existence of two tendencies in human nature, the egoistic and the altruistic, of which the latter, either naturally and unconsciously or assisted by intellectual knowledge and control, is gradually gaining the ascendancy over the former.

The third important contribution to the solution of the social problem is the philosophy of evolution usually identified with the name of Herbert Spencer, but probably more indebted to the introduction of Darwinian ideas than is usually admitted. This view regards social relations, following upon biological and

cosmical phenomena, as subject to one and the same rule of change. In it society is considered to be a higher organism. Explanations and illustrations of social conditions and of their past, present, and future changes, are mostly derived by analogy from biological phenomena. Professedly dealing with the origin of social conditions, among which the ethical receive most attention, it in reality deals only with their genealogy and descent, leaving their origin, as it does the origin of life and consciousness, unexplained.

These three sociological views, the ideal of Hegel, the positivist of Comte, and the evolutional of Spencer, have each, to some extent, a national character. They also agree in this, that they are based upon a close and minute study of empirical and historical phenomena, carried on in a methodical manner by secluded thinkers who devoted their lives to speculation, and came only slightly, or not at all, into contact with the actual ordering and the labours of the social organism.

III.

71. Socialism.

Whilst Hegel, Comte, and Spencer carried on their secluded speculations, forming important schools in social philosophy, a fourth movement had arisen and was rapidly gaining widespread influence. In contrast to the three movements just referred to, it was not national but international, and it was not theoretical and methodical but eminently practical. As Spencer had usurped and monopolised the larger term of Evolution (used already by

72. Karl Marx.

Herder and Comte) to denote a special form of mechanical development, so this new movement, on its part, professed to deal with the social problem *par excellence* and termed itself Socialism. Karl Marx (1818-1883, of Jewish descent) may be considered as the leader and centre of this movement. It initiated and led what we may term the Industrial Revolution in recent times. It has attained international importance; all the three countries in which we are mainly interested, together with most of the other European countries, have contributed to it.

For a long time the theories of Karl Marx received little attention from the academic leaders of philosophical thought in Germany. He was known only as an agitator, a demagogue and a revolutionary. Not till the ideas which he put forward had found their way into wide circles, including not only the middle but also the working classes, did the academic and learned class [1]

[1] The origin and growth of Socialism in Germany and the neglect with which it was treated by teachers of law as well as of economics at the Universities, is lucidly explained by Prof. Schmoller in an Essay on Fichte's social tract 'Der Geschlossene Handelsstaat,' to be more fully referred to hereafter (see *infra*, p. 547). Prof. Schmoller points to the abstract and rigid treatment of the two sciences, of the science of jurisprudence on the one side and of that of economics on the other, which, whilst attempting to construct logical systems, had lost touch with actual existing social conditions. The latter had in recent times changed and progressed enormously under the doctrines of the Revolution (France) on the one side and those of industrialism (England) on the other. "Towards these [movements] political economy and jurisprudence remained, so far as their foremost representatives were concerned, silent, unappreciative, and negative. This produced among philanthropists, in the face of the widespread misery of the masses, and latterly also among thinkers who recognised the deeper conditions of the modern age, a literary and political movement which, in opposition to the traditional, legal, and economic notions of the schools, aimed at a new social doctrine . . . this new doctrine is what we call Socialism, which in the beginning launched out into erroneous excrescences in the same degree as it was removed from the existing sciences or ignored and despised by them" (*loc. cit.*, p. 53). See also Schmoller's notice of the seventh posthumous edition of an important work of Friedrich List (1789-1846), who may be considered as one of the first among German economists to point to the newer and freer lines upon which economic questions would have to be treated (ibid., pp. 102-106); cf. also *supra*, p. 64 n.

take notice of his writings. In this respect he was treated in the same way as other extramural thinkers, such as Schopenhauer, Feuerbach, v. Hartmann, and Nietzsche. Nevertheless, he is an intellectual offspring of the Hegelian school, and the fact that he found no place at the German universities contributed probably to the popularity and practical effect of his teaching, as he was both influenced by the French school of theoretical and by the English school of practical social reformers and philanthropists. He inherited some of Saint-Simon's ideas, and he learnt quite as much from theoretical and practical economists in this country.

The position of Karl Marx in the history of thought [1]

[1] It does not appear as if either Marx or Engels, or other famous representatives of socialistic doctrines, such as Rodbertus (1805-1875) and Lasalle (1824-1864), have introduced any new conception into philosophical thought; and histories of philosophy, in consequence, take little or no note of their voluminous writings. There is, however, no doubt that latterly philosophers of distinction have found it necessary to subject their doctrines to methodical criticism, exhibiting the proportion of truth as well as the many exaggerations in their psychological and historical theories. A very full discussion of Marxism will be found in Dr Barth's volume, already quoted (pp. 303-364), and to this I wish specially to refer my readers. Particularly interesting for a history of Thought is the account, given by the author, of the origins of Marx's doctrine, at the end of his critical refutation of the same. He summarises the results of his inquiry under four heads. The first prominent influence which produced Marxism came from Capitalism, which ruled supreme at the time, especially in this country. The second point refers to the timely reaction against Hegelian idealism in Germany, represented prominently by Feuerbach's naturalism. The third point is the monistic tendency of thought inherited from the Hegelian school. In the place of an idealistic, a naturalistic principle was introduced; the prevailing economic interests are supposed to govern historical development exclusively. The fourth influence is purely political: "Marx and Engels were social democrats, *i.e.*, they aimed at a constitution of Society in which universal equality should rule together with a common ownership of the means of production."

73. His position in the history of thought.

can thus only be estimated if we are acquainted with all the different aspects which the social problem presented towards the middle of the century, such as have come under review in the earlier portion of this chapter.

Of all the social philosophers and reformers of the last century he probably represents the most equal combination of theoretical with practical knowledge. He conceived of the social problem in one of its most important and most practical aspects, and he retains the German propensity for deductive and systematic reasoning. Thus, he believes in the dialectic both in nature and in history: but the former is not the dialectic of Schelling and Hegel, but the dialectic of the exact sciences; and the latter does not consist in the unfolding of a logical idea, but in the practical impulses and motives which live in the minds of acting personalities and of the masses. Like many others who inherited Hegel's dialectic habit of thought, he turned away from the abstract generalisations of Hegel. To define the principle of movement in nature or history as the Idea or Spirit, appeared to him too general. In its generality it indeed comprises everything and yet explains nothing. We must descend to definite notions if we wish to make any progress in any special department or to solve any special problem.

74. His central idea.

Thus Marx, in his social philosophy, takes up one definite aspect or idea as others have done in other regions of thought; and he, like others, exaggerates and pushes his principle to an extreme. What this principle is, which should explain to him the historical development of human society, and define, as well as

solve, the social problem of the age, he probably learnt in the school of Saint-Simon and by opposition to some of Saint-Simon's followers, notably to Proudhon. But he gained in precision by studying the works of Adam Smith, and notably those of his followers, Malthus and Ricardo. From Saint-Simon he took over the conception that the moving force in modern society is industrial and commercial. And the writings of Adam Smith and Ricardo taught him that among the industrial forces the leading force is,—not that of the capitalist—but the interests of labour. If Saint-Simon's social philosophy exalts the industrial middle class in opposition to the nobility and clergy, Marx goes a step further and urges the interests of the labouring class and the proletariat, *i.e.*, of the fourth estate as against those of the third estate, the bourgeoisie. But Marx does not follow altogether in the footsteps of Saint-Simon or of most of his followers. He does not introduce into his social speculations that dualism which is so characteristic of Saint-Simon and after him of Comte.

75. The dualism of Saint-Simon and Comte disappears.

In Saint-Simon we have indeed a clear recognition of the economic and industrial problems of the age; but we have also the distinct enunciation of what we may call the ideal factor in the history of progress and civilisation. Though he opposes the spiritual hierarchy and tyranny of former ages he proclaims a new Christianity and religion which is to control society.

In Comte we have not only a clear enunciation of the two principles which actuate human conduct, viz., egoism and altruism; but we have, especially in his

later writings and in his scheme of positive polity, the endeavour to re-establish an intellectual and spiritual control of human affairs. With this interest clearly before him he looks back with admiration on the Middle Ages, where such a control existed, and sympathises with the endeavours of the reactionary school of social politics, represented by de Maistre, to bring back again a spiritual hierarchy. Only with him the spiritual power is to be intellectual and based upon science, and not theocratic and based on revelation.

Marx came from the school of Hegel and inherited the monistic and systematic tendencies of that school. He came early under the influence of Feuerbach. From him he had learnt to look upon religion and the ideal forces in human nature and history as mere idealisations of natural or purely material processes, which have no independent existence and no influence except as logical abstractions. Coming, therefore, in contact with the French school of social philosophers he, following his monistic tendency of thought, discarded the ideal elements in social life as merely secondary and derived and fastened with so much the more tenacity on the naturalistic side. To him history, notably modern history, was entirely a product of the economic factors of progress. And this conception he was led to substantiate and develop further when, through his friend, Engels (1820-1895)—who had forestalled him in the study of British political economy,—he became acquainted with the writings of Adam Smith and his followers.

76. Influence of British Political Economy.

Now we have seen that with Adam Smith political economy formed only a province in the larger region

of mental and moral philosophy. There was no intention to exhaust the philosophical problem as a whole, nor even the social problem, by discussion of its purely economic and industrial aspects. In common with the whole of the Scottish school of philosophy Adam Smith accepted the common-sense view, that there exists in human affairs an over-ruling Providence and Divine guidance. In this great scheme the individual or selfish interest played an important part, and it was the aim of the 'Wealth of Nations' to investigate how this desire for self-improvement would and should act if liberated from the numerous fetters and restrictions to which it had, in the course of modern history, been artificially subjected. Some of Adam Smith's followers in England isolated the economic problem still further, and treated it as a special subject which could be dealt with apart from any regard for its intricate connection with other, notably the moral and religious, problems. They lived in an age and country that had achieved much in practical industry by the division of labour, and in science by an exclusive use of the analysing and dissecting, combined with the artificially synthesising, methods of thought. Looking only at the great successes which these methods had attained in physics and chemistry and neglecting the opposite tendency, that which Comte had significantly termed the *esprit d'ensemble*, the consideration of things in their natural "together," they furnished a good example of that "*ignoble métaphysique* which pretends to study the general laws of a material order by isolating it from every other order."

The two principal representatives of this school of

economics, generally considered as the founders of the "orthodox" political economy, are Malthus and Ricardo. They established what have been termed the iron laws of economic science. Notably through Malthus' "law of population," and still more through Ricardo's "theory of rent and wages," the conception of an inexorable fate governing the industrial conditions of society and pressing hard upon the labouring masses was introduced and widely adopted by the extreme school of political economists in this country.

As the statistical school elaborated the idea of the "*homme moyen*," so the economic school of Ricardo elaborated that of the "*homme économique*." In the former the human being was looked upon merely as a unit, in the latter merely as a machine. Economics were regarded merely as a theory of wealth, and the three factors upon which, according to Adam Smith, wealth depended—viz., rent, wages, and profit—were examined by Ricardo much to the disadvantage of labour, which nevertheless was admitted to lie at the foundation of the whole social fabric.

Though neither Malthus nor Ricardo was personally deficient in sympathy and kindly feeling towards others, the fact that they, especially the latter, attempted to reduce economics to the treatment of a few isolated problems, amenable to exact and deductive reasoning, provoked in those who took a larger and more generous view of the social problem, a violent opposition.

The "orthodox" political economy was already, during the lifetime of John Stuart Mill, who adopted it with certain mitigating qualifications, violently denounced in

the literary movement of which Carlyle was the great representative. But it was there denounced more in the interests of the old-fashioned ideals, of the eternal verities and the higher culture, than from the point of view of the suffering and labouring classes.[1] A much more formidable protest "against such a picture of industrial life as a mere sordid struggle of conflicting interests" arose in the ranks of modern socialism of which Karl Marx was the centre, and it is accordingly quite natural that he should have fastened upon the Ricardian theories as the basis of his industrial philosophy. Admitting that these iron laws and this inexorable fate represent correctly the tyranny of modern society, notably in its most advanced in-

77. The Ricardian theories the basis of his industrial philosophy.

[1] The merit of having from a philanthropic and humanitarian point of view opposed the orthodox political economy of Adam Smith's followers — notably of Ricardo (1772-1823) in this country and of Jean Baptiste Say (1767-1832) in France—belongs to the historian Simonde de Sismondi (1773-1842). He asked the question which he put in conversation with Ricardo: "What! is wealth then everything? are men absolutely nothing?" He occupies an intermediate position between the *laissez faire* school which believed in an overruling natural or Divine justice and the modern 'school of self-help' of which the Socialists are the extreme exponents, and he also forms the transition from the philosophical or mathematical treatment of economic problems (Ricardo) to the historical treatment which is the characteristic feature of scientific economics in Germany with Wilhelm Roscher (1817-1894) as the leader. Here it is interesting to remark that, though an historian himself, Sismondi did not adopt the historical method in his economic treatises. Historians of political economy, such as Ingram, and of sociology, such as Dr Ludwig Stein, both trace the change of aspect which begins with Sismondi's writings in France and those of List in Germany to an actually much deeper-going change of thought — namely, from the implied theological presuppositions of Adam Smith to the purely anthropological of the modern age. In Germany this change is strikingly brought out in Feuerbach's philosophy. Dr Stein, in an impressive passage ('Die Soziale Frage,' p. 320), describes as the characteristic of the present age the *Soziale Weltschmerz*, the intense sorrow over the misery of the masses, and he maintains that this has become intensified since the customary belief in an overruling Divine Providence has more or less disappeared.

dustrial developments as they existed in this and threatened his own country, Karl Marx saw the remedy only in a complete political subversion of the existing order. With him the social became a political question. He did not examine, as others were beginning to do, whether the premises upon which Malthus and Ricardo based their deductions were correct. He took them as established; illustrating them merely by a philosophy of history which, though lacking entirely in originality, succeeded nevertheless in bringing home to the popular mind the necessity of a great industrial revolution.

78. Influence of his theory.

While Marx did little or nothing to solve the philosophical problem of human society, he nevertheless influenced social philosophy in two directions. He worked into the hands of the historical school of political economy and jurisprudence, which in Germany had already collected much material wherewith to oppose the theoretical and deductive school which for a time ruled supreme in this country. And emanating, as it does, from the philosophy of Hegel, of which it forms a kind of materialistic paraphrase, the socialist doctrine of Marx is nevertheless the only sociological theory which has had important and far-reaching practical results, and this mainly because it is narrowly economic and industrial.

79. Influence of Science and popular spirit.

For we must recognise that the changes which have taken place in social ideas and in social order in all civilised countries in the course of the nineteenth century are enormous, and that the two main causes which have brought them about are the progress and application of science on the one side and the growth of what we may term the popular spirit on the other; the interest taken in the life, the government, and the organisation of the masses. In most countries, not only in Europe but also in America and in the East, population has greatly increased, giving rise to discussions started in the beginning of the century by Malthus in his 'Theory of Population.' In all civilised countries, without exception, the progress of science and its application to the Arts and Industries has greatly changed the occupations of the masses, creating a large and increasing industrial, in the place of the agricultural, population which was predominant in former centuries. Society in consequence has acquired quite new and distinct features which either did not exist or were not conspicuous in former ages. Of all objects of research, of all natural phenomena, society is therefore the least stable. The new science of sociology, which professes to deal with its subject in the same way as other sciences have dealt with their subjects, is confronted by a difficulty which is quite peculiar to it. We need only name the subjects of the other sciences most nearly related to sociology, such as psychology and biology, in order to recognise that the latter have the advantage of dealing with organisms and phenomena which—at least during historic ages of which we possess written records—have not materially changed. They can accordingly point to some average standard, some mean around which individual variations, be they normal or pathological, oscillate. Such a normal mean or average

condition of things does not exist at present in any society.

Everywhere we find smaller or larger developments progressing slowly or rapidly, verging sometimes almost upon revolution and anarchy, but in every case presenting problems which claim immediate attention. Even where constitutional questions do not exist, or are at least not pressing, we have the great labour question in its many aspects, not to mention a variety of other problems, commercial, legal, fiscal, educational, &c. Confronted with this difficulty, the absence of any generally acknowledged normal condition or standard, it is not surprising that many social philosophers and reformers have thought it necessary to construct for themselves an ideal standard wherewith to measure or whereon to remodel existing social conditions.

80. Examples of efforts towards economic reconstruction.

In most cases such models of social organisation have not stood the test of criticism but have been speedily relegated to the region of romance and unreality. There are, nevertheless, a few examples of reasoning on such lines which have produced even in modern times a marked impression. More as samples than with any attempt towards completeness, I mention two of them—they both belong to the sociological or economic literature of Germany. The first came from that German thinker who, in the beginning of the century, had probably the greatest popular influence, and who, of all the leading German philosophers, took the greatest part in the national and political life of his country. This was Fichte.

It is indeed remarkable how Fichte combines through-

out his whole career as an academic and popular teacher an equal love for the most abstract reasoning and for the practical application of his ideas. The two subjects which evidently interested him most were the highest form of a science which should furnish the foundation and principles of all other scientific reasonings, a kind of first philosophy or organon of thought; and in the second place the foundation of practical philosophy which to him presents two distinct but equally important aspects, that of the Right and that of the Good. To both problems, the abstract one and the practical one, he continually recurs. Not only among German thinkers, but perhaps even among European thinkers, he is the first to grasp the practical problem in its full social meaning and gravity, and in the various aspects which it has since presented, the theoretical, the historical, and the actual. Also, what is still more remarkable considering the surroundings in which he lived, he recognised the importance of industrialism in the modern state. Among the long line of writings, of popular addresses and academic lectures, which he devotes to the social problem, there stands in the middle a short tract entitled 'The Closed Industrial State' [1800]. Of this title he gives a short preliminary explanation as follows:[1] "The juridical state is formed by a closed number of persons who live under the same laws and the same highest controlling power. This number of persons is now [*i.e.* in this tract] to be limited to mutual commerce and

81. Fichte's "closed industrial state."

[1] The tract was published towards the end of the year 1800 as an appendix to the 'Rechtslehre,' and is reprinted in the 'Collected Works,' vol. iii. pp. 387-513. The extract given in the text is printed on the reverse side of the title-page.

industry among themselves, and every one who does not stand under the same rule and the same power is to be excluded from any part in that intercourse. They would then form an industrial state, and indeed a closed industrial state in the same way as they now form a closed juridical state."

He begins by distinguishing between the ideal and the real state, meaning by the former that which is constructed upon pure notions of right; by the latter such a state as is practicable under existing conditions. He also maintains that it is the object of politics and the task of politicians to convert gradually the actual and existing state into the ideal state; he proceeds to narrow down his task to the problem: to decide what rules should govern commercial intercourse in the ideal state, to compare with it the rules or customs in force at present, and to determine how these can be made to give place to the former. He closes the introduction with the remark that—"all good things of which man is destined to partake must be produced by his own art in conformity with science: this is his vocation. Nature provides him with nothing but the possibility to apply Art. In government as well as other-where; everything that can must be brought under clear conceptions; we must cease to leave anything that can be calculated to blind fate with a hope that this will turn out well."[1]

It is to be noted that Fichte's speculations were much influenced by those of Rousseau, with whom he shares the opinion that society and the state depend upon a contract. But he also witnessed the extravagances

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 398.

which, largely under the sanction of Rousseau's theories, were perpetrated by his followers during the succeeding phases of the French Revolution. He himself published nearly all his political writings at a time when Germany was threatened by the Napoleonic invasion, and when little opportunity was given to carry out in practice any of the theoretical schemes which he or others might be constructing. There is, however, one direction in which Fichte's activity found an outlet and through which he left a mark upon his generation and nation.

Discouraged by the restrictions which the French rule imposed upon every political activity, especially in Prussia, where he had found a new sphere of action after he had been expelled from Jena, he still saw one direction in which free development was permitted and possible. This was the great work of national education: its importance forms likewise the final conclusion at which he arrived in his systematic political writings. He had there stated that the new and better order of society which he had in view must be based upon a moral uplifting and intellectual enlightenment of the age; you must first create good men before you can create good citizens or a good order of society. He laid great stress not so much upon separate states and the principle of nationality, which has since played such a great part in the politics of Germany and of some other European countries, as upon that of the People; meaning by this term that aggregate of human beings which is held together by a common language. A People has, he says, an individual mind in so far as it has an individual language. Applied to the age

and country in which Fichte lived, this view gave to the German element in European history a wide, almost a cosmopolitan, meaning and destiny. It generates, what Fichte calls, a patriotism of a higher order, more generous and large-hearted than the ordinary civic love for existing laws and constitution. The latter might in ordinary times be sufficient, but in times of great danger such as Fichte himself witnessed, "one has to decide under conditions which have no precedent, and we feel then the need of an internal life which has its source within itself."[1]

Though Fichte intended his Tract to be a specimen of a treatise on political science, which he proposed to publish, it had really no practical influence at the time. His influence became important and even phenomenal only when, in addition to the legal and the economic problems of practical politics, he devoted himself to the exposition of the cultural and educational functions of the State. But, as has been recognised by recent historians, Fichte's economic tract of 1800 contains really the true socialistic principle in contradistinction to the mistaken socialism which has become a popular cry in modern times. Both the genuine and the spurious socialism aim at a remedy of existing social evils, notably at an elevation and education of the masses and a juster distribution of happiness. But whilst the popular socialism of the day only too frequently considers happiness to mean enjoyment, the principle of Fichte's socialism is

[1] See 'Collected Works,' vol. vii., 'Reden an die deutsche Nation,' p. 386.

that of restless striving, as indeed the whole of his system is based upon the metaphysical and ethical principle that the true and ultimate reality is activity and not repose, an unlimited striving, not enjoyment and quietism, not a negation but an assertion of the good will. We may thus say that the principle of this genuine socialism is the sanctity of labour and the right to work, and not merely a pleasurable existence, whether this pleasure be found in the region of the physical (sensual) or of the higher (intellectual and æsthetic) enjoyments.[1]

[1] I shall have another opportunity of referring to the prophetic character of Fichte's philosophy, and how this explains the renewed interest which has been taken in the works of this highly abstract philosopher by prominent thinkers at the present day. It must here suffice to associate his name in this respect with that of Goethe, and to quote the words with which Prof. Schmoller closes his Essay already referred to (*loc. cit.*, p. 99 *sqq.*). "It is remarkable that another of the German intellectual heroes of that age, who otherwise differed so much from Fichte, trod very similar paths. This was Goethe in the 'Wanderjahre.' Here also an ideal society is depicted, an attempt is made to solve, from an ethical point of view, the great problems of labour, property, family, education, individuality, association, publicity, in the face of the egoism of the age. The great thinker and the great poet are alike impressed by problems — unsolved and scarcely dreamt of by professional science — which refer to new forms of the moral life, resulting from the great transformation, especially of economic conditions. Both see in moral education of the individual, in his partaking of the life of the community, in all forms of association, in culture and divided spheres of labour, in renunciation and devoted work, the necessary counterpart to economic developments. Both see in opposition to French socialism the foundations of social welfare in secure, though limited, personal property and in the sanctity of married life. It is hardly possible to imagine two more different personalities: here the stoical unbending thinker who in ideal flight bears in his bosom the fate of his age and nation; who, discarding the realities of the world, aspires to subject, from the depths of his sublime but austere character, his age to his high moral standard, creating the world and its philosophy with one sublime stroke of reasoning; there the sensitive realistic poet who knows how to follow the secret pulsations of life, who, as no other, has personally watched it in the cottage of the labourer, in the workshop of the tradesman, in the house of the citizen, and the palace of princes; who has himself often—

The abstract method which Fichte followed was adopted, though probably without any distinct and conscious connection, by a more practical thinker who has made a lasting impression upon one distinct side of political economy. This was J. H. von Thünen,[1]

though unjustly—been accused of realistic epicureanism and egoistic exclusiveness. Both so different are yet at one in their comprehensive view of modern life: unclear in single things, full of error and ignorance in detail, their intuitive genius impels them to anticipate the great contrasts of our society, to enter a protest against narrow egoism, and to claim a moral foundation and renovation also of the economic structure. If the poet in his telling description in his 'Wanderjahre,' introduces the chase, fishery and agriculture, commerce and industry, art and science as a great organism; if he preaches the sanctity of landed property and of the family, a moral education, a fixed professional activity and free association, self-restraint and moral subordination, but as the crown of all, a free union for all interests of humanity—if he holds up this picture as an ethical mirror to his age, he is as wrong in single details as he is right in his fundamental conception, just like Fichte. We may say of both what Rosenkranz says of Goethe: the detail may be criticised without destroying its value; it is petty to stickle at the single oddities and contradictions and to overlook the general truth. Both stand in grand prophetic conception above the limited micrology of the professional science of their age. They rise beyond the dim oil lamps of common life like shining rockets, marking the future course in large strokes though the detail remains unclear; and this is the vocation of the genius who, with intuitive glance, understands his age and strides in front of it."

[1] Died 1850. Von Thünen was one of the first agriculturists in Germany, schooled first in the crude traditional, then in the rational methods of Thaer, and latterly scientifically at the University of Göttingen. A native of Oldenburg, he married a Mecklenburg lady, became tenant-farmer in 1806, and purchased in 1810 the estate of Tellow which, through his writings, has become famous. His biography has been written by Schuhmacher (1868). The historian of German economic science, Wilhelm Roscher (1817-1894), has devoted an interesting chapter to von Thünen, who, like Liebig from a different point of view, may be considered a pioneer in modern German agriculture. Scientific economists have been proud to call themselves pupils of von Thünen, among them no one more so than the eminent professor of Economics, Heinrich von Helferich (died 1892: Göttingen and Munich). In this country Ingram has drawn attention to von Thünen's unique position: von Thünen was strongly impressed with "the danger of a violent conflict between the middle class and the proletariat, and studied earnestly the question of wages, which he was one of the first to regard habitually, not merely as the price of the commodity labour, but as the means

82. J. H. von Thünen.

an independent landed proprietor, born in the north-west of Germany, and occupied during the greater part of his life with the management of an estate in Mecklenburg, one of the independent sovereign states of North Germany.

With a natural bent towards abstract and mathematical reasoning, and possessed of great practical experience and influence, he certainly carried out, more than Fichte himself did, the injunction of the latter not to leave things which could be calculated to a fatal hazard. Born in 1783, he published, after prolonged studies and experience, his principal work, with the characteristic title, 'The Isolated State with respect to Agriculture and Economics' (1826). The title further indicates that the book deals with the influence which price of corn, fertility of the soil, and taxes have upon agriculture. In order to investigate the relation and influence of these different factors he adopts a method similar to that used in the mechanical sciences, as, *e.g.*, in physical astronomy, where the motion of cosmical bodies, subject to a definite law, is first calculated upon the supposed simplest arrangement, and then corrected by introducing perturbations such as are to be met with actually in nature.

of subsistence of the mass of the community. He arrived . . . at a formula which expresses the amount of natural wages. . . . To this formula he attributed so much importance that . . . it led him to establish on his estate a system of participation by the labourers in the profits of farming, of which some account will be found in Mr Sedley Taylor's 'Profit-Sharing between Capital and Labour' (1884). Von Thünen deserves more attention than he has received in England; both as a man and as a writer he was eminently interesting and original, and there is much in his works that is awakening and suggestive." (Ingram, 'History of Political Economy,' 1893, pp. 187-8.)

The historian of German economics, Wilhelm Roscher, characterises Thünen's method as follows: "Thünen's abstraction has really a great resemblance to the experiments of the natural philosopher. In actual practice every economical fact comes about by the co-operation of many and various factors. Thünen then isolates in his mind that factor the peculiar nature of which he desires to investigate. He considers all other factors to be for the time at rest and invariable, and he inquires how a change of more or less in the factor under examination would act. This procedure he considers to be the very kernel of his writings. The results may be incomplete, but they are never erroneous. Also they can be completed by gradually submitting all the other factors to the same process, which points to a number, indeed to an immeasurable number, of investigations; as when with the use of a more powerful telescope nebulous masses are resolved into groups of stars, revealing at the same time new nebulæ." [1]

Thünen has been compared with Ricardo in England, whose writings benefited similarly by his practical, but much more one-sided, experience as a banker. Both thinkers were influenced by the writings of Adam Smith, but Thünen does not seem to have been acquainted with Ricardo's writings till he had independently and from a different side arrived at a similar theory of rent.

The love of calculation and of mathematical formulæ in dealing with matters which can only in a forced

[1] Wilhelm Roscher, 'Geschichte der National-Oekonomik in Deutschland' (München, 1874, p. 882).

manner be subjected to such treatment reminds us of the mathematical calculations in Herbart's Psychology. It has been maintained that what is good both in Herbart's Psychology and in Thünen's Economics could probably have been arrived at without the abstract and frequently repellent formalism of their principal works.[1] In addition to making this general use of the mathematical method, Thünen has immortalised himself by attempting to give an algebraical formula for what he terms the "natural wages of labour."

In order to arrive at this he eliminates one factor, that of rent, by moving the supposed farm in his isolated state to such a distance from the market, which is situated in the centre, that the carriage of the produce would be equal to the rent of land situated in the im-

[1] A similar criticism has been levelled by Ingram against two writers, both of much originality. The first is Augustin Cournot (mentioned already, *supra*, vol. iii. p. 385 n.), "who with competent knowledge of both subjects, endeavoured to apply mathematics to the treatment of economic questions. His treatise entitled 'Recherches sur les Principes Mathématiques de la Théorie des Richesses' was published in 1838. . . . Notwithstanding Cournot's just reputation as a writer on mathematics, the 'Recherches' made little impression. . . . His pages abound in symbols representing unknown functions, the form of the function being left to be ascertained by observation of facts. . . . Cournot published in 1863, with the title 'Principes de la Théorie des Richesses,' a work of great ability," in which "the mathematical method is abandoned. . . . The author admits that the public has always shown a repugnance to the use of mathematical symbols in economic discussion, and . . . he acknowledges that a grave danger attends their use. . . . His practical conclusion is that mathematical processes should be employed only with great precaution, or even not employed at all, if the public judgment is against them, for this judgment, he says, has its secret reasons almost always more sure than those which determine the opinions of individuals" (*loc. cit.*, p. 180). The other writer is W. Stanley Jevons (1835-1882). "The application of mathematics in the higher sense to economics must necessarily fail, and we do not think that it succeeded in Jevons' hands . . . and the expectation of being able by means of it to subject economic doctrine to a mathematical method will be found illusory" (p. 233).

mediate neighbourhood of the market. He thus gets a condition under which the cost of production is composed of only two factors, that of labour and that of capital (or accumulated savings of labour). He then seeks a formula under which the wages of labour would stand in a compound ratio to the cost at which labour can be maintained and the value of the produce gained by this labour in conjunction with the use of capital (or savings of labour). He then calls the natural wage of labour that amount which is the geometrical mean of those two factors. Of this algebraical expression of a reasoning which is in general correct but can probably not be brought down to a rigid formula, he was nevertheless so proud that he ordered it to be inscribed upon his tombstone. According to his own statement it assisted him in arriving at most important conclusions; but he admits that to make his theory really satisfactory he would have to find the relation between the capital employed and the produce resulting from its employment, and he admits having laboured for twenty years in trying to find this but without success.

The pleasure which von Thünen derived from this algebraical formula reminds us again of Fechner's enthusiasm over his psycho-physical law. Though the latter is supported by experience in various directions more than the formula of Thünen, both are doubtless instances where the value of mathematical precision has been exaggerated.

I have mentioned Fichte's tract and Thünen's formula only as extreme examples of the application to social problems of an abstract method such as has been successfully used in the natural and especially the physical and mechanical sciences. Both through the use of such methods and still more by dealing with special features of social life, sociology has established itself as a separate and definite science in the same way as biology and psychology had done respectively in the beginning and the middle of the Nineteenth Century. The special investigations are extremely valuable and interesting, and have tended to attract a number of industrious and successful workers, but they do not contribute much, if anything, to the solution of the social problem as a whole. As little as physics, chemistry, or the theory of descent have enabled biologists to define the essence of life, though they have taught us much about known as well as previously unknown properties of living matter; as little as the discoveries in psycho-physics have brought us nearer to an answer to the question as to the essence of the soul or conscious principle; as little have these special investigations of social phenomena helped us to answer the question, What is the essence of human society? But here we have, as in biology, various attempts to define the whole phenomenon by laying undue stress upon one or other of its features. Some of these attempts are interesting and valuable.

83. Sociology: a new science.

Again, merely as a matter of example, but without any aim at completeness, I mention two of them[1]

[1] The two thinkers in question are also representative of two opposite views in the treatment of social phenomena which we may term the psycho-physical and the psychological. In the concluding chapter of an interesting Essay by M. C. Bouglé, 'Les Sciences Sociales en Allemagne' (2nd ed., 1902), when contrasting French with German sociology, the author points to the suspicion with which, under the

84. Tarde and Durkheim.

which have attracted considerable attention; they both belong to French sociological literature. Though not so important as the theory of environment or *milieu* which, put forward already by Lamarck, was revived and applied to social problems by Taine, the investigations I refer to are nevertheless striking and original. They are "The Theory of Imitation" of Gabriel Tarde and "The Theory of the Division of Labour" of M. Durkheim.

Comte[1] had already pointed to the importance of

influence of Comte and in opposition to the Eclectic School, psychology was treated by French thinkers. At the same time he records that since psychology had been liberated from spiritualist metaphysics, a reaction had set in in favour of psychology, that it is recognised that spiritualism had rendered good service to sociology in showing that not all belonging to the mind could be explained by the motion of matter. "Ainsi de divers côtés, on travaille à rendre à la psychologie sa place au centre de la science de la société. Il semble, d'une façon générale, que les métaphores biologiques soient passées de mode et que la psychologie soit universellement regardée comme l'âme des sciences sociales" (p. 144).

[1] In Leçons L. and LI. of the 'Philosophie Positive,' Comte deals at considerable length with the principle of the division or "repartition" of labour, referring to the Scottish School of thinkers (Ferguson, Adam Smith, and their French disciple, de Tracy) as having already emphasised this grand principle to which human society owes the most important attributes which distinguish it from other animal families. It is, however, to be noted that Comte takes a much wider view of this principle than did Adam Smith. Although the latter does use the term "co-operation," he does not lay the same stress upon it as Comte. The former regards it more as a means of securing greater efficiency and increasing the wealth of the community, whereas the latter considers the division of labour as a necessary condition for co-operation, producing what he terms "the solidarity of Society." The latter rests not on the sameness but on the diversity of the occupations of its units. Whilst the family represents these elementary units of society, they would remain only loosely connected, tending to break up, if through the diversity of occupations they did not become more and more dependent on each other. Thus it may be said that Comte anticipated, to a great extent, the importance of that co-operation which in the course of the nineteenth century has, in various forms, become such an important feature of social life. He has, at the same time, a very clear conception that such co-operation, or working together, is only possible and efficient under the guidance of superior intellects which rise above, and organise, the mediocre performances of the masses. The latter is a truth

the principle of the division of labour, "that great principle to which human society owes the most important attributes which raise it above such aggregates as we find in certain animal families." And he looked forward to a time when through "the condensation of our species and the ever-increasing competition in a given space the division of labour would be driven to such a point that each individual would be employed according to his special ability." This idea has been taken up and further developed by M. Durkheim with the assistance of the evolutionist ideas introduced by Darwin and Spencer.[1] It acquires with him a higher

which the leaders of social reform are only tardily recognising. (See Ingram, *loc. cit.*, p. 227.) "It is quite singular how little . . . the function of the *entrepreneur* is taken into account. Bagehot objects to the phrase 'wages of superintendence' commonly used to express his reward, as suggesting altogether erroneous ideas of the nature of his work, and well describes the large and varied range of his activity and usefulness, and the rare combination of gifts and acquirements which go to make up the perfection of his equipment. It can scarcely be doubted that a foregone conclusion in favour of the system of [so-called] co-operation has sometimes led Economists to keep these important considerations in the background. They have been brought into due prominence of late in the treatises of Profs. Marshall and F. A. Walker, who, however, have scarcely made clear, and certainly have not justified, the principle on which the amount of the remuneration of the *entrepreneur* is determined."

[1] Already long before the time of Darwin, the celebrated French zoologist, Henri Milne-Edwards, had (1827) stated the principle of the division of physiological labour, and shown that this division was the criterion of the degree of perfection of each species, and of the position it should occupy in the *Échelle des Êtres*. This theory about the degree of perfection has been much exploited by French sociologists, though Comte himself took no notice of it. In general, the tendency to work with physiological and even mechanical analogies is very prominent, and nowhere more than with M. Durkheim. Dr Barth (*loc. cit.*, p. 290) remarks on this tendency, and shows how after all "this parallelism of the animal and sociological series could have been carried much further, and if this had been done, the limit of the applicability of this analogy would have shown itself." And he indicates his own view in the following passage: "The contrast of nature and mind arises in society as soon as mind or society itself becomes the subject of scientific thinking. This moment, however, does not wait for the appearance of a special

importance, inasmuch as he considers it to be not only a natural but a moral law, and this leads to a discussion on the nature of morality which he, in opposition to the view prevalent in the school of Kant and his successors, does not distinguish from law, but of which he rather considers law to be the authoritative expression. He works out a philosophy of history which recognises two distinct phases of what he calls social solidarity corresponding to two kinds of law. The first phase is homogeneous or mechanical; the second is organic. Resorting to analogies taken from biology, he shows how the change from the first to the second is brought about by the increasing volume and density of society necessitating a more intense struggle for existence and in consequence a partition of labour.

85. Durkheim's philosophy of history.

In the first form of society there is no individual, but only a common, consciousness. Only in the second or organic state of society does the individual consciousness acquire importance and a field of action, but it retains the impress of the original and fundamental unity, *i.e.*, of the common consciousness; this shows itself in the existence of those altruistic tendencies which Comte took as facts, but which have been so puzzling to those who aimed at a monistic explanation of social phenomena. In the first form of society law is purely repressive; in the second it is restitutive.

The historical view which M. Durkheim takes of the

science of society but comes already as soon as, at the dawn of history, the purely physical connection of human beings is replaced by an artificial connection based upon statutes" (p. 110). "This is the conscious mental influence of the governing class upon the whole of society, and with it the biological analogy ceases to be complete" (p. 292).

present heterogeneous as following upon the former homogeneous constitution of society through the pressure of increasing population and the battle for existence goes hand in hand with his objection to base sociology upon psychology. For inasmuch as the individuality of different minds is only a later product of the common social consciousness, so it is not possible to get any insight into the latter by starting with an investigation of the former by the introspective method. In a special work in which he deals with the 'Rules of the Sociological Method' he therefore confines sociological studies to what he terms "social representations" or "Institutions." These social facts or institutions cannot be reduced to individual representations, for they do not result from the latter but rather dominate them. The essential character of a social fact is that it controls or coerces the individual; the fact that the social consciousness has more reality than the individual consciousness ran M. Durkheim into that sort of scholastic realism of which his opponents accuse him.[1] Among these the most prominent and original is M. Tarde.

[1] The theory of M. Durkheim furnishes one of the most striking examples of that tendency of thought which I have termed the synoptic. This starts always from the consideration of a totality, a complex; considering this to be the prius and not a later product of the assemblage of its parts. And this the author lays down as a general principle applicable to the study of the phenomena of society no less than to those of life in general and even of inanimate phenomena. Thus he says in the Preface to the 2nd edition of his Treatise on Sociological Method, where he defends his principles against various criticisms of opponents: "La cellule vivante ne contient rien que des particules minérales, comme la société ne contient rien en dehors des individus; et pourtant il est, de toute évidence, impossible que les phénomènes caractéristiques de la vie résident dans des atomes d'hydrogène, d'oxygène, de carbone et d'azote. Car comment les mouvements vitaux pourraient-ils se produire au sein d'éléments non vivants? Comment, d'ailleurs, les propriétés

Gabriel Tarde (1843-1904) approached the sociological problem from the side of jurisprudence. He was, at the same time, influenced by the modern school of psychology in France which attaches great importance to several psychical phenomena little studied by the older psychology either in England or in Germany. Among these is the phenomenon of suggestion; the mysterious and unexplained influence of one person on another; the "intercerebral[1] relation of two minds, the

biologiques se répartiraient-elles entre ces éléments? Elles ne sauraient se retrouver également chez tous puisqu'ils ne sont pas de même nature; le carbone n'est pas l'azote et, par suite, ne peut revêtir les mêmes propriétés ni jouer le même rôle. Il n'est pas moins inadmissible que chaque aspect de la vie, chacun de ses caractères principaux s'incarne dans un groupe différent d'atomes. La vie ne saurait se décomposer ainsi; elle est une et, par conséquent, elle ne peut avoir pour siège que la substance vivante dans sa totalité. Elle est dans le tout, non dans les parties. Ce ne sont pas les particules non-vivantes de la cellule qui se nourrissent, se reproduisent, en un mot, qui vivent; c'est la cellule elle-même et elle seule. Et ce que nous disons de la vie pourrait se répéter de toutes les synthèses possibles. La dureté du bronze n'est ni dans le cuivre ni dans l'étain ni dans le plomb qui ont servi à le former et qui sont des corps mous ou flexibles; elle est dans leur mélange. La fluidité de l'eau, ses propriétés alimentaires et autres ne sont pas dans les deux gaz dont elle est composé, mais dans la substance complexe qu'ils forment par leur association. Appliquons ce principe à la sociologie, &c., &c." ('Les Règles de la Méthode Sociologique,' 2me éd., 1901, p. xv.)

[1] This refers to the fact emphasised by James Ward and termed by him "intersubjective intercourse." The latter seems to be, from the psychological point of view, a better term, for it does not introduce the physiological reference to the brain, of which, of course, the infant mind knows nothing. But the whole passage quoted from Tarde is psychologically most important. For the child's mind the beginnings of intersubjective intercourse mean simply the attention given to definite, often repeated, sensations which concentrate themselves as it were, and crystallise in the recognition of a person (the first glimpse of an external reality). And the fine distinctions which M. Tarde draws between the influence of one person and of a crowd of persons indicate a rare insight into the purely psychical and subjective development of the child's mind. Also M. Tarde draws attention to the fact of repetition as an essential requisite in this and all other mental developments, not without pointing out likewise how much memory has to do with this phenomenon of repetition (see *e.g.* 'Les Lois Sociales,' p. 8 *sqq.*; cf. also J. Ward, 'Gifford Lectures,' 1896-98, vol. ii. *passim*, but especially p. 175).

reflection of the one by the other." In this phenomenon M. Tarde finds the germ of the original social fact. He agrees with M. Durkheim in maintaining that the primitive fact of social life is some kind of control or coercion under which the individual is placed; but whilst M. Durkheim finds this in the coercive action of the "Collective" over the "Individual," M. Tarde goes a step further back and explains this by the influence of two individuals on each other. "It is not sufficient to recognise the imitative character of every social phenomenon. I maintain, moreover, that from the beginning this imitative relation has existed, not between one individual and a confused mass of persons as it exists very frequently later on, but between two individuals alone, of which the one, the infant, is born into the social life, and of which the other, the adult, socialised already long before, serves as an individual model. In advancing during life we frequently regulate ourselves on collective and impersonal models of which we are, at the same time, usually unconscious; but before speaking, thinking, acting, as we speak, think, or act in this world, we began to speak, think, and act as *he* or *she* speaks, thinks, and acts. And this *he* or *she* is one or the other among those familiar to us. If we look carefully we never find more than a certain number of *he's* or *she's*, which have become blurred and confused by multiplication. However simple this distinction may be, it is forgotten by those[1] who, in any social institution or work, will not allow to individual initiative the creative rôle, but think they say something by stating, *e.g.*,

86. Tarde's opposed individualistic theory.

[1] Referring evidently to M. Durkheim.

that languages and religions are collective works, that the masses, without any leader, have made Greek, Sanscrit, Hebrew, Buddhism, Christianity, and lastly, that it is by the coercive action of the 'collective' on the individual, small or large, yet always adjusted and utilised, but not at all by the suggestive and contagious action of chosen individuals, that the formations and transformations of societies can be explained. In reality such explanations are illusory; their authors do not perceive that by postulating such a collective force, a similitude of millions of persons, simultaneously under certain relations, they evade the major difficulty, the question of understanding how this general assimilation can have originated. The answer lies precisely in pushing the analysis as far as I have done, down to the intercerebral relation of two minds, to the reflection of one on the other, and it is only thus that we can explain those partial unanimities, those conspirations of the hearts, those communions of the spirits, which, once formed and perpetuated by tradition and imitation of ancestors, exert a pressure often tyrannical, but more frequently salutary, upon the individual. It is to this relation that sociology must attach itself in the same way as astronomy attaches itself to the relation of two attracting and attracted masses; in it we must find the key to the social mystery, the formula for a few simple laws, universally true, which can be disentangled in the midst of the apparent chaos of human life and history." [1]

87. Laws developed by him.

These simple laws which M. Tarde further develops are, as he terms them, the law of repetition, the law

[1] See Gabriel Tarde, 'Les Lois Sociales' (5me ed., p. 39 *sqq.*)

of opposition and the law of adaptation. In the sequel he is led to oppose especially the fundamental conception of Herbert Spencer. Instead of finding with the latter the beginning of things social or natural in a homogeneous instability, he says "all that constitutes the visible universe, accessible to our observation, we know proceeds from the invisible and impenetrable, from an apparent 'Nothing,' out of which all reality rises inexhaustibly. If we reflect on this strange phenomenon, we are surprised at the power of a prejudice, at once popular and scientific, which makes every one—a Spencer not less than every first-comer—regard the infinitesimal as insignificant, *i.e.*, as homogeneous, neutral, without character or spirit." [1]

88. His criticism of Spencer.

In his criticism of Herbert Spencer's theory of the origin of things and processes in the monotony of an "unstable homogeneous" condition,[2] out of which through some unexplained influence the endless variety of phenomena arises, we are reminded of Hegel's criticism of the Absolute of Schelling which "is the night in which all cows are black." And as Hegel thought it imperative to start with a living and active principle, not with a mere identity or indifference, so M. Tarde sees the original fact in a creative process or a series of creative

[1] Gabriel Tarde, *loc. cit.*, p. 159.

[2] "Je sais bien ce qu'on va m'objecter: la prétendue loi de l'instabilité de l'homogène. Mais elle est fausse, mais elle est arbitraire, mais elle a été imaginée tout exprès pour concilier avec le parti pris de croire indifférencié en soi l'indistinct à nos yeux, l'évidence des diversités phénoménales, des exubérantes variations vivantes, psychologiques et sociales. La vérité est que l'hétérogène seul est instable et que l'homogène est stable essentiellement. La stabilité des choses est en raison directe de leur homogénéité. La seule chose parfaitement homogène—ou paraissant telle—dans la Nature, c'est l'Espace géométrique, qui n'a point changé depuis Euclide" (*loc. cit.*, p. 160 *sqq.*)

processes. And he opposes to the monotony and sameness of a purely atomistic condition — dependent only upon position, distance, and displacement—the world of monads conceived after the classical model of Leibniz;[1] but he does not go the length of the latter who recognises the Divine Being as the moving cause of all, but contents himself with leaving this ultimate fact unexplained: a mystery. His position is in fact purely psychological. After fixing upon imitation in the simplest form as a fundamental social fact he simply takes one step beyond and inquires, What is it that is imitated? The answer is: That which is new and unexpected, an invention or an innovation, the invention or innovation of a creative mind. The life of society is only a special case of the general rule of repetition which in nature is rhythm and undulation; in the organic world, heredity; in the social world, imitation. From this it follows that progress is brought about by inventive minds and consists in imitation, and that

[1] "Quoi qu'on puisse penser de cette vue, il n'en reste pas moins inconcevable que dans l'hypothèse d'une substance homogène soumise depuis l'éternité à la discipline niveleuse et coordinatrice des lois scientifiques, un univers tel que le nôtre, éblouissant d'un si grand luxe de surprises et de caprices, ait jamais pu exister. Du parfaitement semblable et parfaitement réglé, qu'aurait-il pu naître si ce n'est un monde éternellement et immensément plat? Aussi, à cette conception courante de l'univers comme formé d'une poussière infinie d'éléments tous semblables au fond, d'où la diversité aurait jailli on ne sait comment, je me permets d'opposer ma conception particulière qui le répresente comme la réalisation d'une multitude de virtualités élémentaires, chacune caractérisée et ambitieuse, chacune portant en soi son univers distinct, son univers à soi et en rêve. Car il avorte infiniment plus de projets élémentaires qu'il ne s'en développe; et c'est entre les rêves concurrents, entre les programmes rivaux, bien plus qu'entre les êtres, que se livre la grande bataille pour la vie, éliminatrice des moins adaptés. En sorte que le sous-sol mystérieux du monde phénoménal serait tout aussi riche en diversités, mais en diversités autres, que l'étage des réalités superficielles" (*loc. cit.*, p. 162 *sqq.*)

history is a record of these inventions, of their irradiation, expansion, and diffusion. The life of society is brought back to a psychological fact; the existence of the creative intellect, the genius, or the artist. This fact cannot be further explained or rationalised. Thus both M. Tarde and his opponent M. Durkheim seek and find some original fact or facts which may be termed the ultimate social phenomenon. For the one it consists in institutions which he terms "social things or objects," and sociology consists in studying them and the changes they undergo. The other finds it in an ultimate psychological phenomenon which he terms a logical arrangement; it takes place in the mind of an individual or individuals and spreads from them by a kind of emanation or radiation.

Both thinkers are opposed to the purely biological explanation of society as developed by Herbert Spencer and his followers. Instead of biology M. Tarde resorts to psychology,[1] whereas M. Durkheim resorts to a view

[1] The writings of M. Tarde are extremely original and suggestive, and they also remind us of recent tendencies of thought which have been developed with more or less clearness by other thinkers. Thus when we read sundry eloquent passages in M. Tarde's principal works, 'Les Lois de l'Imitation' (1st ed., 1890) and 'La Logique Sociale' (1st ed., 1895), we are reminded of the principles of the "growth of mental energy" and of the "heterogony of ends" which play a prominent part in Wundt's writings. We are also reminded of the *élan vital* of M. Bergson when we read the passages in which M. Tarde ascribes the origin of what is new in history to the desires and ideas of individual minds (see 'Les Lois de l'Imitation, 6th ed., p. 157 *sqq.*). Also such modern problems as those of the "Unconscious" and the "Discontinuous" in the mental life of individuals and societies suggest themselves in passages like the following: "Au milieu de ce pêle-mêle incohérent des faits historiques, songe ou cauchemar énigmatique, la raison cherche en vain un ordre et ne le trouve pas, parce qu'elle refuse de le voir où il est. Parfois elle l'imagine, et, concevant l'histoire comme un poème dont un fragment ne saurait être intelligible sans le tout, elle nous renvoie pour l'intelligence de cette énigme au moment où les destinées finales de l'humanité seront accomplies et ses

of society and history which has been termed Collectivism. According to this view, which, for a time at least, has gained the upper hand in French thought, individual differences and personal interests sink into the background compared with the interests and movements of the masses, the influence of environment or *milieu*, and the pressure which these exert on individual human minds.

A somewhat similar controversy as to the correct way of looking at social and historical phenomena has independently arisen in Germany. But whereas in France the difference may be defined as that between individualism and collectivism, in Germany it may more properly be termed the transition from the idealistic to a realistic treatment of history.

origines les plus reculées parfaitement connues. Autant vaut répéter le fameux mot : *Ignorabimus*. Mais regardons par-dessous les noms et les dates, par-dessous les batailles et les révolutions, que voyons-nous ? Des desirs spéciaux, provoqués ou surexcités par des inventions ou des initiatives pratiques dont chacune apparaît en un point et rayonne de là incessamment comme une sphère lumineuse, s'entre-croisant harmonieusement avec des milliers d'ondulations analogues dont la multiplicité n'est jamais de la confusion ; et aussi des croyances spéciales, apportées par des decouvertes ou des conjectures théoriques, qui rayonnent semblablement avec une rapidité et dans des limites variables. L'ordre dans lequel éclosent et se succèdent ces inventions et ces découvertes n'a rien que de capricieux et d'accidentel dans une large mesure ; mais, à la longue, par l'élimination inévitable de celles qui se contrarient (c'est-à-dire au fond qui *se contredisent* plus ou moins par quelque-unes de leurs propositions implicites), le groupe simultané qu'elles forment devient concert et cohésion. Considérée ainsi, comme une expansion d'ondes émanées de foyers distincts, et comme un arrangement logique de ces foyers et de leurs cortèges ondulatoires, une nation, une cité, le plus modeste épisode du soi-disant poème de l'histoire, devient un tout vivant et individuel, et un spectacle beau à contempler pour une rétine de philosophe" (p. 118 *sqq.*) M. Tarde also agrees with Schopenhauer in maintaining that desire, *i.e.*, a willing activity, furnishes the beginning of mental development, but he would not limit this to desires but includes also ideas as generative forces, reminding us in this of M. Fouillée's theory of the *idées-forces*.

In France the two schools of sociology have existed side by side ;[1] in Germany, on the other hand, the idealistic school is the older, the realistic a much younger development. And even more adequately than in France will it be permitted to identify the two schools of historical research in Germany with two great names, that of Leopold Ranke and that of Karl Lamprecht. Contrary to what one has been accustomed

89. Ranke and Lamprecht.

[1] This is hardly admitted by Dr Barth, who says (see *loc. cit.*, p. 213 *sqq.*) : "Thus Tarde is diametrically opposed to that belief in the dominant power of the masses, but it does not appear that this controversy has as yet arrived in France at a higher conception, which should do justice to both opinions. It is, however, significant that Tarde, in spite of his doctrine of the dependence of the masses, nevertheless calls only those events historical which refer to the masses" ; and Dr Barth refers to the following passage ('La Logique Sociale,' 3me éd., p. 497) : "Dans les sciences, l'importance supérieure de la découverte vérifiée, de l'invention accréditée, est évidente et reconnue. Mais, *partout ailleurs*, dans l'ensemble de la vie sociale, elle est non moins certaine et cependant méconnue. L'important, c'est toujours, en histoire, l'équilibration et la majoration de masses de foi ou de forces de désir, et l'on doit nommer évènement tout fait qui provoque ou produit une forme nouvelle, d'équilibre ou d'accroissement de ces masses ou de ces forces." And this induces Dr Barth to sum up by saying : "In this respect, as to the conception of history, it seems that in France the tendency has finally conquered which makes the life of society the main subject, a tendency which we may briefly term Collectivism. The controversy only turns on this, to what extent an individual influences this life of society. In Germany, on the other side, the conception of history has not yet been uniformly fixed in this direction. The single person, not only as an awakener of the whole of the society in which he lives, not only as a typical representative of the members which form society, but as a unique, not repeated, individual, is to be the subject of the historian's attention. With one exception [M. Lehmann] all earlier historians must be counted on the individualistic side. To these all those who look to the collective labour of nations, to their culture in the largest sense . . . stand in a necessary but unexpressed opposition." And according to Dr Barth this opposition has found a clear expression, for the first time, in two thinkers—namely, E. Bernheim in his 'Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode' (1st ed., 1889, latest, 6th ed., re-written 1908), and K. Lamprecht in his 'German History' (1891 *sqq.*) : "They have consciously asserted the opposition to the older individualism. Especially the latter has used this term for the earlier tendency and at the same time has coined the term Collectivism for his own, and has taken great pains to establish its theoretical foundation."

to observe in the development of German thought in other regions, the theoretical principles which guide these two celebrated historians in their extensive labours were not clearly brought out till after they had been put into practice in the treatment of large historical subjects. Ranke himself never attempted a consistent exposition of his fundamental and guiding ideas. It is only from scattered indications, notably from the Introduction to some of the later of his works, that a younger generation of historians has attempted to fathom and define his historical method.

And so far as Lamprecht is concerned it is only after having published several works on the economic aspects of various historical periods, and after having written the greater part of his 'German History' that he has, in a series of polemical tracts,[1] attempted to

[1] Notably the following: (1) 'Alte und neue Richtungen in der Geschichtswissenschaft' (1896). This contains a dissertation on historical method and a very valuable collection of extracts with the object of defining Ranke's 'Ideenlehre'; (2) 'Die Kulturhistorische Methode' (1900); (3) 'Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft' (5 Lectures, 1905). In the latter Lamprecht tries to define more clearly what he terms the socio-psychological method. He believes in a *Sozialpsyche*, in the soul of society, and he maintains that the laws which govern the life and development of this social soul or mind must be found through the study of the psychology of the individual, referring to the recent development of psychology in Germany under the hands of such thinkers as Wundt, Ebbinghaus, and Lipps. Although the economic and physical foundations and conditions of national life are extremely important and are emphasised by Lamprecht, he does not fall in with Karl Marx's materialistic treatment of history. He seems to think that at certain moments the psychical influences gain the upper hand and become dominant. His views on this point, though characteristic of his whole position, are not sufficiently clear to afford a concise statement or criticism, but the following passage may give an indication to the reader of this interesting speculation, which, in the Lectures referred to, is especially applied to the psychological development in the history of Germany. "The latent possibilities of the soul in the direction of historical developments form an extensive region—let us say, the area of a circle. Within this circle external stimulants move into the foreground, now these, now other segments, and determine in this way the history of a definite period. Thus what eventually becomes effectual does not in its origin depend on the social mind but on accidental, external stimulants: history is the kaleidoscope with a definite number of possible groupings of elemental psychical phenomena, and the various pictures contained in these possibilities are called forth by a purely external, *mechanical* impulse, now in this way, now in that" (p. 95). But Lamprecht goes on to say that whilst this view suffices for the consideration of a special limited period of civilisation, it is not sufficient to explain the course of successive periods of culture. "For then it becomes evident that these periods are by no means accidental and internally unconnected. Rather they follow the line of a continuous increase or decline of psychical force, &c., &c." (p. 96). The views of Lamprecht have been extensively and severely criticised. The literature of this subject is given with great completeness in Bernheim ('Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode,' 6th ed., 1908, p. 717), who also enters very fully into Lamprecht's ideas, and, though not agreeing with them, admits that much can still be learned from that tendency among recent historians which is prominently represented by Lamprecht, but which, existing already before him, dates back to Comte, and may be termed anti-individualistic. In recent French literature we have an interesting study of the subject by M. Ch. Andler in 'La Philosophie Allemande au XIX^e^ Siécle (1912, p. 205 *sqq.*). English readers will find a concise statement of the controversy in C. P. Gooch, 'History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century' (1913, p. 588 *sqq.*).

define the difference of his point of view as contrasted with that of his predecessors in Germany. It seems likely that coming into contact with the modern psychological school represented by Professor Wundt in Leipsic, he has been induced to define more clearly and systematically the psychological foundation of his eminently original treatment of history. He has latterly adopted the French term Collectivism as characteristic of his view in contrast to the older individualistic view; but, to an outside observer, it seems more helpful to adopt the definitions which he lays down in his tract on Ranke's 'Ideology' (1896).

He there collects from Ranke's works a pretty concise statement of Ranke's guiding ideas, of the hidden philosophy of that master. This turns mainly

on the problem of the relation of the individual to the life of the community. In this relation is to be found the secret characteristic of any historical age, for "also in history, freedom and necessity are intermingled, and in conflict freedom appears mostly in personalities, necessity in the life of the community. But is it likely that the first is complete and the other unconditioned?"[1]

From this Lamprecht infers that Ranke's point of view recognises the antinomy between freedom and necessity as practically existing. That this forms the central problem with Ranke, he shows further by collecting many scattered passages in which Ranke attempts to explain himself more in detail. He points out how, according to Ranke, every new mental development has emanated from imposing personalities through the conquering influence of new ideas. He considers the agencies which bring about historical progress to be a Divine secret. "Genius is an independent gift from God; but in order to unfold itself there is required the receptivity and the right sense in its contemporaries."[2] "Great men do not create their times, neither are they created by them. They are the original minds who independently take part in the conflict of ideas, who concentrate the most important among them, those upon which the future depends, who promote them and are supported by them." "The greatest individual life is only a moment in the tangle of universal life."[3]

Lamprecht shows further how this latent philosophy

[1] Quoted by Lamprecht in his Tract 'Alte und neue Richtungen in der Geschichtswissenschaft,' 1896 (p. 27).
[2] Ibid., p. 28.
[3] Ibid., p. 30.

in Ranke's writings is founded upon the philosophical and religious background of the age and the surroundings in which Ranke's genius matured, how he liberated himself from the systematising tendency of the philosophy as well as from the dogmatising tendency of the theology of his time, but how he nevertheless retains the spiritual aspect as it was contained, *e.g.*, in the writings of Fichte and still more in those of Luther. "Ranke was well aware that he possessed a kernel of solid convictions, but he never attempted a formally well-considered and detailed expression of this content; he never systematised it or tried to reconcile its possibly contradictory elements; he shrank from putting the innermost of his convictions into words. He ever goes only a certain length; the innermost remains undisclosed, like those groves in which the old Teutons considered the Deity to be directly active, and it is therefore similarly grasped only intuitively *sola reverentia*."[1]

In this respect Ranke occupies a position similar to that of Goethe. Such natures are wronged whenever one tries to construct from their scattered expressions, by hook or by crook, a rounded philosophical system; we can ever attempt only an indefinite indication of the essence of their views. Nevertheless Lamprecht finds Ranke's historical thought gathered up in two characteristic points: the idealistic creed after the manner of the then ruling philosophy, and the universalistic conception of history after the manner of the cosmopolitan character of the classical literature of

[1] Lamprecht, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

Germany. Lamprecht gives us here the key to an understanding of the great change which has come over German thought not only in his special line of research but also generally in the treatment of all the larger problems. Idealism has given way to realism, the study of ideas to that of things; and cosmopolitanism, *i.e.*, the world-wide view, to a national view. So far as the social problem in its widest sense is concerned, this transition was prepared in Germany by the progress of learning as much as by the political events during the latter part of the Nineteenth Century. To this I have had occasion to refer frequently in the foregoing chapters. Here it behoves us to recognise how the comprehensive idea of humanity which inspired German thought since the time of Lessing, Herder, and Goethe, was replaced, in the course of the Nineteenth Century, by a more closely defined expression of the aims and interests, not of humanity at large, but of the German people in their national existence and their central European position.

90. The idea of Nationality.

The idea of nationality which has stirred several European nations has nowhere been proclaimed with greater self-assertion than in Germany. This led primarily to a political view of history which superseded not only the philosophical view but also the universalistic of Ranke. Great historical works were written with the undisguised tendency of understanding better the drift of modern political events, such as the French Revolution, and the more remote beginnings as well as the more recent successes in the foundation of political and national unity. The universalistic and philosophical

treatment of history was succeeded by the political treatment of which von Sybel may be considered the greatest representative.

But the unification of Germany, which in the middle of the century was an aspiration and a dream, was realised by quite other means than by those which the earlier school of political historians were aiming at. When once accomplished it indeed formulated new tasks and established new views for the national historians. But the real political impulse was wanting, and with it there disappeared that immediate purpose which had given life and interest to von Sybel's historical view. A prominent representative of historical learning in Germany thus looks upon the younger generation of historians as placed in a kind of dilemma. So much has happened that was new and unexpected that there seems wanting a definite orientation among the historical writers of the day. Are they to return to the lofty classicism of Ranke, or is a new conception gradually pushing forward which will afford a better understanding of historical progress and development? The difference may be stated in various ways. Is the writing of history an art or a science? Has it to be inspired by a few great and supreme ideas, or has it to adapt itself to the realistic and naturalistic view of life which the progress of the exact sciences has introduced? Were it purely an abstract or academic question, the two ways of handling the historical problem, the artistic and the scientific, the idealistic and the naturalistic, might live and thrive peaceably alongside of each other. But in Germany, as well as in other countries, the

purely academic view has long been rendered untenable or antiquated. The deepest philosophy, the largest erudition, the most exact science are not enough. The causes of this change are, in the main, twofold. Notably in Germany the ideal view which ran through the whole of the great philosophical systems has lost its original ground; it had, after all, its anchorage in the evangelical conception of Christian Truth which was handed down from the Reformation. The attempt to rationalise this has destroyed its very essence. Those who nowadays still believe in the ideal treatment of history try to give their idealism a non-religious colouring.

As M. Tarde in France did not accept the theological ground and centre of Liebniz's monadology, in the same way we find that what formed the centre of Ranke's historical creed—the living Spirit of God and the world of living spirits which He has created—is not a guiding idea any more for those who still profess to belong to his school. Discarding the mystical and irrational element which characterises Ranke's great work as the product of a period of transition, the younger generation attempt to give to their ideas a much more definite and tangible character. Thus we have, *e.g.*, the idea of nationality, the idea of race, the idea of centralisation, or perhaps, more recently, the imperialistic idea.

In the place of the great hold which religious truth —in a more or less philosophical interpretation—had during the earlier part of the nineteenth century on the leading minds of Germany, another power has come in and claims increasing recognition. This is the popular spirit, the social and economic interests of the large

masses of the people, whose position has been profoundly altered through the industrial much more than through the political developments of the age. If Germany surprised the whole civilised world by her military successes and her consequent political ascendancy in the year 1870, she has still more surprised the world by her industrial development ever since.

91. Industrial development.

It is only natural that this industrial development which is still in full progress should exert its influence upon the conception of the national history; that an attempt should be made to understand the economic factors as they made themselves felt in the course of the social and political progress of the nation. Karl Marx had already urged this point of view in a one-sided and extreme conception of historical progress as a conflict of Capital and Labour. In his 'German History' Karl Lamprecht takes up this task more fully and methodically. His work marks an epoch in modern historiography as also in the philosophy of history. From the latter point of view, Lamprecht's position has been appreciated by Paul Barth in his important work on the 'Philosophy of History as Sociology' (1897). So far we have from this author only a critical survey of contemporary labours referring to this subject.

The most important and interesting question to which we hope to receive an answer is correctly defined by Paul Barth: to explain "how the ideas originate which influence the actions of a great personality. Does he draw them out of himself in opposition to his environment, or must they be strongly represented in the environment in order to become firmly located in him? I

believe that the latter is the case. An idea which germinates in an individual mind or is implanted by education is not in itself capable of guiding him steadily in his activity. If the whole environment is opposed to it in its thought, or mainly moving in a different direction, then a definite idea can, at the best, only generate an isolated activity; it will soon be extinguished by the weight of what is foreign to it. Our activity is determined not by that which passes transiently through our mind, but by that which is abiding and repeated in manifold connections. Herbart already recognised this so far as education is concerned. . . . But it obtains not only in young persons, but also with adults. . . . This is recognised, *e.g.*, by F. A. Lange when he attributes not only our moral but likewise a great part of our intellectual progress to the quiet but persistent action of Christian ideas for the very reason that it has been persistent."[1] And Barth shows that a similar view is taken by Spencer.

[1] *Loc. cit.* (pp. 217-218). "Education may, in the abstract, be capable of introducing isolated and new aspects into the mind of great individuals, but will, in the concrete, only have an effect if these ideals coincide with a strong and growing current of public opinion. . . . Thus education cannot implant a content which is totally foreign to the environment; it will only have success if it coincides with a large existing or growing movement. Through education the great personality is rooted in its surroundings. But how about the age of maturity and of independent activity? Is the hero, as Bourdeau seems to think and Spencer expressly says, an unimportant accidental cause which liberates an existing latent power, removing a small insignificant obstacle, or is he more, does he augment the existing force? Can he add something to it that nobody in the great masses could have given? I would affirm the latter. Nobody, not even Bourdeau and Spencer, deny that the hero stands a grade higher than his contemporaries. He sees more, feels more profoundly, judges more correctly than they. He can express better what moves in all of them. From this it follows that the hero exercises an accelerating momentum, that without him everything would have progressed more slowly" (p. 218). And Dr Barth goes on to appreciate the social power of imitation, though he does not value it so highly as Tarde.

The cardinal question then seems to be to define the part that ideas play in the progress of society or in history. But still more important is the question as to the nature of these ideas themselves. The fact that every idea is a mental product leads us back to the study of psychology; and here we meet with two distinct schools of thought in modern German philosophy. Both schools attach the greatest importance to psychological studies, to those studies which were neglected by Comte, but revived by some of his followers, and largely cultivated in this country by Spencer and his predecessors.

In Germany we have seen how, in the school of which Professor Wundt is the centre, new methods and new interests were imported into psychological research. It is noteworthy that, in the sequel, this master of modern psychological method has devoted himself to a study of the psychology of the Collective Mind, to anthropological and ethnological studies. 92. Wundt's Anthropology.

But this represents only one side of the development which, in the interest of gaining a correcter view of historical progress and culture, psychology has taken in Germany. In that country there exists another school equally original though less known abroad, which does not attach so much importance to what we may term the psychology of the collective or social mind, but is rather intent upon fathoming the hidden depths of the individual mind as revealed in the life and work of the creative genius, the poet and the thinker. This is the

93. Dilthey.

peculiar direction of thought which has been given to historical, philosophical, and æsthetic studies by the late Professor Wilhelm Dilthey of Berlin. It is extremely difficult to give to an English reader any adequate idea of the drift of Dilthey's philosophical speculations. None of his works are translated into English, and many of his smaller but important deliverances are hidden away and inaccessible to the ordinary reader in the Transactions and Proceedings of the Berlin Academy.[1]

[1] The first important work in which Dilthey introduced his special views, referring to the subject of this chapter, was his 'Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften,' of which only the first volume appeared in 1883. The sub-title defines it as an attempt to give a foundation for the study of society and history. This work had been preceded by the even more important first volume of his well-known 'Life of Schleiermacher' (1870). It must be a source of regret to all students of philosophy that these two highly original and suggestive works have been allowed to remain incomplete, and are, in addition, at present unprocurable. The later development of Schleiermacher's thought, both in the direction of theology and philosophy, is so interesting, so original, and so little known, even in Germany, that the further narrative and analysis in Dilthey's Biography would have been something like a revelation to the historian of German thought during the nineteenth century. And a still keener expectation is created when, after reading Dilthey's criticism and rejection of the naturalistic methods of thought as inadequate for the treatment of mental phenomena, we are led to wonder how, in the sequel of his book, the new foundation was to be laid. Whether a posthumous publication of Dilthey's own writings, which seems to be in view now, together with the work of his many disciples and admirers, will be able to satisfy, to some extent, the expectations which these writings must have awakened in every thoughtful reader, remains to be seen; it is, in any case, earnestly to be hoped for. What has been given to us so far in short summaries, such as that by B. Groethuysen (in 'La Philosophie Allemande au XIX^{e} Siècle,' pp. 1-23), or by Prof. Anna Tumarkin (in 'Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie,' xxv. pp. 143-153), does more to increase than to satisfy these expectations. Among the many Articles and Memoirs which are a sequel to the philosophical works just mentioned, one of the most important is a Memoir in the 'Berlin Academy of Sciences' (1910), 'Philosophisch-historische Classe,' pp. 1-123. Helpful for finding out the *rationale* of Dilthey's thought are also his own publications on the "Essence of Philosophy" in 'Systematische Philosophie' (1907), and still more so one of his latest publications in a volume entitled 'Weltanschauung' (1911), which he introduces in an article on "Metaphysical Systems" (pp. 1-77). For the special subject of this chapter the best summary of Dilthey's views known to me is contained in Dr Barth's frequently quoted work (pp. 364-377). This I would recommend specially to English readers, as it is written with as much appreciation of the important task defined by Dilthey as of the work done by representatives of other schools of thought mentioned in the foregoing pages, such as Comte, Wundt, and Lamprecht, and as the author aims at fulfilling himself, to some extent, that task. Professor Ludwig Stein has devoted a special chapter in his work entitled 'Philosophische Strömungen der Gegenwart' (1908), to Dilthey as the representative of what he terms *Die Geisteswissenschaftliche Bewegung* (pp. 243-270). He does not conceal his surprise that so learned an author as Robert Flint, in his well-known works on the philosophy of History, takes no note of Dilthey, though Flint's later work appeared ten years after Dilthey's 'Einleitung, &c.' And still more to be regretted is the absence of the name of Dilthey in a quite recent work by G. P. Gooch on 'History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century,' especially because Dilthey himself, in the Memoir of 1910 just mentioned, dilates in various passages very fully on the origin, growth, and characteristics of the historical school in Germany, referring also specially to contemporary historians in other countries, such as Tocqueville in France and Carlyle in England.

As every important new departure in philosophical thought has invented its own terminology in which it deposits its leading ideas, so we also find that Dilthey has his own vocabulary through which he introduces his subject and defines his method. To begin with, he considers philosophy to be an inner reflection or introspection, what he terms *eine Selbstbesinnung;* for only through introspection do we become aware of and experience that unity which we try to find and to grasp in the world as a whole. It is thus by introspection and psychological analysis through the inner sense that we reach, or at least approach, the foundation and ground. As it is the aim of scientific inquiry to discover regularities and uniformities in the outer world, so it is also the first task of psychology to trace such regularities in our inner or psychical life. Such regu-

larities are, *e.g.*, those presented by the processes of association, recollection, and apperception. But the inner processes are related in another manner; they are parts in the connection of an inner life. This innermost connection Dilthey terms the "psychical structure." It is the order according to which mental facts of very different kinds are connected to an inner living unity, and this connection is determined by the fact that all mental life is influenced by its environment or *milieu*, and that it reacts upon the latter in a purposeful manner. The factor of interest comes in which not only leads to judgments of value and appreciation, but stimulates also an activity of our will through which we alter our environment or adapt ourselves to it. The mental structure has accordingly a teleological character. Whenever the unity of the soul experiences, through joy or suffering, something that is of value to it, it reacts in attention, selection, and mental labour, seeking the means to pursue its own ends. It is only through continued experience that the individual person learns what is to him of abiding value. The principal work of life, in this respect, is to arrive, through manifold illusions, at a knowledge of that which is truly real and valuable. And through a recognition of the valuable things in life a third connection is established—that of practical activity in society, with its various manifestations of law, economy, administration, and the conquest of nature. All this points to a development of the inner life.

But not only has the individual inner life a structure; this is likewise the case with society. Social

life also not only manifests certain regularities and uniformities, but to the special structure of individual life there corresponds a similar structure of social life. This structure Dilthey finds in various and succeeding "cultural systems," and among these systems or products of culture philosophy occupies a special position. It is of interest to recognise what position philosophy occupies in the general economy of human society. This leads Dilthey to an investigation of the relation of philosophy to religion and art.[1]

[1] The exposition in the text is mainly taken from the article on the "Essence of Philosophy" mentioned above (p. 31 *sqq.*). Dilthey's view is essentially synoptic, and at the same time essentially psychological or introspective. Looking at the outer world his glance is fixed upon the great systematic developments, the *structures*, as he calls them, in which the human mind has, in the course of history, embodied its own nature and life, and arrived at an understanding of the same. It is essentially a study of the objective mind, in the sense of Hegel, though Dilthey fully explains (Berlin Acad., 1910, p. 79 *sqq.*) that with him the term has an empirical, not a metaphysical, meaning, and is also used in a wider sense than by Hegel, including, indeed, what the latter conceived as stages in the development of the absolute mind, art, religion, and philosophy. On the other side he maintains that this comprehensive view of historical creations cannot be understood by the abstract and dissecting method of the natural sciences; that it can only be grasped by individual minds in whom it is reflected, in whom it has become actual and a living power. Through their individual grasp they become representative of their age in larger or narrower regions, which they at the same time reveal to the glance of their contemporaries, to the mass of mankind, acquiring in this way collective importance. Thus, as it seems, Dilthey's interest oscillates between two mutually complementary problems—the problem of society in its historical development and the problem of individual life as it appears in great personalities. With the latter interest is combined a delicate pyschological insight into the life and development of artistic, poetical, and mystical natures. This is specially manifest not only in his larger works on Schleiermacher and Hegel, but also in his four psychological studies in a volume entitled 'Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung' (1906), in which he sympathetically enters into the innermost recesses of such delicate souls as those of Hölderlin and Novalis. We have also from his pen an interesting essay entitled 'The Imagination of the Poet,' with the sub-title 'Bausteine für eine Poetik,' in a jubilee volume of philosophical essays dedicated to Ed. Zeller (1887). On the relation of collective historical phenomena or cultural systems to individuals, see especially the explanations in the Memoir just quoted (p. 77 *sqq.*).

It is thus that Dilthey attaches special importance to the study of the development of individual minds and of the great intellectual periods of history. As already stated, his earliest larger work consisted in a study of Schleiermacher, of that German philosopher who stood in the most intimate contact not only with the intellectual but also with the poetic and religious life of his age and country. This great work which promises, if finished, to be a unique biographical, literary, and philosophical monument, opens our eyes as does no other similar work to the innermost connections and relations between the workings of the poetical, religious, and speculative mind. But we have from his pen, in addition, studies of many other original figures in modern literature, and of several important phases in the historical development of modern culture. His main interest, however, seems to return always towards what he calls the mental sciences as distinguished from the natural sciences. Their peculiarity is that they treat of things which have a history, and the end and aim of his endeavours seems to be to arrive through psychological analysis at a peculiar logic or canon of thought

Dilthey is particularly intent upon the essential difference of the methods employed in the natural sciences from those of the mental sciences—a difference which he has not succeeded in making convincing to some of his critics of the opposite school (see Barth, *loc. cit.*, p. 371 *sqq.*), who consider that to give up the methods of the natural sciences is equivalent to giving up scientific treatment altogether. But Dilthey brings out an important point when he argues that in the analysis of physical phenomena the ultimate units out of which they are composed are unknown to us, and, as such, conjectural; whereas the units out of which mental, social, and historical phenomena are composed are known to us, being living experiences. "The primordial unit (*Urzelle*) of the historical world is the living experience of a subject through the interaction of its life and its *milieu*. This environment acts on the subject and receives reactions from it. It is a compound of physical and mental surroundings" (p. 93).

wherewith to comprehend historical phenomena. This is to be analogous to, but different from, the well-established logic of the exact or inductive sciences of nature. If Lamprecht finds the task of history to consist more in the description of circumstances, conditions, and institutions, Dilthey rather finds it in that of leading persons and minds in which an ideal content has become living and active.

94. Contrast with Lamprecht.

Neither of these two schools of thought has as yet clearly told us what it understands under the somewhat vague term "ideas." Much of the best thought in Germany moves in what to thinkers with the logical mind of the French or the common-sense view of the English must appear vague and unsatisfactory. The causes which produce and maintain such a condition of philosophical thought in Germany more that in other countries are manifold, but the principal one is probably to be found in the different position which the Church and religion occupy in the three countries. In all three countries the conflict of belief and unbelief is making itself increasingly felt. It is most pronounced in France, being accentuated through the recent conflict between Church and State. Protestant thought has in that country never become a national force, and the secularisation of the schools has become the order of the day. Here, then, the logical sense of the Frenchman demands that the ideal factor in progress and culture should acquire a distinct and well-recognised influence in the great national work of popular and higher education. In Germany the religious teacher is still an important member of the educational staff. Religious instruction

95. Ultimate conflict in the sphere of religious ideas.

with concurrent endowment is the order of the day. Those among the educated classes who have abandoned the traditional belief of their forefathers—and they form a large number—still cling to that ideal interpretation of nature and life which found such an original expression in the classical literature and in the creations of the great composers of their country. In fact, they live to a large extent on reminiscences. Only a small number of thinkers realise the absolute necessity of giving to their ideal conception a better defined expression in the shape of a reasoned creed which is at once elevating and fairly consistent, and which could—perhaps not at present but in the near future—be made the subject of instruction in the popular and higher schools of the country.

In England things are differently situated. The number of thinkers, and among them even of natural philosophers, who still embrace the main Articles of Christian Faith is considerable. To the greater part of the nation, be they members of the Established or of the Nonconformist Churches, the Bible forms still the foundation of all religious instruction. The necessity of constructing a reasoned creed has only recently made itself felt, and this principally only among a small number of advanced thinkers. The difference between believers and unbelievers does not come out so strongly as in Germany, nor is it sharpened into the contrast of clericals and anti-clericals as in France. There is, moreover, a strong feeling among the educated classes against any painful and laboured definition of, or minute inquiry into, personal beliefs. These are considered to be, if not a

mystery, at least a sacred personal possession into which it is not right or even useful to pry.

The consequence of the different position which the religious interest occupies in the three countries is reflected in their philosophical literature. The necessity of rescuing the higher ethical, as also the spiritual, view of life from the danger of being overlaid by the industrial and selfish interests of the age is most felt by foremost thinkers in France.[1] In Germany we have two movements in recent philosophy, which we may term the theological and the purely intellectual or rationalistic. There is no country where religious philosophy is so much cultivated as in Germany. In England mental and moral philosophy have always existed as subjects of inquiry and of academic teaching. They stood formerly in distinct connection with traditional beliefs; more recently, in the writings of Mill, Spencer, and the Positivists, they have sought to acquire that independent position and treatment which they have, for a long time, enjoyed on the Continent.

But English and German thought have also come under the influence of another foreign movement. This originated in the United States of America, and finds its expression in several periodicals of which the 'Open Court' (1887) and the 'International Journal of Ethics' (1890) are the most important. Already in

[1] See *inter alia* an important publication entitled 'La Crise Morale des Temps Nouveaux,' by Paul Bureau (1907). The author inclines towards Roman Catholicism, but the Preface, by M. Alfred Croiset, to whom the work is dedicated, shows that a difference of opinion as to the solution of the religious problem does not prevent these two thinkers from jointly emphasising the importance for society of the moral and social crisis through which the modern world is passing.

1867 a free religious association was formed, and in 1875 there arose several societies for ethical culture. These are all professedly anti-religious. Their object is to make ethics and morality independent of religion, or rather to construct a purely ethical, non-spiritual, and non-theistic religion. Although these societies have their branches also in England they seem to meet with more appreciation in Germany and Austria, where important thinkers are counted among their representatives. Among them the late Professor Georg von Gizycki held a prominent place, and did much through translations to popularise this branch of American literature. It cannot be said, however, that either in this country or in Germany this line of thought has acquired any great popular influence.

In this country morality as taught in the schools is still essentially religious and theistic. In Germany the necessity has not yet been felt of elaborating, for purposes of education, a purely secular code of morality, a moral catechism. And thus, if we leave out the United States of America, where every school of religious and moral teaching thrives alongside of others, France is the only country in Europe where a pronounced secularisation of morals and ethics has taken place. It is accordingly there that the most strenuous efforts have been made to place the theory and teaching of morality upon a purely philosophical basis. A periodical with the title 'Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale' was there started in the year 1893 by Xavier Léon, and testifies to the increasing interest which the subject of ethics in connection with metaphysics commands in that country.

Although the tendency of this Review is not religious in the older sense of the term, many of its contributors have latterly given great attention to the subject of religion, recognising that it is impossible to extinguish altogether the religious instinct, and aiming at the elaboration of a reasoned creed in harmony with the results of recent scientific and historical research. It is noteworthy that among these are not only professedly independent thinkers but also members of the Roman Catholic Church.

But in all the three countries the problem upon which philosophical thought seems to concentrate itself most is the social problem, though, for reasons just mentioned, the position of thinkers differs materially in the three countries; so much so that sociology exhibits in each country a well-marked national character. The most philosophical, if not abstract, treatment of the problem is to be found in Germany, where the greatest skill and ingenuity, with the assistance of science, criticism, and erudition, is directed to laying the foundations of a science of society, starting with an adequate and comprehensive definition of the conception of society. To the labours in this field of research, both logical and historical, the great work of Prof. Ludwig Stein gives ample testimony, but also to the fact that little agreement exists on the different separate questions into which the larger problem can be divided.

In England and France the social problem is treated more in connection with actual practical demands of the day. These are, in England, pre-eminently economical,

referring to the relation of Capital and Labour. In France the social problem seems, however, to have reached its greatest profundity; it has there become a religious question, a question as to the ultimate foundation upon which morality and a moral order can be established. And it is really in a clear conception of this relation that an understanding, not only of the social questions of the present time, but also of the meaning and tendencies of the historical life of man and mankind, will have to be found.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE UNITY OF THOUGHT.

I.

THE history of philosophical thought, as I have endeavoured to trace it in the foregoing chapters, has consisted in an attempt to deal with the whole subject by breaking it up into a series of more or less independent parts. The great philosophical problem—that concerning the Order or Connection of Things—has been divided into a variety of special problems. The unity of the whole, if such has been at all conspicuous, has consisted mainly in the relation in which the different problems stand to each other. This mode of treatment, which is not entirely original to this Work but has been adopted by other recent historians, is dictated by various considerations of which the two following are the most important.

1. Special philosophical problems.

To begin with, some among the problems of which I have treated have become in the course of the century of more general, indeed of popular, interest; marking in some instances burning questions of the present age. Others again have for the time being fallen into the

2. Change in their relative importance.

background and are almost forgotten. Among the former we may single out the sociological problem as by far the most important and generally attractive. Connected with it, as of hardly less importance, are the ethical and the religious questions. On the other hand, as belonging to the less attractive philosophical problems, we may name the philosophical problem of Nature and the problem of the Beautiful. To many thinking persons it may appear that there is no room for a philosophy of nature outside of the scientific treatment of the subject such as I have endeavoured to trace in the first volumes of this History. Similarly æsthetics, the philosophy of art and poetry, finds nowadays little favour, and a widespread opinion prevails that the philosophical treatment of these subjects has been of little, if of any, use at all. In both instances, as regards the philosophy of Nature as well as that of Art, what little interest still survives seems to be more readily satisfied by historical analysis, and this is either purely descriptive or critical; the standards of such criticism being fixed, not by abstract reasoning, but by a careful study of the creative work of the great masters of ancient and modern times.

3. Tendency to specialism.

There has been, secondly, as I have had repeated occasion to remark, a prevailing tendency, in all but the most recent thought of the last century, to deal only with definite and well-marked subjects, be they restricted regions of scientific and historical research or particular questions of practical interest. And although, as I have also had occasion to point out, a reaction against this specialising and atomising tendency

of thought has set in,—notably in the natural sciences and through the pressure of practical interests,—this has hardly made itself felt in the region of philosophical thought. Philosophy, though the parent of all the different natural and historical sciences, has nevertheless only tardily adopted the methods and points of view which have in the latter led to conspicuous success. Philosophical specialists have only sprung up long after scientific and historical specialisation had become the order of the day; and now it appears as if unification of thought on philosophical subjects may have to wait till such has been partially attained in other and more restricted regions. Thus the breaking up of the great philosophical problem into a variety of special questions is, to some extent, a tribute to the spirit of the age. Nevertheless it cannot be doubted that this atomising process of thought is least of all satisfactory in dealing with philosophical questions, and that this is being more and more realised by philosophical writers of opposite schools and in different countries.[1] The dictum of Herbert Spencer, that science is partially unified knowledge and

[1] In the Retrospect at the end of the second volume of this History (vol. ii. pp. 741 *sqq.*), I pointed out that in the course of the last century Science, in the narrower sense of the word, as exact Knowledge based upon observation, definition, measurement, and calculation, has, by a general but tacit consent, abandoned the ambitious task of uniting natural knowledge into a comprehensive system; and further, that this task has been handed over as one of the principal inducements and interests of philosophical thought. It is obvious that the latter cannot similarly relieve itself of this highest responsibility—viz., to bring unity into thought and knowledge, and that though it may have found it necessary to break up the main problem into separate problems it cannot permanently shirk its main duty. This explains the necessity of adding to the foregoing chapters which deal with the separate philosophical problems, a chapter which answers the question: what has the century done in the direction of defining, understanding, or solving the main problem?

philosophy completely unified knowledge, is probably one of the least disputed and most generally accepted expressions of that thinker, and this in the present day when his own ways of arriving at this unification are almost as generally rejected or forgotten. Now, if we may say that the present age is marked by a desire to arrive at unity of thought, we are forced at the same time to confess that it is equally marked by the failure to attain or even to approach it. In this respect it presents a great contrast to the state of things which prevailed a hundred years ago.

4. Failure to attain unity of thought.

Although the term introduced by Herbert Spencer—unification of knowledge and thought—is now generally adopted, it is only a new way of expressing what former ages said in different terms. They spoke of and produced systems of philosophy. The last generation has produced no original system. On the other hand, we hear and read a great deal of the monistic tendency of thought; popular periodicals and treatises have been published giving expression to this tendency. Thus we may define the character of the highest philosophical thought in the beginning of the nineteenth century by saying that it was essentially systematic; and again we may say that the tendency but not the character of philosophy at the end of the century is to a large extent monistic. An adoption of new terms and the discarding of old ones mark a change in philosophical thought itself which it will be of interest to examine more closely.

5. Monistic tendency.

Limiting ourselves for the moment to a consideration of philosophical thought in Germany during the course

of the nineteenth century, we find there the most pronounced expression of that contrast which I have just named. At the beginning of the century we find a succession of philosophical systems. Kant's philosophy, though it never called itself a system, enjoyed still a foremost place in the philosophical world. Several thinkers were occupied in giving to it that systematic unity of which they thought it stood in need. Following the earliest attempt of Reinhold we find a variety of attempts, such as that of Krug and, somewhat later, that of Fries; then we have in rapid succession the professedly systematic work of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. The latter probably marks the culmination of the systematic interest. This is less prominent, though still active, in Herbart and Schleiermacher, but it is revived again in an extreme form in Schopenhauer, whose system was complete forty years before it became generally known and appreciated. Simultaneously we can trace the breaking up of the systematic and comprehensive treatment of the philosophical problem in such writers as Beneke, who, influenced by Herbart, by English thought and by the empirical sciences alike, was the first important thinker in Germany who treated special philosophical problems, such as the psychological and the ethical problems, as separate and distinct branches in a way similar to that which prevailed in this country. The disintegration of systematic philosophy was further assisted in Germany by the introduction of other questions which had received little attention in the great philosophical systems, but which, nevertheless, demanded theoretical treatment.

6. Change in German thought.

Thus Fries and others introduced Anthropology, Schleiermacher religious and moral philosophy on a positive or Christian foundation; others, like Wilhelm von Humboldt, followed by philologists and philosophers alike, worked at the philosophy of language. Then again we have philosophy of law, political economy, and philosophy of the state and society, all treated more or less independently, with only a slight reference to and in only slender connection with the central problems of systematic thought; and lastly we have Psychophysics.

In consequence of these various influences and through this enlargement of philosophical interest, systematic philosophy became less and less possible unless the word "system" acquired an altered meaning. This altered meaning comes out fully and clearly for the first time in the philosophy of Lotze. It is characteristic of this stage of philosophical thought that the attempt to work out a system was the last of Lotze's performances. The systematisation of his ideas came at the end of his career and was never completed; whereas with Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and Schopenhauer the principle and the method of the system are the first thing that we meet with, subsequent treatment being mostly in the form of illustration or application. The older conception of systematic treatment, such as we find in the celebrated work of Schopenhauer, was continued in the labours of Hartmann, who put forward his leading and systematising principle in the earliest of his larger works, and whose subsequent literary career consisted mainly in treating a great variety of special problems or special subjects in the light of that principle,

defining it more clearly and defending it against attacks and misconceptions.

On the other side the latest important philosophical system in Germany, that of Wilhelm Wundt, came like that of Lotze after its author had published elaborate treatises on special scientific and philosophical subjects.[1] If the idea of the unification of *knowledge* as the task of philosophy was, in its modern form, for the first time clearly defined for English readers by Herbert Spencer, a similar but larger task, that of the unification of *thought*, was defined quite twenty years earlier for German students by Lotze; and, though in general unacknowledged, the view which he takes of the task of philosophy is still that which seems to commend itself to thinkers of all shades of opinion alike.

7. Lotze's intermediate position.

It will therefore be of use to us if in a review of the different attempts towards unification of thought which the century presents we take our position on the ground prepared by Lotze in the middle of the period, and, looking backward and forward from this position, realise how it differed from the earlier and the later endeavours to perform this highest of philosophical tasks: the unification of thought. And in order to give my readers a clue to the changes and developments which have taken place in the treatment of this central philosophical problem, I may at once state that during the earlier part of the century philosophical speculation was

[1] Wundt published his 'System' in the year 1889 at the age of fifty-seven. It had been preceded by physiological, psychological, logical, and ethical treatises beginning with the year 1858. All the more important philosophical works of Wundt have been translated into English.

primarily occupied in seeking and establishing the right Principle of unification, that in the middle of the century it was more definitely occupied with the Method of unification, and that towards the end of the period, when both the principle and the method of unification had become doubtful or uncertain, the need and Purpose of a unification of thought made itself more and more felt. The necessity of arriving at some firm and consistent view of the world and life,—what we may term a reasoned creed,—seems to have impressed itself in proportion as the leading idea of such a creed and the method of arriving at it have become uncertain and unsettled. These remarks apply more fully to German philosophical thought[1] than to that of other countries,

[1] A very practical proof of this condition of thought will be found in the publication of a volume entitled 'Weltanschauung' (1911). It has the sub-title 'Philosophy and Religion,' and contains ten quite independent Discourses on the former and nine on the latter subject, testifying to the interest which both subjects command at the present day, but also to the want of agreement in what is offered to satisfy it. Although only one of the contributors, Prof. Carl Güttler, mentions the name of Lotze, we are told in the Preface (p. xi) by Dr Frischeisen-Köhler that the object even of specialists in the mental sciences is not confined to description and calculation, but must lead on to an understanding of the facts and events they have to deal with, and these are exactly the words with which Lotze concludes the first volume of his 'System' (1874, p. 597). To what extent the volume in question represents, or is under the influence of, the teaching of Dilthey, who contributes the first lengthy Discourse with the title 'Die Typen der Weltanschauung,' is not easy to determine. The preface certainly breathes the spirit which permeates all Dilthey's later writings, notably the discourse on the 'Foundation of the Mental Sciences' quoted in the last chapter (Trans. Berl. Acad., 1910), and the full explanation and illustrations given there on the difference between description and understanding of facts and events. The latter is occupied with the reference of all creations in the mental world, termed cultural systems, to the mind of the individual man and of mankind. Whereas the natural sciences detach as much as possible the objects of their research from their connection with their subjective origin, the mental or philosophical sciences are mainly intent upon bringing out this subjective factor. Lotze in the passage referred to considers

but I shall have an opportunity of showing later on to what extent they characterise likewise the development of philosophical thought in France and in this country.

So far as Lotze's own position is concerned, we may see it defined in many passages of his writings and lectures: most concisely in the published Notes of his lectures on "Encyclopædia of Philosophy."[1] It is as follows: "General culture as well as the separate sciences contain a number of assumptions, the origin of which is obscure, because they have been gradually formed by the comparison of many experiences, or have at least become conscious to us only through such experience. Since they

that this conception of an interpretation of reality as distinguished from a mere description was probably in the mind of Plato, and constituted also the real intention of Hegel's dialectic. Readers of the 'Microcosmus' will be inclined to see in it the first attempt to solve this problem on lines more in harmony with modern thought, discarding the metaphysical formalism of Hegel, of which Dilthey approves as little as Lotze did in his time. In fact, the words of Lotze are prophetic of the philosophical movement forty years after his time, as represented in the writings and the school of Dilthey. To what extent Dilthey seems to go beyond the position of Lotze I shall have a future opportunity of pointing out (see *infra*, p. 772). On Lotze's connection with modern thought in Germany see the very interesting Address by Prof. R. Falckenberg (April 1913), published in the 'Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Philosophische Kritik' (vol. 150, pp. 37-56).

[1] This Course of Lectures was, according to the historical data given by Rhenisch (see the Appendix to the 'Grundzüge der Æsthetik,' 1884, p. 108), delivered for the first time under the title "Logic and encyclopædic Introduction to other parts of Philosophy," in the year 1845, the number of hearers being given as sixty. Considering that the number of students at that time at the University of Göttingen was probably not more than seven hundred, the proportion attending these lectures does not seem to have been much less than the proportion of those who attend the much more frequented philosophical lectures in German universities at the present day. A decline in numbers took place shortly after that time, but they rose again considerably after the war of 1870, the Lectures on Psychology and Philosophy of Religion increasing in popularity. It is also worth noting that in the earlier years of Lotze's Göttingen career the term Encyclopædia of Philosophy alternates with that of Theory of Knowledge, and that in the later period the term Encyclopædia disappears altogether, the lectures being advertised merely as "Logic."

have received definite expression in the words of language, we have become accustomed to use them without first investigating their foundation, their meaning, or the limits of their validity. In this way both common life and science make use of the conceptions of 'cause and effect,' 'matter and force,' 'end and means,' 'freedom and necessity,' 'body and soul,' &c.; and in consequence of the absence of that investigation they entangle themselves very frequently in contradictions, inasmuch as they are unable to define the region of validity of these frequently opposite assumptions. We may then formally define the task of philosophy as the endeavour to impart unity and consistency to the scattered thoughts of general culture: to follow them into their first presuppositions as well as into their ultimate consequences, to connect them all together, to remove their contradictions and to combine them to a comprehensive view of the world and of life; mainly, however, to make those conceptions which in science and practice serve as principles the subject of a special examination with the object of determining the limits of their validity. Philosophy is partly the name for an investigation which is carried on to this purpose, partly the systematic exposition of the results arrived at."

8. Lotze's definition of philosophy.

After his definition, of which the foregoing is a somewhat free rendering, Lotze proceeds to discuss the questions of the unity, the method, and the principle of philosophical reasoning. He maintains that the desire for unity and the search after one unifying principle has been frequently exaggerated; for the unity of principle is in itself a mere assumption. But

should we, in the course of our speculation, be led to assume two or more principles, the task would still remain to show how these different principles interact so as to lead to that connection which we must assume to exist in every world which is One world. And Lotze is still more opposed to postulating a unity of method. For this latter assumption there is neither need nor justification. Rather we must claim for our investigation "complete freedom to make use of any possible device which, in the position that we human beings occupy in the midst of all reality, may lead us by straight or circuitous paths to an accurate comprehension of that reality." Every investigation, however, assumes not only the existence of a Truth in the world, but further also that we are in possession of formal rules of thought which permit us to deduce from any assumed truth by a necessary process other truths possessing a definite meaning.

We may now compare the position which Lotze takes up with that which has influenced all recent, but notably all German, philosophy, viz., the earlier position of Kant. And here we find an agreement as well as a marked difference. Both Kant and Lotze begin their speculation by a reflection on the possibility and the means of philosophising, but Kant exaggerates this preliminary or critical undertaking to such an extent that he apparently loses sight of the ultimate object—the unification and systematisation of thought. This he promised to give in a future system,—a promise which was never fulfilled. Lotze, however, admits that all important philosophical questions are dealt with in Kant's critical writings, and

that the promised system would only have been a differently arranged exposition of the results arrived at in the 'Critiques.' But Lotze admits also, what is not clear in Kant's own undertaking, that his own as well as the Kantian way of approaching the philosophical problem involves an inevitable circle. Human reason is required to pass judgment as to the truthfulness of its own enunciations, and this by appealing to some of these as the ground for such judgment. With this in view Lotze limits, to begin with, the task of philosophy to an endeavour to bring connection and consistency into the whole of our ideas and observations, and he postpones an answer to the question whether this consistent whole, when attained, possesses any objective truth corresponding to the real nature of things. Kant had in an early part of his first 'Critique' arrived at the conclusion that the real nature of things, or what he termed the "Thing in itself," cannot be reached by our reasoning powers, inasmuch as our knowledge is based only on a varied and frequently unconnected subjective experience, and is, as such, occupied only with what appears: it is purely phenomenal and not real.

This result of Kant's early 'Critique' was that which attracted at the time undue attention, and provoked not only serious opposition but also a strenuous and long-sustained effort to find a way towards that knowledge of the nature of things, or of the "thing in itself," which Kant had pronounced to be unattainable. This involved a neglect of the other and more fruitful side of Kant's speculations, to which Lotze, following to some extent

on the road indicated by Herbart, desired to return. This return was more pointedly proclaimed by a school of thinkers who were little influenced by Lotze's speculations and did much to divert philosophical interest into other channels, postponing for a time the treatment of the central philosophical problem — the unification of Thought.

9. Relation of Lotze to the Idealists.

As the latter was clearly before the mind of Lotze as the last and highest problem of philosophy, he felt—as he has told us himself—more sympathy with the idealism of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, than with the exact treatment of isolated philosophical problems which had been started by the followers of Herbart and of Fries, and by the Neo-Kantians. In his various writings through which he gained a wider reputation, notably in the 'Microcosmus,' the systematic interest is indeed, to a large extent, pushed into the background, coming forward only in a tentative manner in the third section of the last volume, where he treats of the "connection of things." His scientific and medical studies had convinced him that a unification of thought could only be arrived at on a much broader basis of facts, that these had to be collected from the wide regions of science and history, of artistic and poetical literature alike. When he, after giving this general survey, attempted to put his conclusions into a systematic form, he had to admit that such did not profess to be a systematisation similar to that which the great thinkers of the first half of the century had attempted, but that it could consist only in a general indication how the different lines of reasoning which he had made use

of in his scientific and popular writings might be brought together into a comprehensive view, and that this would necessarily bear a personal and subjective character. And as such, *i.e.*, in the fragmentary form of indications and suggestions, this, the last important systematic attempt in Germany, has indeed remained, and the more so because its author was called away before he had time to write the third and concluding volume of his system. But, as he himself said about Kant, the promised system would probably not have contained any fundamental contributions which we may not be able to trace, at least in outline, from his earlier writings.

10. Two views as to unification provoked by Kant.

So far then as the unification of thought is concerned, the writings of Kant provoked two distinct departures, the one earlier, the other later. The earlier fastened upon the so-called dualism of his system, proclaimed this to be intolerable, and attempted to remove it by looking out for some principle which lay deeper than the position from which Kant had started. This dualism appeared prominently in Kant's distinction between theoretical and practical reason, and a solution was supposed to be contained in a suggestion which Kant himself threw out in his third 'Critique,' in which he deals with the æsthetical problem and puts forward the idea of Purpose in the world as a regulative principle which the thinking mind could make use of in its search for purely causal or mechanical connections. Both Fichte and Schelling started from these later indications of Kant, whereas Reinhold had confined

his attempts to unify Kant's thought more exclusively to the purely theoretical expositions contained in the first 'Critique.' And this purely theoretical or, as we may term it, essentially scientific and logical interest supervened again in a much more comprehensive spirit in Hegel's system, which was elaborated after its author had fully assimilated the valuable suggestions contained in Fichte's and Schelling's less systematic writings. The valuable suggestions may be summed up in two distinct notions. These have, in the course of the nineteenth century, asserted themselves again and again in various forms, and in speculative treatises which have, in some cases, had little or no connection with Kant's philosophy. They are the practical or active principle in the human mind and the artistic or poetical conception of the world and life. The former was, more emphatically than by Kant himself, urged by Fichte in his doctrine of the primacy of the human will; the second forms the main characteristic of Schelling's earlier writings.

It was not until the first brilliant attempts to utilise these suggestions for the purpose of building up connected systems of thought had been confidently made and received by the philosophical public, and subsequently found wanting and repudiated, that the second departure referred to above, which we may term the Neo-Kantian, came gradually into favour. This change of philosophical interest took place about the middle of the century, and was assisted by a variety of causes, to which I have had frequent occasion to refer. The result

of this development has been the breaking up of the philosophical problem into a variety of distinct problems, such as I have dealt with in the foregoing chapters. We may say that the main cause of this new departure was the growth and diffusion of the scientific spirit on the one side, of the historical and critical spirit on the other. This new spirit, which is characteristic of nineteenth century thought, dispelled, for a time at least, what we may term the genuinely philosophical interest which is directed towards a unification of thought.

So far as the Kantian philosophy is concerned it was very early recognised that not only did it harbour an inherent dualism, but that, moreover, it was based upon certain facts and assumptions which were insufficiently proved or not even clearly set out. Notably the first 'Critique' started with definitions and distinctions adopted without sufficient justification from the Aristotelian logic and from the traditional psychology of the schools. With notions mainly drawn from these sources Kant attempted to criticise the notions of the traditional metaphysic of the schools and, at the same time, to reply to the doubts which had gradually sprung up through Locke's, Berkeley's, and Hume's original investigations. To many thinkers Kant's critical work did not appear to be thorough enough. It had, moreover, taken over from those various sources an amount of dry and unnecessary formalism which obscured the main points, made the study of his works unnecessarily laborious, and might possibly carry into the ultimate conclusions hidden errors which a more careful scrutiny would be able to correct. What was indeed wanted was a new and

correcter psychology [1] and a new and less formal system of logic.

11. British contributions in psychology and logic.

Both these desiderata were to some extent supplied by the labours of the English school. In it the first important work that was, after the lapse of nearly a century, again to affect German thought, was the treatise on 'Logic' by John Stuart Mill. That side of Mill's treatise which attracted attention in Germany was his

[1] In Germany this revision of the Kantian position was started, after the general ideas contained in the idealistic systems had lost their absorbing interest, mainly by two thinkers, Lotze and Trendelenburg, whose merits are being more and more acknowledged in the present day. One of the principal results of this revising process has been to bring out a marked difference in the conception as to the foundation of philosophical reasoning: Is it to be psychological or logical? Two schools have sprung up in Germany, termed psychological and anti-psychological. Of the former Prof. Franz Brentano (born 1838) may be considered the earliest and most pronounced representative; of the latter Prof. Edm. Husserl is the great protagonist, and this in conscious opposition to Brentano, under whose influence his earlier writings were composed. Both schools are much influenced by Lotze, who, probably first among modern thinkers, tried to bring some clearness into the subject, which was quite insufficiently treated by Kant. It belongs, however, so much to what Lotze would have termed the domestic affairs of the philosophical schools, that it hardly enters into a history of philosophical thought. To give the general reader some indication of the import of the controversy, I may refer to Lotze's distinction of the three regions into which the experience of the contemplating mind may be divided—the region of definite things, the region of relations, and the region of judgments of value. Things exist or do not exist, relations obtain (are valid) or do not obtain, and judgments of value are either approval or disapproval. This distinction no doubt is ultimately a psychological one, *i.e.*, gained by reflection; but the question arises whether each of these regions of thought contains a sufficiently definite and permanent foundation to form the separate sciences or bodies of methodical thought and knowledge. The modern theory of development has introduced the idea of a continuous change, to which the human mind must be as susceptible as everything else. It is quite evident that so far as logic and morals are concerned, no satisfactory theory of either is possible without the belief in the existence of some unalterable truth and some supreme law of conduct. It is difficult to see how a thoroughgoing philosophy of Evolution can furnish these. To those who desire to be introduced into the details of the controversy as it exists in German literature, I recommend the first part of a tract by Dr Karl Heim, with the title: 'Psychologismus oder Anti-Psychologismus' (1902).

analysis of the methods of thought which had become current and useful in the mathematical and physical sciences. Whewell's 'History of the Inductive Sciences' was likewise translated into German. The translation of both these standard works was undertaken, not in the interest of pure philosophy, but by men of science in a scientific interest.

In addition to this influence of English philosophy of science must be mentioned Beneke's study of English psychology. But though Beneke was a philosopher, his writings did not during his lifetime receive due appreciation by contemporary thinkers in Germany, but had to wait till the Neo-Kantian movement of thought had gained strength from other sources. The most important other influence which worked in the same direction was the fresh life infused into psychological studies by the new science of physiology, notably of the physiology of the senses. This had its centre in the labours of Johannes Müller, which had an international influence, giving rise to important researches in all the three countries.

12. Influence of physiology.

In Germany it was notably through Müller's great disciple Helmholtz, through E. H. Weber, through Lotze, Fechner, and Wundt, that these physiological researches gained their revolutionising influence upon philosophical thought. But in the hands of by far the larger number of philosophical students and scholars these fruitful and promising researches led away from the main philosophical problem, with the result that instead of a unification a disintegration of thought set in, with apparently little prospect of the discovery of any unifying principle which should bring together

again the scattered fragments into an orderly and comprehensive system or a reasoned creed.

And yet we must recognise, as I stated above, that such a creed, a monistic view of life, a connected and reasoned body of fundamental convictions to serve as a foundation of belief and a guide to conduct, is at the moment more than ever demanded.

Now wherever we meet with such a demand we may say that this denotes, and springs from, a deep religious interest: using the word "religion" in the wider sense which it acquired in the Latin language before the Christian era, and which would cover not only the religion of Israel and Christ but also the reasoned and systematic creeds of the more prominent philosophical schools which existed at the dawn of the Christian era. And thus we may say that at the present moment the supreme interest which leads men to philosophise is the same as that which governed philosophical thought at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century: it is the religious interest. But though the same, it is yet on a totally different level that this interest manifests itself after the lapse of more than a hundred years. In order to fix this difference and bring it clearly before the minds of my readers, I will define it by saying that at the end of the eighteenth century in Germany the philosophical problem suggested by the religious interest was that of the relation of Faith and Knowledge, whereas at the end of our period the problem had assumed a different aspect: we may define it as the problem of Belief or Unbelief.

13. Return of the religious interest in philosophy.

This modern phase in which the religious interest

14. Altered aspect of this interest.

presents its problem to the philosophic mind, had not been reached at the end of the eighteenth century. Philosophical language shows this. There are three words very familiar in the philosophical vocabulary of to-day which we do not meet with in philosophic writings at the end of the eighteenth century—they are Pessimism, Agnosticism, Indifferentism. The modern spirit characterised by these terms was at the beginning of the nineteenth century unknown in all the three countries with which I am dealing. In Germany the optimism of Leibniz' philosophy survived all the misfortunes which befell the nation, and though the frightful catastrophe of the earthquake of Lisbon had shaken a shallow and superficial belief which pervaded a large portion of popular literature and was ridiculed by Voltaire, it had on more serious thinkers and writers the effect of prompting them to search for the foundations of their faith and the ground of their hopefulness in deeper and higher regions of thought, not in a reliance on mere external prosperity and success.

Both in Germany and France confidence abounded in the resources of the human mind, though this was characteristically bestowed in Germany upon philosophical speculation, resulting in idealism and transcendentalism; whereas in France it was bestowed upon the resources of scientific thought, which was held to have kindled the torchlight of Reason, dispelled the darkness of superstition, and swept away political and clerical tyranny and oppression. In this country an era of remarkable industrial progress had begun; political and social philosophy had got a fresh start, and were

hopeful of bringing about, by patient and enlightened reforms, that liberty which the French Revolution had attempted to gain by more violent methods, but had to a large extent lost again. This confidence of the human mind in its own resources, be they speculative, scientific, or practical, was confirmed and heightened by new creations and discoveries in literature, poetry, art, and science, by a revival of the religious spirit in England which for a long time obscured the hidden influences of Hume's scepticism, and by the educational interest in Germany and Switzerland. The latter combined with religious inwardness Rousseau's belief in the inherent goodness of human nature.

15. Loss of confidence in the powers of the human mind.

This hopefulness which characterised European thought till far on into the nineteenth century received its first great blow through the reactionary movement in French thought. It was aggravated by the disillusionment of the speculative mind in Germany towards the middle of the century, when the resources of idealism failed, and the belief in them was replaced by a belief in the methods and principles of science on the one side, of historical research and criticism on the other. An arrogant materialism set in, which lacked the originality as well as the literary graces so characteristic of the writings of the French encyclopædists two generations earlier. This, as also the slow and changing processes through which the historical schools matured their results, tended to weaken the belief in the powers of human reason to arrive at any certainty at all, and prepared younger minds in Germany for the reception of that pessimistic view which was brilliantly developed in the writings of

Schopenhauer, von Hartmann, and Nietzsche. This direction of thought was likewise assisted by the disappointment which, in Germany, succeeded the failure of the political movement of the year 1848. The latter had been largely led by theorists and supported by scholars and students from the German universities. Political as well as philosophical aspirations had failed. To this must be added the renewed influence of the critical writings of Kant and the sceptical writings of Hume, to which Neo-Kantians in Germany and Neo-Hegelians in England drew marked attention. The word Agnosticism was coined to denote the hopeless attitude in which the human mind found itself with regard to what Carlyle termed the "Eternal Verities." This term was destined to acquire a much larger meaning than either Huxley or Spencer probably realised, when the criticism of the principles of scientific thought revealed not only their formal precision and practical usefulness but quite as much their essential instability and uncertainty, their purely provisional nature.

16. Different attitudes in the three countries.

To the brilliantly expressed pessimism of Schopenhauer in Germany and the widespread agnosticism proceeding from Spencer in England, France added the probabilism of Renan. Thus, all three countries contributed, in their own way, to expose the general inconclusiveness of modern lines of reasoning: Germany of speculative, England of scientific, France of historical and critical research. An attempt has been made to admit in general this inconclusiveness of modern European thought, and at the same time to answer and counteract it. And it is significant

that this answer has been most impressively given from the other side of the Atlantic, where a new and vigorous civilisation finds itself confronted afresh with the fundamental questions of conduct and belief. It is, we are told, from the side of practice that these eternal problems have to be attacked. The pessimistic solution of Schopenhauer, that the human Will is the source of evil, has been reversed, and the mainsprings of action have been proclaimed as containing the only revelation that Reality has vouchsafed to human beings.

It has been pointed out that this Pragmatism is only a new and telling name for a tendency which is not only revealing itself among original and leading thinkers in the New World, but is to be found also among foremost representatives of European thought, such as Wundt in Germany and Bergson in France. The prominent questions then which philosophy is called upon to answer at the end of the nineteenth century are, where to find certitude in matters of belief and conviction, where to find sanction and authority for the rules of conduct? As speculative knowledge has been discarded, and scientific knowledge is more and more absorbed in the successful investigation of the purely mechanical order of things and the conquest of nature, the question becomes increasingly urgent as to the independent reality of the moral and spiritual factors of life. Are they identical, as one school of modern thinkers maintains? Can morality be placed upon an independent foundation, and if so, is this scientific and relative or original and absolute? If, on the other side, morality cannot permanently live and grow except on a spiritual foundation,

17. Questions of certitude of belief and sanction for moral law.

as another school of thinkers maintains, then the philosophical problem presents itself as to the source of certitude in matters of faith. The mediating task of philosophical thought cannot be undertaken till the questions have been answered: knowledge or no knowledge? certainty or no certainty? something that is intrinsically good and valuable or a mere semblance and passing illusion? Philosophically expressed, it is the problem of the Absolute. As to the existence of this the beginning of the century harboured no doubt, the end of the century, the present age, has no certainty.

18. Retrospect.

In the third part of the general Introduction to this Work I indicated the position which I would assign to philosophy in the 'History of Nineteenth Century Thought.' It was to occupy an intermediate position between scientific and religious thought; its principal task being to effect a reconciliation between these two regions — the region of methodical knowledge on the one side, and the region of personal convictions on the other. Upon this, as it would seem to many, modest task of mediating between, or reconciling, two distinct aspects of thought, philosophy has only retired during the second half of the century. At the end of the eighteenth, and through the greater part of the first half of the nineteenth century, the pretensions of philosophy, at least in Germany, were of a much higher order. It was nothing less than the attempt to elevate subjects of Faith into subjects of Knowledge. This involved two distinct assumptions which the present age is not generally prepared to allow. The first assumption is: the existence of a distinct and tolerably

well-defined body of beliefs, of a religious faith expressed in a small number of well-defined Articles. The second assumption is: that the human mind is in possession—or at least in confident search—of a method by which these definite and generally accepted Articles of Faith can be rationalised and brought into reasoned connection with the large body of existing natural, scientific, and historical knowledge. These two assumptions, which formed as it were the background of all philosophical speculation in Germany for at least two-thirds of a century, beginning with the year 1770, cannot nowadays be safely taken for granted by any philosophical writer. Both require, to say the least, a preliminary justification based upon a searching analysis.

The task of mediating between two forms of knowledge, or between Knowledge and Faith, was first assigned to philosophy by Leibniz, whose whole literary career was characterised by the endeavour to do justice to different and frequently opposed schools of thought, of science, and of belief; throwing out manifold suggestions whereby a reconciliation might be brought about. In this respect the system of Leibniz, which was only adumbrated by its author but never carried out with any approach to consistency and completeness, stands in direct contrast to that of Spinoza, who put forward a compact body of doctrine which was at once his science, his philosophy, and his religion. For various reasons, which for our present purpose it is not necessary to enumerate, this compact and comprehensive philosophical creation of Spinoza was not at the time either appreciated or even understood. The many existing controversies,

religious, ecclesiastical, political, and scientific, were so prominent and absorbing that the time had not yet arrived for accepting a dogmatic system produced by a solitary thinker, who had retired from contact with the world and acquired that serenity of mind to which the loud assertions of opposed parties presented themselves merely as different modes of one and the same highest truth. Nor had the different existing beliefs in various regions lost that vitality the absence of which would have prepared the thinking and searching mind for the reception of a new truth. In one word, reconciliation of the many scattered views and theories was more wanted than the construction of a new doctrine and theory of life. Thus it came about that the spirit of conciliation, with an optimistic belief in its possibility, which characterised Leibniz' work, was more acceptable and became more popular.

The endeavour to carry out the system which its author had only adumbrated, and to convert it into a teachable doctrine, became the task of the followers of Leibniz, of whom Christian Wolff was the most industrious and successful. The result of Wolff's labours, however, soon proved to be unsatisfactory: the best ideas of Leibniz were on the point of being lost; the work of reconciliation, the higher synthesis, turned out to be merely a shallow compromise. A dry formalism, easy to teach but destructive of the spirit of Leibniz' philosophy, was introduced, which, in the sequel, tended to make philosophy trivial and ridiculous, or to reduce it merely to the dicta of common-sense. The deeper truths which lay hidden in the world of

nature as well as in, what Leibniz termed, the "world of Grace," seemed to be lost or hidden away in an esoteric philosophy which was not taught in the schools. Accordingly the time came when two distinct tasks presented themselves to thinkers—the one in the direction of renewing with more method and circumspection Leibniz' attempt to reconcile knowledge and faith, the other to deepen and enliven both through a more sympathetic study of things pertaining to the natural and external world on the one side, to the individual and spiritual world on the other.

The first of these great tasks rose clearly before the mind of Kant, whose earlier writings were occupied with various problems suggested in Leibniz' philosophy; whose academic teaching followed much in the lines of the Wolffian school; but who, largely through the study of English thinkers, notably of Hume, succeeded in finding a new point of departure.

The second great task was attacked from various sides by thinkers who had freed themselves from the philosophy of the schools, who were not tied down to systematic teaching, and who found in instinctive and intuitive knowledge, gained through an immediate contact with its object, a new source of inspiration.

The new life which was infused into general literature, into science and philosophy alike, came thus from two independent sources, of which the one was eminently, but not exclusively, critical, of which the other was constructive and, in the sequel, became dogmatic.

These two springs of new life, the critical and the creative, stand out in full contrast in the two greatest

19. Position in Germany at the beginning of the century.

representatives of German thought and literature during the latter part of the eighteenth century: in Kant and Goethe. Yet before their genius manifested its greatness and originality through independent critical and poetic creations, the two ways had been prepared, but not clearly separated, by Lessing and Herder, of whom the former was the more critical and accurate, the latter the more original and suggestive. In the persons of Lessing and Herder a theological education secured the religious interest which both maintained throughout their career without attaching themselves to any definite philosophical school or to any narrow denominational confession. Both were actuated by the love of freedom and the spirit of tolerance, in both also there lived the spirit of Leibniz as well as that of Spinoza. They inherited from the former the historical sense and the idea of development in nature and history; in the latter they admired the creative spirit as well as the organising and constructive effort. The special work of philosophy was taken up by Kant with the distinct desire to bring about a reconciliation between science and religion, but in a different manner from that which Leibniz had attempted or which had been adopted by the more enlightened among his followers. They had conceived of faith and religion as consisting in a special knowledge of things spiritual, notably of God and His revelation, of human freedom and immortality. These spiritual truths were contrasted and brought together with what were termed the truths of nature, such as Causality, Necessity, the physical pre-determined law and order of things.

In Kant this problem assumed a different aspect. He prepared the way from the metaphysical to the psychological treatment of the religious problem. Although, in the sequel of his investigations, he dealt with such conceptions as efficient and final causes, the Universal Order, the Divine Being, Freedom of the Will, Immortality of the Soul, and the existence of Evil and Sin, he did not set out with a metaphysical analysis of these, but with the object of defining wherein consisted the mental process of acquiring Knowledge and the mental process and function of Belief. He reduced both to immediate evidence, but to evidence of a different kind; the one being the evidence of the physical senses, the other the evidence of the moral sense, the law of conscience.

Before Kant published his critical examination into the processes of theoretical and practical reasoning and advanced to a suggestion how the two might be brought together and admit of a reasoned religious as well as scientific creed, another thinker had independently taken up the problem from a similar—*i.e.*, from the psychological—point of view. This was F. H. Jacobi, who through his clear and finished style acquired a considerable influence in a wide circle of readers to whom Kant's severe and formal discussions would otherwise have remained inaccessible and repellent.

Jacobi's writings occupy an important place in the history of philosophical though not of systematic thought. It is mostly through his criticism of the Kantian doctrine that he succeeded in defining his own position and acquired considerable popularity. But, like Fichte after

him, he had approached independently the great problem of philosophy, the religious problem, before he experienced the influence of Kant's writings. Jacobi may be counted among the philosophers of common-sense. He never admitted that the dualism of reasoned and intuitive knowledge could be overcome. He was influenced by English thinkers, such as Shaftesbury, Locke, and Hume, but his conception of sense was not the narrow meaning of the word. Sense meant for him likewise sentiment. The earlier writings through which he became known would have classed him with the novelists. The influence of English writers, such as Richardson and Goldsmith, is quite apparent, but in addition to this he also came early under the influence of the writings of Rousseau through his acquaintance with the Genevese philosophers Le Sage and Bonnet.

Jacobi had not only common-sense, he had also sentiment and sensitiveness. A pure nature with a high moral tone, he nevertheless inclined towards an æsthetical view of morality, and thus it came that both the sentimental and æsthetical side of his nature combined to put him in opposition to Kant, to whom common-sense was intellectually insufficient and whose ethical system was based exclusively upon the ideas of duty and obligation. Jacobi was a divided nature, and he made no attempt to bring the two sides of his philosophy into reasoned agreement — in fact, he maintained that such dualism was unavoidable and inherent in the human mind. He had a considerable personal and literary influence on other thinkers such as Goethe, Fichte, and Schleiermacher, but they all

passed out of the phase which his thought represents and sought for that unity of thought and feeling which he himself considered to be unattainable by human reason.

In fact, the position which Jacobi occupied could not in the long-run be maintained. It marks a transitional phase, a compromise, and was as such indicative of a want of confidence in the powers of the human mind to solve its greatest and fundamental problem. Thus Goethe separated from him because he felt that in his own poetical conception of nature he had discovered that unity and harmony, that comprehensive aspect, which Jacobi himself never reached. Fichte went beyond him, or rather absorbed the truth of Jacobi's philosophy of Belief, in a higher conception of Faith and Religion, which he developed in his later philosophical writings. And, lastly, so far as Jacobi's actual religious position was concerned, he never arrived at a definition of the relation of natural (rational) and historical (revealed) religion. He looked upon both as a revelation.

Now, what was termed Natural Religion—whether such a body of doctrine can be reasonably established or not — has certainly never exerted a lasting moral or spiritual influence unless it has attached itself to some historical or traditional authority. Thus we find that Schleiermacher, in the course of his philosophical development, took up more and more the position of a teacher and interpreter of Christian dogmatics and ethics. And in the hands of some of Schleiermacher's successors, notably of Albrecht Ritschl, we find that the reliance on natural religion, on a philosophical as dis-

tinguished from the positive Christian creed, has been finally abandoned.

Had Jacobi been an academic teacher and forced as such to systematise and define his ideas more exactly, these ideas could not have remained in that fragmentary and transitory condition in which they exercised considerable influence on other independent and original thinkers while never rising to a leading position in philosophical thought in general.

This leading position was, at the time, held by Kant, whose line of reasoning became so much more fruitful because it contained not one but several suggestions how a unification of thought and knowledge might be attained. In this respect it supplied notably three definite ideas. All three have been fixed by philosophical terms which Kant introduced, which were taken up by his followers, and which have been permanently incorporated in philosophical language.

20. Unifying principles in Kant.

The first directing thought is to be found in the first of Kant's 'Critiques.' It is there termed "the unity of apperception of the intellect." After having adopted that psychological or subjective view of the whole of our theoretical knowledge which maintains that it is made up of ideas, it finds the unity of this aggregate or sequence of ideas in the unity of the apperceiving mind, in which attention, memory, and imagination play the leading part. Yet in opposition to this subjective or psychological unity of thought and knowledge there remains impressed on the mind the apparent unity and order of an external world. This Kant could never explain or explain away. It remained as a limiting conception, as

"the Thing in itself." The very attempt to find the unity of knowledge in the subjective principle led to a dualism of the noumenal and phenomenal.

The second unifying principle in Kant's philosophy is to be found in the second 'Critique': it is the moral law, "the categorical imperative," commonly called Conscience. And inasmuch as this was something different from the purely intellectual unity of apperception, it presented itself as the principle of Reality in the life of the human mind in addition and frequently in opposition to the purely phenomenal world of impressions, desires, and feelings revealed by introspection. And the relation of this categorical imperative, of this point of reference, to the purely empirical, accidental, and contingent flow of ideas, desires, and feelings, suggested that the principle underlying it, the human Will, indicated likewise the nature of that reality in the outer world which the first 'Critique' had retained in the limiting conception of the "Thing in itself."

Lastly, the third of Kant's 'Critiques' dealt with the reconciliation of the "mechanical connection of things," indicated and governed by the law of Causation, with the teleological view which the human mind inevitably forms: the conception of an end and purpose. It is the governing principle in our æsthetical view of nature, and it occurs likewise as a regulative principle, as a sign-post indicating the direction by following which the mind may discover the causal or mechanical connection of things. It is the "intellectual Intuition" of the artist, the inventor, and the discoverer.

The first great thinker who appreciated these im-

21. Fichte.

portant suggestions contained in Kant's 'Critiques' and set himself to follow out the trains of reasoning which they indicated was Fichte. He did not propose merely to criticise Kant's doctrine or to take up single points, as had been done by others; he proposed to think out the Kantian scheme to its completion and to bring together the different lines of reasoning. But in addition to the Kantian philosophy there was another and distinct philosophical influence which made itself felt in Fichte's system. This influence came through the renewed study of Spinoza's works, which had been cultivated outside and before the appearance of the Kantian philosophy by many prominent and original thinkers in Germany. It formed the subject of an interesting conversation which Jacobi had with Lessing shortly before the death of the latter and before the appearance, in the same year, of Kant's first 'Critique.' Jacobi himself published later an account of this conversation, and also an exposition of Spinoza's system as well as of that of Hume; and there is no doubt that through these writings, which interested a much larger circle than did the writings of Kant, the philosophical horizon was greatly widened.

Since that time three distinct philosophical aspects have exerted a changing and recurrent influence upon all the most important Continental thought. These three aspects are identified with the names of Kant, Spinoza, and Leibniz. It may be said that Kant and Spinoza dominate the earlier, Kant and Leibniz the later, philosophy of the century.

Still more than was the case with Kant and Jacobi

did the religious problem occupy and stimulate the early speculations of Fichte. Hesitating for a time whether he would be a religious or a philosophical teacher, he finally entered the academic career, in which he became a great moral, religious, and political power; and the religious interest asserted itself in a still greater degree in the later of his published works and in his later courses of lectures.

The first of his writings, which at once made him celebrated, was a Critique, written in the Kantian spirit, of the conception of historical Revelation—a problem which had been discussed already by Lessing in his Treatise on the 'Education of Humanity,' but which at that time had not yet been dealt with by Kant himself.

In opposition to the doctrine of the inherent goodness of the natural man, proclaimed by Rousseau, and also to the rationalistic conception of Christianity as a purely moral code, Fichte dealt in his Treatise with the much deeper problem of Sin, Evil, and Redemption. And thus he showed a greater understanding of the religious problem than was current in the existing rationalistic and sentimental literature of the day. Fichte was, however, forced into opposition with the orthodox section, as was Lessing before him, through attacks of the former, largely provoked by jealousy of his rising academic influence and of the novel spirit which he infused into university life. Inspired as Fichte was by a belief in the omnipotence and omipresence of the Divine Spirit, which he conceived to be the Moral Order, he nevertheless could not reconcile

with his view the attributes of personality. These he conceived as being indissolubly connected with the limitations of human persons. Throughout the whole of his philosophy he never adopted that term as expressive of his deepest and highest religious conviction, however much he may have gradually found a philosophical expression for the moral Truths of the Christian religion.

If we now inquire how Fichte, in addition to the religious problem which directed all his thought, dealt with the more technical philosophical problem, the unification of thought or knowledge, we find that he takes up Kant's position. But instead of asking, how is experience possible? he puts the deeper question, how is consciousness or self-consciousness possible? And while Kant's first answer to his question was, "by the unity of apperception," Fichte put the question more pertinently, how is this unity of apperception or of consciousness possible, *i.e.*, thinkable and intelligible? And the answer which he gave to this question was: "through an original act or activity." He thus at once seized upon the link between the unity of the theoretical and that of the practical reason, which in Kant's system was indeed suggested but not clearly and consistently established. At the same time he threw overboard, as unnecessary and misleading, the idea of an additional external unity of the "Thing in itself," which had remained as a limiting idea in Kant's system.[1]

[1] The fundamental practical idea first clearly stated by Fichte, that a moral purpose must form the explanation of every satisfactory analysis of the stages and development, not only of practical, but also of theoretical reason, has survived and come forward again and again in the philosophy of the nineteenth century, and in this respect thinkers of very different schools, such as Lotze, Jodl, Eucken, and even Bradley, remind us continually of Fichte's philosophical ideals. In the working out of this highest philosophical programme, brought home to us again in the Lecture Syllabus of Prof. Sorley ('Gifford Lectures,' 1914, i. 1), the abstruse and forbidding terminology and analysis of Fichte's esoteric writings has been forgotten. Nevertheless it is impossible to read the exposition of such thinkers as the late Prof. Robert Adamson in this country, and still more of Prof. Windelband in Germany, and not to recognise that modern psychology is approaching the same problem in a less ambitious but possibly more promising manner. For a clear understanding I would recommend those who are deterred by Fichte's own expositions, which seem never to have given him full satisfaction, to read the chapter on Fichte in Adamson's 'Lectures on Modern Philosophy' (ed. by W. R. Sorley, 1903, vol. i. pp. 253-263), and the luminous chapters in Windelband's 'Die Blütezeit der Deutschen Philosophie' (2nd vol. of the 'History of Modern Philosophy,' 4th ed. 1907, §§ 63 and 67). Windelband says: "From the fundamental principle of Fichte's doctrine there follows a result which places it, with all its dialectic consequences, in irreconcilable contrast with the common-sense view of things. It is better to mark this contrast quite clearly than to hide it: it contains the ultimate reason for all that has appeared and still appears paradoxical in the idealistic philosophy. The naïve consciousness can think of a function (process) only as the state or the activity of a functioning being. In whatever way this relation is represented, the ordinary way of reasoning thinks, first of things, and then of functions which they carry out. Fichte's doctrine turns this relation upside down: what we term 'things' it looks upon as products of activities. If we look upon activities as something which presupposes Being, for Fichte all Being is merely a product of an original doing. Function without a functioning something is for him the ultimate metaphysical principle." A direction of thought similar to this recurs again and again in modern philosophy—*e.g.*, in Wundt's critical destruction of the conception of substance, in the Energetics of Ostwald and others, in M. Bergson's conception of motion, &c.

In addition to this Fichte also took up the question of the ultimate source of knowledge and certainty of any kind. This he found in immediate evidence, or what he terms "an intellectual intuition." By this he meant that the beginning of all thought is a self-evidence, an intuition, or, as others would say, a Belief. Kant had already made use of this term in his third 'Critique'; but it was there suggested rather as contradictory to the view developed in his two earlier

works. Fichte uses it in the sense that all thought, all knowledge, and all philosophy rest upon the unity of consciousness, which cannot be demonstrated, but which is felt. In the sequel Schelling adopted the term as denoting the identity of a thinking subject with the object of its thought. This use of the term Fichte repudiated, and based upon it his emphatic denunciation of Schelling's system as distinguished from his own.

If, as I stated above, Kant took the first step from the metaphysical and dogmatic to the psychological treatment of the philosophical problem, Fichte took a further step. To him, even more distinctly than to Kant, the unity of knowledge exists and is to be realised in the inner region of self-consciousness. In Kant this Self appears only as the inner point of reference, the unity of apperception; in Fichte it appears as an active principle, as the first and fundamental act of a thinking mind. Self-consciousness is not merely a point of reference, it is an act of affirmation, of self-assertion.

It may here be remarked that the terminology employed by Fichte is unfortunate and misleading, more so even than that of Kant. In the use of the term "ich" (I or ego), we seem to be left in uncertainty whether by this term is meant the Self as one among other selves, or some condition of thought or feeling common to every thinking human being. In the latter sense no doubt Kant used the different terms of his analysis, such as Reason, Understanding, Imagination, &c. There was no attempt to take note of individual differences — in fact, Kant's analysis was ultimately founded upon the abstract psychology and logic of the

schools and the text-books. Fichte distinctly explains that in speaking of the Self, which he unfortunately calls "ego," he neither deals with psychological and logical data nor with the individual. He refers only to that which has to take place in every thinking mind as the condition of thought and knowledge.

Now it is quite evident that such a position is difficult to realise and still more difficult to maintain, and that it suggests two departures: the first lies in the direction of conceiving of this "ego" or self as the deeper-lying ground of the individual self which appears actually in many examples, as the one universal spirit of which the individual spirits are merely different manifestations. And the fact that Fichte himself, in many instances, introduces the word "God" when speaking of the centre and root of self-consciousness, gave to subsequent thought that direction which has been termed Pantheistic, and brought it near to the view developed in Spinoza's system.

The other departure from the untenable position of the Fichtean "ego" or self lies in the direction of the conception of a number or society of many different selves or human beings.

These two departures suggested by the abstract formulary of Fichte's philosophy have their final expression, on the one side in the system of Hegel, on the other side in a reversion to the monadism of Leibniz. And the latter is again differentiated on the one hand into the atomistic conception on which all purely scientific or mechanical explanations are founded, and on the other hand into the essentially Leibnizian

spiritualism which admits into its scheme the idea of personality, an idea which Fichte himself never admitted into his system. An adequate analysis of this conception forms one of the principal features in Lotze's speculation.

22. Fichte's anticipation of later aspects.

Both these later aspects, that of Hegel and that of Lotze, are suggested by many passages of Fichte's writings. But before they were systematically developed respectively in the first and second third of the century, other influences came into play which produced special systems of thought. These stand somewhat outside of the main current of German speculation. They gave rise to no independent philosophical schools, though their special doctrines had important influence in philosophy, science, and literature. The more prominent among these are: the succeeding phases of Schelling's philosophy, the compact and isolated system of Schopenhauer, and the religious philosophy of Schleiermacher.

23. Schelling.

The interest which prompted Schelling in his earliest philosophical speculations was not in the same degree a religious interest as was the case with Fichte before and Hegel after him. But he brought two other interests to bear upon philosophical thought, the poetical or artistic and the historical interest. In the course of his subsequent developments his receptive mind assimilated, in an original manner, much of earlier and contemporary thought, and led him ultimately into the depths of the religious problem at a time when historical research had opened out in many directions new and wider vistas of inquiry.

Schelling was thirteen years younger than Fichte, and

was for a time his follower and fellow-worker, but he soon separated from him when it became necessary to give a more exact definition to the unifying principle which, as it seemed to him, was vaguely and unsatisfactorily conceived by Fichte as self-consciousness or expressed by the repellent term "ego." Schelling, among others, was early led to see the humorous side of Fichte's terminology, and he, as well as the literary society in which he moved, was hardly able to appreciate the moral force and strenuous character of Fichte's personality and doctrine. It seemed to them too rigid, and as such deficient from a poetical and artistic point of view. This want of sympathy led to an early estrangement, which found expression in polemical outbursts from both sides. The poetical side of Schelling's mind found satisfaction in Goethe's love of nature, in what may be termed the naturalism of Goethe's poetry. Schelling also came into contact with eminent naturalists, and was especially interested in the new discoveries by Galvani and Volta, as well as in Animal Magnetism, which seemed to promise unexpected insight into some of the mysterious phenomena of living matter. To Schelling's nature the philosophy of Fichte therefore appeared too abstract and logical, too rigorous and forceful: precisely the qualities which recommended it to minds of a different stamp and really secured for it a great personal influence.

Looking now at the ultimate philosophical problem, which, as I said before, did not present itself to Schelling with the religious interest it had for Kant and Fichte, the problem of the unity of thought and knowledge, we find the point which marks Schelling's

departure from the position of Fichte in a suggestion made by the latter himself.

In one of the earliest of his many introductions and expositions of his doctrine, published in the year 1794, Fichte had dealt with the problem, how can we represent to ourselves the fact of consciousness—*i.e.*, of the knowledge of self? how is self-consciousness possible? and finding that this fact implies the conscious distinction of a self and a not-self, he infers that the first act of the mind or intellect, which he conceives as an active principle, is the differentiation of subject and object, of self and not-self. This distinction presupposes a condition in which these two opposites were still undifferentiated, merged into one. This undifferentiated condition is the state of unconsciousness. Consciousness emerges or rises out of unconsciousness by an act of the unconscious self. Fichte's whole interest lay in the development of the conscious self, which, after the process of differentiation, possessed, as it were, the greater share of reality, in as much as the fundamental active principle had now become a free and self-conscious will with an object to work upon. But this was not the only possible view. The centre of gravity might not necessarily lie on one side of the duality of subject and object, it might lie, as it were, between the two, it might be the point of identity or indifference; also it might lie on the other side, in the not-self, in that region of facts and experience which the intellect looks upon as the outer world or as Nature. And inasmuch as this outer world appears as a separate existence detached from the thinking self which retires into the position of a mere beholder,

the question may be asked, how does the thinking or conscious self, the intellect, develop out of the apparently unthinking and unconscious world that surrounds it and of which it knows itself to be a part? This is the position of common-sense and of all natural science, which is ultimately founded upon common-sense.

Schelling, in his philosophical development, goes halfway to meet this position occupied by the natural sciences. He cannot forget that the train of reasoning from Kant to Fichte emphasised the fact that the external world exists for us only in the subjective image which it occupies in our own contemplating (and active) mind, and he cannot lose sight of what Kant and Fichte demonstrated to be the characteristic feature of the intellect: the unity of apperception with the former, the fundamental act of the intellect produced by, and rising into, a conscious free will, with the latter. It was thus an easy step, but one which Fichte did not approve of, to consider this active principle, of which we become aware as Will, to exist likewise in the outer world—in fact, in the whole of the universe or creation. This idea was further supported by an argument suggested in Kant's third 'Critique.' Kant there deals with the apparent existence of End and Purpose or of Design in the things of nature: he also brings this into relation with the æsthetic judgment which recognises standards of Taste and Value. He stops there, however, considering the conception of design in nature as merely a regulative principle in human thought. Schelling went a step further: he considered it as the indication of a real and active

principle, of that universal agency which in the sphere of the individual mind appears as conscious free will.

As stated above, the discovery, during that age, of animal electricity and magnetism seemed to open out an entirely new region of research wherein to explore and explain the phenomena of life. Thus it became for Schelling a necessity to look upon nature from a philosophical or idealistic point of view, and this was to be a counterpart to the purely realistic, empirical, and mechanical study of nature. Further, he found encouragement towards this undertaking in the spiritual side of Leibniz' philosophy and in Leibniz' doctrine of development, as he significantly points out in one of his earliest Tracts referring to the Fichtean form of philosophy (1797).[1]

We now see how the position occupied by Kant and prepared by British philosophy before him is gradually, almost imperceptibly, being abandoned. I said above that Kant among Continental philosophers took the first step in the direction of the psychological view of the great philosophical problem. We may now define this more exactly by saying that it was not psychological in the sense which the term conveys at the present day, mainly as a result of the independent and original psychological labours in this country. But it was a step in that direction, inasmuch as it was introspective. More than that: it was essentially self-reliant. It was so, not only in relation to the solution of the intellectual problem, but still more so in

[1] Schelling, 'Werke,' I., vol. i. p. 443.

relation to the moral problem. And this, taken in a religious and higher ethical meaning, was the main interest and the main outcome of Kant's and Fichte's teaching; of the latter even more so than of the former, owing to the great part which Fichte played in the higher intellectual and educational work of the nation and the age. With him speculation had led to a philosophy of action. The characteristics of his nature were a strong will and character carrying through its intellectual and practical schemes with relentless logic and a rigorous moral instinct and purpose.

Fichte was unable from his strictly logical point of view to admit of that break of continuity which is demanded by the position on to which the mind of Schelling was gradually moving: the admission that you must look at things from two entirely different points of view, both equally legitimate, the external and the internal or introspective. His own rigorous logic had led Fichte up to the point where the light of consciousness emerges out of the night and darkness of the unconscious. At this point you must either be prepared to accept another and fundamentally opposed aspect or abandon as unintelligible the great world of external nature of which the introspective self after all forms only a part, in which it is — in the form of human individuals or persons — merely a special, though perhaps the highest and most interesting, phenomenon.

24. Reintroduction of dualism.

In choosing the former of these two possible courses, Schelling did no more than pay a tribute to the

common-sense view; but in doing so he also introduced again that dualism, that twofold way of looking at every phenomenon, which had, as it seemed, been overcome by the Kantian and Fichtean introspective or transcendental method.

The highest formal problem of philosophy, the unification of thought and of knowledge, upon which depended, according to the conviction of many of the foremost minds of that age, the solution of the religious problem, the establishment of a reasoned creed, seemed for the moment lost in uncertainty. A second and even more important problem arose accordingly out of the recognition of this dualism. An effort, it was felt, must be made to show that it did not indicate merely a point of indifference confronting the thinking mind with the unknowable and forcing it into a confession of ignorance. For such more modern conclusions that age, with its undaunted belief in the powers of the human intellect, was not ripe nor prepared. The conviction forced itself upon the philosophical thought of the age that this point of indifference, the identity of subject and object, afforded a glimpse into an underlying Unity, into the truly Real, a revelation of the Absolute. Accordingly Schelling introduces this idea into his system and conceives of the two sides of existence, of the life of nature and of the life of mind, as the unfolding of the underlying ground which he terms the Absolute, and which he further on identifies with the Divine principle. At this point he approaches the position classically represented by Spinoza's system; but at the same time

he advances a step beyond Spinoza inasmuch as he includes the idea of development, the historical becoming, in the physical as well as in the mental world. He introduces into philosophy the historical spirit. This had in his time made great progress both in France and Germany, and this in the study of natural as well as of mental phenomena. It signified a recognition of the Leibnizian point of view. Whereas in the system of Spinoza, the inner and the outer world, the order of ideas and the order of things, were placed parallel to each other and conceived as the two known aspects of the appearance of the Divine principle, with Schelling the two developments of nature and mind were placed in succession: the first being conceived as preparatory to the latter, the latter the consummation and explication of the former. And Schelling introduced into his scheme, which assimilated ideas taken from earlier thinkers, likewise the artistic or poetical view of which Plato was the great exponent in antiquity. Being the first among the great modern philosophers in Germany who came from the poetic South, with a poetic trait in his own nature and style, he appreciated above all that poetic comprehension of nature which found such a classical representative in Goethe. In the mind of the latter the intuitive intellect, at which Kant had merely hinted, had become a reality, and thus we find that Schelling, in quest of an expression for the unity, identity, and harmony which he conceived to be the essence of Reality, inclined at one period of his speculation to see this actually attained, or to be

attained, in Art and Poetry. With this conception he, with some of the foremost representatives of the Romantic school, abandoned the purely ethical conception of the world-order, which, under the influence of Kant, dominated the contemporary philosophy of Fichte; who, on his part, was not slow to warn his hearers and readers against the danger of this new departure of his former disciple.

If we now pause for a moment to consider the great change which had come over philosophical thought in Germany at the beginning of the century, we realise that this consisted as much in a widening of the philosophical horizon and a deepening of philosophical insight as in a dangerous unsettlement of the philosophical mind. The unity of doctrine and of purpose which characterised the philosophy of the schools for a short time after the appearance of Kant's first 'Critique,' had in the course of twenty years been gradually lost. There was now a great abundance of philosophies, each professing to have found or to be in the way of finding the true Foundation. They were all governed by the formal aim of philosophical speculation, that of the unification of thought. They were all more or less guided by a desire to solve the highest problem of the age, the reconciliation of the truths of science and the truths of faith; science being conceived in the larger sense of the word peculiar to the German mind, faith still meaning the essential truths of the Christian religion. The scientific did not then mean the opposite of the religious spirit, but desired rather to include and incorporate it.

Atheism and irreligion were indeed spoken of, and this in connection both with Fichte's and Schelling's deliverances, but this meant rather an opposition to the narrow and dry formalism of the existing orthodox section of the Protestant Church doctrine than any approach to the scoffing spirit represented in France by Voltaire, and in Germany, unfortunately, by Voltaire's friend and disciple, Frederick the Great. It was at a much later date that this spirit of indifference or of animosity entered into German thought and literature. The greatest poet and the greatest thinkers of the age were still bent upon seeking and finding the Divine principle which permeated all nature as well as all the spheres of human life.

The unsettlement of philosophic thought just referred to found nowhere a larger expression than in the many changing aspects under which new ideas presented themselves to the mind and in the writings of Schelling and in the general vagueness and inconclusiveness of his reasoning. Fruitful as he was in finding ever new moulds wherein to cast and express his deepest philosophic aspirations, his teaching was apt to lead his disciples into seemingly promising but actually barren by-paths. This brought upon him deserved and undeserved attacks, provoking from him sometimes unedifying and undignified rejoinders. Obscured by these the true merits of his thought were soon forgotten, and it is only within quite recent times that attention has again been drawn to the historical importance of his labours. His philosophy was essentially prospective and suggestive. It contained the

programme of the whole thought of the century, and it is not without significance that of all the philosophies which then ruled in Germany, his alone gained at that time European influence: through Coleridge in England, through Victor Cousin in France, through his 'Philosophy of Nature' in several European countries.

The controversy into which Fichte was drawn through the attacks of narrow-minded and jealous opponents had given prominence to the religious problem and to the position which contemporary philosophic thought had taken up with regard to it. This was still further accentuated by the appearance in the last year of the eighteenth century of Schleiermacher's Addresses. Their main object was to gain renewed attention, on the part of cultured readers, for the religious problem, through bringing it into intimate connection with recent speculation. It made manifest, among other things, the deep religious spirit which inspired Spinoza's system, a subject which, as already stated, had come under discussion largely through the influence of Jacobi's writings.

25. Schleiermacher's Addresses.

These Addresses discussed, not so much special religious or theological doctrines, as the psychological facts connected with and exhibited by the religious and believing mind. Schleiermacher there propounded his well-known psychological explanation of the religious attitude of the human mind as being rooted in a feeling of dependence. In the sequel of his expositions he gave to this view a distinctly pantheistic expression, something similar to what has in recent times been termed "cosmic emotion." It depended upon the attitude of the human

mind to the totality of things, to the Universe. The universe was not, however, at that time and in that school of thought, conceived in the naturalistic sense which has gradually supervened in the course of the nineteenth century in consequence of the great progress and popular influence of the natural sciences. The totality of things, or the Universe, was decidedly, though somewhat vaguely, considered to be spiritual, with an equally decided bias in the direction of identifying the spiritual with the intellectual. To this intellectual definition Schelling, indeed, influenced largely by Goethe, had added the poetical or artistic conception; Schleiermacher, on his part, urged more distinctly the emotional.

Schleiermacher's Addresses mark another important step towards the introspective or psychological treatment of philosophical problems. They represent, moreover, one among many efforts made at that time to maintain philosophical discussions at a higher level, to prevent them from falling back into that formalism and triviality into which they had sunk during the age of so-called enlightment, and out of which Kant had raised them into a higher sphere.

We see then how many interests and influences, how many new ideas, how many theoretical and practical tendencies were then at work. To outside beholders, to the younger and ardent minds, especially at the German universities, the aspect must indeed have been bewildering.

What was wanted more than anything else was to concentrate the many rays of new light into a focus, to

bring together again into a system what was in danger of being lost—and what was in many individual instances actually lost—the intellectual achievements of the age, to gather up the many suggestions into a comprehensive whole, to find a uniting principle and a method by which it could be traced in its many-sided workings, by which it could also be communicated as a great truth to young and aspiring minds. To do this required a last and supreme effort. For such an effort, for its reception and appreciation, the age was fully prepared. This
26. Hegel. effort was made by Hegel; and the foregoing remarks are merely intended to explain how his work gained that enormous influence which to us, who have again descended to a lower and more prosaic level, might well-nigh seem inexplicable.

The writings through which Hegel made his mark and defined his position in philosophical literature belong to the first decade of the nineteenth century. He was then over thirty, having been born in 1770, five years before Schelling. He had spent fully ten years in maturing his ideas. The greater part of what he wrote during those years, but did not publish, has since come to light, partly in the 'Life' by Rosenkranz, published in 1844; more fully in quite recent times.

A most instructive analysis of these preparatory studies has been given to us by Dilthey, with that fulness of knowledge and deep insight into the history of thought so characteristic of all his works. Hegel did not wait as long as Kant had done before he published his greatest work. The 'Phenomenology of the Human Mind' thus exhibits more of youthful inspiration and

ardour than Kant's first 'Critique'; but it, as well as the articles which he contributed to several philosophical periodicals in the first years of the century, contains also much more than Kant's writings did of the polemical spirit. Hegel's early writings abound in personal attacks, sometimes without mentioning the name of his opponent. Some of these virulent criticisms were toned down in later writings. This is notably the case as regards Jacobi, who at first came in for much criticism, but whose position Hegel fully appreciated after Jacobi had been subjected to the exaggerated denunciations of Schelling. With the latter Hegel had corresponded and co-operated up to the appearance of the 'Phenomenology,' but in the preface to that work he clearly explains his altered point of view, and in a passage which has become celebrated denounces Schelling's philosophy as vague and unscientific.

27. Hegel's preparation. Hegel's preparation for his great philosophical performance consisted as much in a study of ancient Greek philosophy as in that of the sacred writings. Before he was thirty he wrote for himself, but did not publish, a 'Life of Jesus,' the earliest and by no means the least remarkable of those many attempts in modern literature to grasp, in a philosophical spirit, the essence of Christianity and comprehend the personality of its Founder. So far as Hegel's purely philosophical writings are concerned, the two tasks, the formal and the material, which I have defined above, are clearly and prominently before his mind: the unification of knowledge and the relation of philosophy and religion. But with Hegel both these problems have assumed their more modern

aspect as the unification of thought and the relation between religious faith and speculative reason. Both, also, have received a psychological formulation, though Hegel's psychology was not that of the individual mind but that of the mind conceived in a much wider, more objective meaning of the term, a meaning which he himself has done more than any other thinker to impress indelibly upon a large section of subsequent historical literature.

But another change had come over philosophical thought since the time of Kant, and this comes out most clearly in Hegel's own writings. In spite of all protests philosophy had again become dogmatic. What had happened to Descartes and his followers happened to the followers of Kant. From the sceptical and critical attitude introduced by Kant, philosophy had again reverted to the dogmatic assertion of a definite principle or underlying conviction. In this was to be found the solution of the philosophical problem. Jacobi and Fichte had already pointed to immediate evidence as the beginning of all knowledge. Schelling had adopted Kant's and Fichte's idea of intellectual intuition. In spite of his unsparing attacks on the indefiniteness of these positions, Hegel himself starts in his first great work with the assertion of a definite thesis, the truth of which he tries to establish in the body of his work by a process of reasoning which is at once psychological, in the wider meaning of the word, and historical.

28. Hegel's principle.

The principle upon which Hegel's philosophy is founded, the ever-recurring thought of his speculation, is this: the Absolute is Spirit. To this we must add

the further thesis: the Absolute is not a transcendent, it is an immanent principle, it manifests itself in the existing world, it is realised in nature and especially in human history. It is not a substance, in the sense of Spinoza, but an activity, a process; it is not stationary, an unchangeable reality, but development. In the two theses, that the Absolute is Spirit and that it is development, is to be found, as Kuno Fischer has said, the whole of Hegel's philosophy.

I have on a former occasion pointed out that the word which Hegel uses to denote this fundamental principle, the German word *Geist*, has for an English reader a double meaning—for it means "mind" as well as "spirit." This is unfortunate for the real comprehension of Hegel's philosophy, and much ambiguity, a whole host of controversies and misunderstandings, would have been avoided had the different meanings of the word been kept separate or sufficiently explained. The fact that Hegel, following Fichte and Schelling in this respect, frequently identifies the Absolute with the Divine principle, with the God of Religion, suggests to his readers that he conceives it to be a personal mind or spirit, a personality. On the other side, the fact that he also calls it the Subject, leads one to think that he is speaking of the human mind, of the Self of Fichte and Schelling, as differentiated from the not-self. And again, his use of the term "objective mind" leads one to infer that the principle of philosophy may be conceived as a thought, as an idea, intelligible to the human mind, and which is at work in the world of nature, and especially in the world of history and

of conscious individual human life. In fact, Hegel's *Geist* means alternately one or more of three definite things expressed in the English language by Spirit, Mind, and Thought or Idea.

To the principle, to the main conception of his philosophy, to the underlying conviction which had in Hegel's mind, through prolonged and deep studies, acquired a propelling and assertive force, we are introduced in the Preface and the Introduction to the 'Phenomenology'; he there promises to lead us up to a comprehension of the result as well as the beginning of the new philosophy by an analysis which is at once introspective and historical. Having attained that position, having as it were closed the circle, having learnt how the result coincides with the starting-point, we are promised that in the actual system the unfolding of the Absolute in the different regions of nature, life, mind, and history, of art, religion, and philosophy, shall be deductively exhibited. In performing these two great tasks: the lifting up of the thinking mind to a level from which it can clearly conceive of the Absolute as Spirit or Mind, and the following of this principle into its many manifestations, Hegel employs two definite schemes or formulæ of thought which he has adopted from his predecessors Schelling and Fichte. They form the celebrated dialectical method of his philosophy, which he distinctly states to be teachable and communicable, unlike that of Schelling and others, which was a sort of intuition or feeling, and which Hegel treats with contempt.

29. Two conceptions in Hegel's method.

The two conceptions which govern this method may be defined as follows:—

In the first place, every thought can be expressed in a definite sentence, or thesis. The further analysis, explanation, or illustration of this thesis leads to an assertion of something else, to a distinguishing of the content of the thesis from something else outside of it. It is a process of distinguishing or differentiation. This may be termed the antithesis. And a third step may be taken, and in many cases is inevitably taken, a position is gained from which both the thesis and the antithesis, both the affirmation in the former and the negation in the latter, are brought together in a synthesis.

This represents a very common way of explaining any subject, be this a definite thing in the outer world or some abstract notion in the thinking mind. You first try in some way or other to bring yourself, your readers or hearers, face to face with the subject you are dealing with. You then direct attention to the difference of your subject from other things, and then you try to show how this single subject is comprised with other things, which it is not, in some larger complex. This process can be repeated: taking the complex subject which you have arrived at, and which exhibits many differences, you can again differentiate it from other complexes, with which it forms still larger complexes; and this process can be repeated till you have arrived at an exhaustive view of the whole, the totality of things, the universe, the world, or by whatever term you wish to define it.

This method of proceeding had already been resorted to by Fichte. As I have stated it, it appears to be simply a process of applied logic, a merely formal procedure of thought. But this merely formal character is, as it were, relieved and made more significant by bringing in that idea which, as I stated above, is at the root of all idealistic philosophy, forming as it were its deep-seated belief or dogma. This is the conception that everything, the world of nature as well as the world of mind, things as they are and things as they have developed in time, are the manifestations of some underlying reality, of the truly real, which is the ground and root of everything.

If this conviction be added to the foregoing scheme the latter at once becomes fraught with some deeper meaning. Anything that is now the subject of thought is only a point, as it were, in the great universe, in the totality of things; it is that upon which, for the moment, the light of thought is thrown, the limited, local, and maybe casual manifestation of the underlying reality.

In the second process, in the antithesis, light is thrown on that which surrounds the point on which our attention has been concentrated; our view and comprehension is as it were enlarged and enriched by looking round at other subjects. The process of differentiation is one of enlargement and enrichment of thought. And lastly, the bringing together of the scattered elements and fragments by a synthesis signifies that we reassert that essential unity of everything which had, for the moment, escaped our attention in

the distracting diversity of many things or many thoughts. Now this synthesis, as it does not really destroy the manifoldness of things as they present themselves to our contemplating mind, is possible only by an abstraction, *i.e.*, in the region of the Idea. Thus the first step we take is to form some idea which, more than a single thing or observation, experience or thought, represents the *ensemble* or "together" of things, the unity of the underlying ground; it is a first, maybe a very elementary and primitive conception of what this underlying reality is. As we repeat this process, however, we gain more and more elevated expressions or ideas of the Absolute; or, to express it in other words, the idea which we form of the Absolute becomes fuller and more comprehensive, approaching nearer and nearer to its actual nature or essence.

If we now combine this whole scheme in its formal, as well as in its more substantial meaning, with the conviction expressed in an extreme form by Fichte, that the Absolute reveals itself in the first conscious activity of a thinking subject, we arrive at the view that the actual unfolding of the truly Real or the Absolute is of the nature of the thinking process which the human mind is carrying on in itself: further, that the several stages of logical thought are essentially of the same nature as the several stages of the actual development of reality—in fact, we look upon logic, *i.e.*, the canons and categories of human thought, as indicating the succeeding stages of the development of the world-ground or the Divine Logos; a conception which, since the appearance of Neoplatonism in antiquity, has reasserted

itself again and again in modern philosophy. Schelling had, notably in his philosophy of nature as well as in that of mind, coined a new and suggestive term; he speaks of the ascending "powers" or "potencies" in which the Absolute is manifested. It was a combination of Fichte's subjective analysis of consciousness with this idea of Schelling, out of which there arose the more definite scheme of Hegel, according to which the development of the world-ground, of the truly Real or the Absolute, is comprehended by us human beings in the different stages of thought: the Logos, the world-mind, becomes intelligible to the human mind through its own thinking process, and the necessities of thought are merely a manifestation of the actual connection of things in their process of development.

"The dialectical method was developed by Hegel with great virtuosity. He lets every notion fall into its opposite and shows how out of this contradiction a higher notion results: and this again experiences the same fate, it finds its antithesis which requires a still higher synthesis. The master has shown in the application of this method—notably in the 'Phenomenology' and in the 'Logic'—an astounding wealth of knowledge, a unique and delicate sense for logical connections and a victorious power of synthetic reasoning, though, it must be said, the depth of thought leads occasionally to obscurity or to merely verbal distinctions." [1]

30. The secret of Hegel's genius.

This wealth of knowledge, this faculty of finding out hidden connections, logical, psychological, and historical,

[1] Windelband, 'Geschichte der Philosophie,' 4th ed., 1907, p. 496.

thus offering manifold suggestions for the comprehension and interpretation of things and events in their actual and historical "together," is the real secret of Hegel's genius; through it he stimulated many thinking minds who, in the manifold and broad regions notably of historical research, approached their subject with the conviction of its unity, of its deeper sense and meaning, and of the existence of governing ideas. This influence ruled for a time supreme and produced remarkable results.

In most cases the logical scheme which Hegel exalted was gradually dropped in its application. On the other side, those who called themselves disciples of Hegel and formed the Hegelian school, in the narrower sense of the word, emphasised unduly this dialectical process, and contributed, through their dry and monotonous rhythm of thought, to bring philosophical speculation into disrepute.

For the present, as we are concerned mainly with the two supreme philosophical problems, the unification of thought and the relation of knowledge and belief, it is important to point to two striking consequences which result from the whole of the idealistic movement of thought as finally conceived by Hegel. The fact that the necessities of the logical process were conceived as manifestations, in the human mind, of the stages of the development or life of the Absolute, led to a solution of the antinomy of freedom and necessity. The autonomy of practical reason with Kant, the fundamental act of consciousness with Fichte, led in Hegel's conception to the conviction that what appeared as necessary to us was merely the expression of the

fundamental free and self-chosen manifestation of the Absolute, of the Divine Spirit. Thus it becomes intelligible how Hegel, in a sense, could represent his philosophy as exhibiting, and being founded on, the idea of Freedom. And it is further evident how this identification of the Real with the reasoning process must result in the assertion that "everything real is rational" and that "everything rational is real." Such statements have again led to much misunderstanding and to senseless distortions and misrepresentations of the truth which is contained in Hegel's doctrine.

31. The last outcome of the idealistic movement.

This doctrine formed, as it were, the last outcome of the idealistic movement. It afforded a supreme unification of thought and knowledge on the one side, and on the other side it led to that point of view from which the religious conception of a Divine Order of things could be philosophically comprehended, from which the spiritual unity could be understood and incorporated in a scientific interpretation of things, in a reasoned Creed.

In the system of Hegel we not only meet with the final and greatest effort to solve the philosophical problem on the basis of an idealistic or spiritual conception, we also arrive at the true centre of modern thought in which many new departures have their origin. If we consider it in this light we are compelled to regard Hegel's philosophy as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, intellectual performance of the century, and this in its immense suggestiveness as well as in its gigantic failure.

II.

After the immediate influence of Hegel's work and personality had disappeared, when, as it were, the first phase of Hegelianism had ended, there are to be found only three systems of thought which exhibit similar consistency and have attained, or at least approached, similar importance: they are the systems of Schopenhauer in Germany, of Comte in France, and of Herbert Spencer in England. All three are independent of Hegel, all three attempted a unification of thought and knowledge, but the position which they took up to the religious problem was characteristically different.

32. The three subsequent systems.

Schopenhauer's philosophy was indeed a philosophy of redemption, but it stands so little in connection with the religious problem, as this practically presents itself to-day, it is so full of elements derived from regions of thought which are foreign to modern or European interests, that it resembles rather an exotic plant grown in a modern conservatory, where it is preserved from too intimate contact with the outside world.

33. Schopenhauer.

The philosophy of Comte, on the other side, as well as that of Spencer, stands in immediate contact with the thought and the interests of the age, but neither of them recognises the religious problem in its real importance, though both deal with it in a certain sense. They are at one in absorbing into their systems the ethical elements which before their time were essentially bound up with some religious or spiritual creed.

34. Comte and Spencer.

This spiritual element Comte indeed tried to restore

in his later speculation, but without any conspicuous success: whereas Spencer leaves it altogether outside of his system, though he does not denounce it in the categorical manner so prevalent and so repellent with some extreme schools of thought on the Continent.

35. The scientific and the social interests.

What is characteristic both of Comte's and of Spencer's system is the entry of the scientific spirit as opposed to the metaphysical, and the recognition of the growing importance of the social problem. Neither of these two sides of modern thought—neither the scientific nor the social—had been distinctly recognised in the idealistic movement which culminated in Hegel, though we find in Fichte's later writings and addresses distinct beginnings of a philosophy of human society. The idealistic systems were essentially philosophies of religion in the sense which I have so frequently emphasised: they aimed at establishing a reasoned creed which should satisfy the highest demands of the modern educated European mind, and they were religious in the further sense that they desired to absorb, to incorporate, and to interpret not only the moral, but essentially also the spiritual truths of Christian faith.

They were, however, primarily neither philosophies of science nor philosophies of society. Beginnings of the former are, indeed, contained in Kant's earlier writings, but they date from a time when what we now term science or exact reasoning was limited almost entirely to the Newtonian philosophy. Nevertheless, as Fichte's later writings exhibit the first signs of an appreciation of the social problem in Germany, so Kant's earlier writings mark the first beginning in Germany of a

philosophy of science. We have then, if we confine ourselves to Germany, three supreme interests, each demanding philosophical recognition and treatment—*i.e.*, systematic or unifying thought. These problems are the problem of religion, the problem of science, and the problem of society.

Although none of these problems, as stated in these terms, is identical with the main philosophical problem, each of them has alternately been made the central problem; other problems, such as I have treated of in the body of this work, having filled circumjacent positions. This corresponds to the various prevailing interests of recent times, as expressed by the general development of philosophical thought. Among those thinkers who experience the necessity of arriving at some comprehensive view, at some theory of life, there will always be in the first line those who take a distinctly religious view, believing that only in this way can the supreme philosophical problem, as well as all collateral problems, be brought nearer to a solution. There are, secondly, those who have received their training and spent their lives in scientific or exact research, and are impressed with the general mechanical order which pervades the universe. To them the unifying idea of thought is what they term the "Laws of nature." And there are, lastly, those who find the chief object of interest nearer at hand, in human society. This leads them on to the idea of Humanity as the highest conception that human beings are capable of. For the first class of thinkers the problem of philosophy is essentially theocentric or religious; for the second, it is essentially scientific; for

36. Three classes of thinkers.

the third, it is essentially anthropocentric or humanistic. In the course of the nineteenth century thought has moved from the first to the second, and is at the end of the century everywhere inclined in the direction of the third of these three positions.

We have seen how the first of these was the central problem in the idealistic systems; we have now to follow up the scientific movement in philosophy, which, as I said, had its origin likewise in Kant.

37. Scientific philosophy in Germany.

The two thinkers who, for a time, represented almost alone in Germany scientific, as distinguished from religious philosophy, were Fries and Herbart. Both start directly and professedly from Kant. Fries had, at the same time, a distinct religious interest: he had been brought up in religious surroundings. Herbart, on the other side, never dealt exhaustively with the religious problem. He, even more than Fries, represents the realistic current of thought, and was for a time considered to be the strongest opponent of the idealistic movement. Beginning with Kant, he in the sequel assimilates ideas taken from the Leibniz-Wolffian school. Together with Fries he also introduced psychological analysis into the foundations of his philosophy.

But neither Fries nor Herbart succeeded in developing a system of philosophy in the sense of bringing the whole of their speculation under a governing idea, to a point of view from which the different philosophical problems could be methodically attacked. They were, even more than Kant, convinced that all knowledge is purely empirical, and that the philosophical treatment must either be confined to bringing out the different principles which underlie the methodical treatment of the various departments of knowledge, or must have for its special object the task of removing the contradictions which these fundamental principles exhibit. The latter is especially the object of Herbart's metaphysic and of the metaphysical part of his psychology.

In the empirical conceptions which we use in science and in common life he sees manifold contradictions, and he defines the object of metaphysic as being to elaborate, to remodel, to "work up" the whole body of these ideas in such a way that the contradictions disappear. In doing so he is led to a pluralistic as opposed to a monistic view of the ultimate Reality. Without being able to define the latter, he conceives it accordingly as a plurality of "Reals" which are simple in their nature and cannot be further defined. Our thought and knowledge turns entirely upon the relations in which these ultimate "Reals" or atoms of existence stand to each other.

As I have had occasion to show in an earlier chapter, Herbart's realistic philosophy had considerable influence in correcting the abstractions of idealism and bringing back philosophical thought to the level of detailed practical research. So far as systematic philosophy is concerned, his influence combined with that of the opposite school to produce an entirely altered conception of the object and task of philosophy. Of this altered conception the greatest, and by far the clearest, exponent is Hermann Lotze.

38. Altered conception of the task of philosophy: Lotze.

Although Lotze does not profess — and thinks it impossible for the human mind—to solve the philosophical problem, the complete unification of thought and

knowledge, as the idealistic school had attempted to do, he nevertheless brought his many-sided contributions to philosophy into a systematic whole, and this in a manner which has to a large extent been adopted by other thinkers after him. At the same time he is not so exclusively dominated by the scientific spirit as some more recent thinkers; in fact, he stands in the middle between those opposed schools of thought which existed during his lifetime, and forms a transition from the religious and exclusively metaphysical philosophy of the first half of the nineteenth century to the scientific and sociological philosophy of the latter half, although he does not really advance as far as the last.

39. Antecedents and surroundings of Lotze.

It will now be useful to explain more exactly the characteristics of this intermediate and transitory phase of philosophical thought. This task is made easier by looking at the historical connections, at the antecedents and surroundings of Lotze's thought. It seems that his studies were equally directed towards classical and philosophical subjects on the one side and scientific and natural subjects on the other. It is also well at once to point to what I may perhaps be allowed to call the shortcomings of this, in itself, very comprehensive scheme of studies.

Lotze never really appreciated or entered into that spirit of historical criticism which became, during his lifetime, the ruling tendency of German thought, notably at the universities; nor did he really appreciate the facts and theories of historical development, either in the earlier Hegelian or in the later Darwinian

sense. And lastly, he did not grasp the sociological problem or appreciate the importance which the social question would acquire both in theory and practice in modern life. He, by predilection, moved in the traditions of the classical and romantic phases of German culture, and he found nothing to attract him either in French or English contemporary thought.

Looking at the special problem of philosophy, he did not limit it to the unification of thought and knowledge; he inherited from the great idealistic systems the conviction, from which he never departed, that the facts of nature and life must not only be scientifically described and calculated, but must also be understood and interpreted. They must (to use a term which is not, however, common with him) be viewed "*sub specie æternitatis*," *i.e.*, in the light of a ruling idea, of a spiritual principle, which is the abode of supreme truth, beauty, and goodness, and which he terms Holiness. This ruling idea is, as it were, in the background of all his scientific as well as of his specially philosophical reasoning. It is an all-pervading, ever present tendency and direction of his thought, but he refuses to recognise any logical scheme by which, as in the philosophy of Hegel, this conception can be brought into full daylight. In this respect he adopts much of the Leibnizian attitude of thought; more in fact than Herbart before him, into whose metaphysical scheme of a "World of Reals" the conception of a universal Harmony—which formed an essential feature of the "Monadology"—did not enter.

Lotze's philosophy is monistic in a sense, and it is at

40. Lotze's monism and dualism.

the same time dualistic. His criticism of the conceptions which underlie the scientific or mechanical view of things leads him to the conviction that a pluralism such as that of Herbart does not furnish a satisfactory conclusion. A world of many things, be they conceived as atoms of the same or of varying nature, cannot possibly exhibit that order and regularity which science postulates and which its progress continually confirms. Such a plurality must be held together by some uniting principle. This Lotze terms the "universal substance." Only through such a uniting bond are definite relations, the laws of nature, and mutual interaction, intelligible to the human mind. With this conception of the universal underlying substance, of which special things are merely manifestations, Lotze comes near to the conception of Spinoza. But Lotze does not maintain that he can inductively arrive at any definition of the nature of this underlying and all-comprising substance. Such can only be got by starting from a different point of view and by an argument based on analogy.

The self-conscious human mind is, like everything else, a manifestation of the underlying reality, and as such to a certain extent at one with it; our own self-conscious experience thus gives us a true, though limited, insight into the nature of reality. Now the distinctive feature of the self-consciousness of an individual mind is what we term Personality. It is accordingly this conception which receives further attention in Lotze's analysis; it results in a statement which is opposed to the dictum of Spinoza, subsequently adopted by Fichte, that personality and, more generally, all determination is a limitation. Such limitation, according to Lotze, exists in the case of personalities that are finite; but personality is not necessarily finite; the all-pervading universal and spiritual substance, the Infinite, must be conceived as Personality in the full sense of the term. Full personality, in fact, belongs only to the Infinite. Finite beings are only endowed with imperfect or partial personality, with so much of it as has been bestowed upon them through the Infinite Source of their separate finite existence.

"The usual doubts," Lotze says, "as to a personal reality of the Infinite have not shaken our conviction. Whilst we have been trying to refute them we have had the sensation of taking up a position which only the most extraordinary contortion of all natural circumstances could have brought about. The course of philosophical reasoning has forced us into the attitude of showing that the Infinite is not awanting in those attributes of personality which we meet with in the finite; the real state of things should rather have led us to show that of the full personality which is only possessed by the Infinite a faint reflection is vouchsafed likewise to the finite; for not the conditions but the hindrances in the way of the development of self-sufficiency are the peculiarities of the finite. To these we wrongly attach its claim to personal existence. The finite person acts everywhere by means of forces which he has not given to himself, according to laws which he has not made—that is to say, through the means of a mental organisation which exists not only in himself but likewise in innumerable of his equals. It may, therefore, easily seem

in his self-contemplation as if in him were a dark unknown substance, on which rested, as on a support, all personal life. Hence those ever recurring questions, what then we ourselves are, what our souls, what that dark, unintelligible, never thoroughly conscious self which works in our emotions and passions. That these questions can arise is a proof how little personality is developed in us to the extent which the idea permits and requires. It can only exist perfectly in the Infinite Being who, reviewing all His phases and actions, nowhere meets with a moment of passive or active life the meaning and origin of which were not quite transparent to Him. The position of the finite mind, tied as it is to a special place in the general order of things, is the cause why its inner life is gradually wakened by external stimulations, why it flows on according to the laws of a psychical mechanism which bids single impressions, feelings, and desires, chase and expel each other. Hence there is never a concentration of the whole self in one moment, our consciousness never presents to us a picture of our whole self; not of its coexistent states, much less of the unity in its development in time. Even to ourselves we ever appear from a partial point of view, which discloses only a portion of our being; roused by external touches we react with this partial consciousness; only in a limited sense may we say that we act; rather in most cases something happens in us through those impressions and feelings to which the psychical mechanism has given the preponderating influence. Much less are we ever really *for* ourselves. Memory loses much, but most of all the record of our own individual moods.

Many trains of thought familiar to our youth appear to our advanced years as foreign events: powerless to find a road back to sentiments in which we once revelled we hardly behold a faint afterglow indicating the power which they once possessed over us; aspirations which once seemed to constitute the very essence and kernel of ourself, appear to us on the other paths which life has led us as inexplicable mistakes of which we have long since forgotten the motives. Indeed we have little reason to speak of the personality of finite beings. It is an ideal which, like all ideals, is possessed in its integrity only by the Infinite, but bestowed upon us like all good things conditionally and imperfectly."

41. Personality a central idea.

The idea of personality as the only adequate conception which we can form of the truly Real or the Absolute is the central idea of Lotze's system. It is however not a leading or unifying idea like the idea of mind — as expressed in the dubious term *Geist* — in Hegel's system. The conclusions of the purely metaphysical and logical train of reasoning require an interpretation, and this interpretation is derived from an independent source; from the idea of the highest Good which is allied to the ideas of Truth and Beauty, and has its reality for us in the Ideal of personal Holiness. The fact that we form our judgments under the guidance of such ideals demonstrates the existence of a region different from that of the phenomena which surround us: it is the world of Values or "Worths." The former, the world of things, must indeed be considered as in some way connected: not only logically through a system of regularities which we term the laws of nature

but also in its contingent manifoldness and diversity. This contingent character, which in the idealistic systems appeared accidental and inexplicable, must have a uniting plan or meaning. It must be significant of some underlying purpose. But for us human beings such a plan or meaning finds its fullest expression in that which to us is of interest or value, in that which deserves to exist for its own sake and the realisation of which is the beginning, the purport, and the end of its existence. It has its psychological abode not so much in the intellectual as in the moral and emotional side of our nature.

42. Philosophy a reconciliation.

In this way Lotze considers it to be the task of philosophy to reconcile the results of experience and science with the demands of our emotional nature, or, in more philosophical terms, to show how the world of values or worths finds its realisation in the world of things. That such a reconciliation is possible is ultimately entirely a matter of belief. To uphold and cling to such belief in the face of the manifold contradictions and difficulties which life and experience present to us, and which philosophical reasoning can only very partially remove, is the real function of religious faith, and as such a resolution of the character.

In placing the idea of Personality in the centre, or rather in making it the sustaining foundation of his thought, Lotze really begins where the system of Hegel should have ended. That Hegel never arrived at a clear conception regarding this important point was a defect in his system which was pointed out by many of his followers and critics. From the side of the religious interest

which had followed Hegel's speculation with increasing attention, attempts were made to remodel and amplify the argument. Among these attempts, that of Weisse was the most elaborate; it was that also which influenced Lotze himself in his early studies.

On the other side an equal defect in Hegel's speculation was the unsatisfactory treatment of the whole region of actual phenomena. This showed itself nowhere more than in his inability to understand the contingent in nature, the endless variety and manifoldness of her creations. This defect had been pointed out during Hegel's lifetime already by Schelling, who maintained a lifelong protest against what he termed the negative side of his own earlier speculations and of the whole of Hegel's completed system. But though Schelling on the one side, and, influenced by him, Weisse on the other, tried to remedy these defects, it was not through their efforts but rather from quite independent quarters that this was successfully attempted. Without any reference to the unification of thought as contained in Hegel's scheme, the two sides in which it was most wanting were cultivated in the exact philosophy of nature on the one side, in the positive religious philosophy of Schleiermacher on the other.

43. Entry of the positive spirit.

This marks the entry of the positive spirit as opposed to the metaphysical: positive not only so far as natural but also so far as religious phenomena are concerned. It marks at the same time the splitting up of the programme of the earlier metaphysical philosophy into two entirely different aspects: the scientific, which is based upon the observation of nature

in the largest sense of the word, and the spiritual, which is based upon religious experience. As stated in a previous chapter, the latter finds its most pronounced expression in the theological system of Albrecht Ritschl.

The great influence which both these quite independent speculations had upon natural knowledge on the one side, upon positive theology on the other, exceeded that of the philosophical scheme of Lotze which really does justice to both. It is only now when we are able to look at the course of philosophical thought in the distance of time that we can recognise in Lotze's system the only adequate attempt to give the rationale of scientific thought on the one side, of religious thought on the other, and to bring the two aspects together into some intelligible scheme or formula. This formula, expressed in a few words, is this. The world of things finds its most adequate description or logical expression in an all-pervading mechanical Order, but it finds its interpretation through the world of values: the latter has its true reality only in the idea of a personal Spirit, a Deity, and of a world of Spirits which He has created.

44. Lotze's scheme not recognised.

There is, however, a deeper reason why Lotze's scheme did not receive at the time the recognition which it deserves. Though present to the mind of its author in his earliest works it was only slowly matured, and still more slowly published. This did not suit the impatient spirit of the age, which, turning away from the barren speculations of the Hegelian school, hailed with delight the more promising methods that had been so successfully introduced into natural science. These had, notably in Germany, been applied to the phenomena

on the borderland of matter and mind and seemed to promise an entry into the phenomena of consciousness.

As I stated in an earlier chapter of this work, physiology, and especially the physiology of the sense organs and of sensation, was essentially a German science. It was natural that the hopeful spirit which animated thinkers of that age should hasten to attack the philosophical problem by resorting to the methods and the supposed new principles of biological science. Indeed, Lotze's earlier writings themselves preached the doctrine of the all-pervading mechanism of nature, physical and psychical alike, and led the campaign against the fictions of vitalism. His warning that these important writings represented only one side of his philosophy were disregarded. Moreover, so far as the other and philosophically more important side was concerned, he did not speak with that hopefulness which had characterised the idealistic systems. In fact, we find in his more esoteric deliverances the first signs in German speculation of that spirit which later on in this country received the title of Agnosticism. He warned his readers not to expect too much, and spoke in accents very different from the aspiring note which resounded in Fichte and Hegel, who ever led their readers and hearers onward to greater expectations. Those who, in diminishing numbers, still took a hopeful view of the powers of the human intellect, turned on the other side to such later achievements of the idealistic and romantic spirit as had ripened in the minds of a few solitary thinkers. During the third quarter of the century these acquired sudden celebrity and an influence

on the popular thinking mind outside of the schools, which in some instances was quite phenomenal.

45. Schopenhauer and von Hartmann.

With the philosophies of Schopenhauer and von Hartmann we enter upon a different phase of philosophic thought. Both thinkers consider the first task of philosophy to be a unification of thought; the discovery of some principle through which what in science and life remains fragmentary and disconnected can be brought together into a coherent and consistent system. But the interest which led Schopenhauer to his speculations was not so much a personal concern, a religious demand, the reconciliation of knowledge and belief, or of faith and reason, as it was with Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schleiermacher, and Lotze. Although eminently subjective, his writings contain less of the personal element. His personality stands as it were outside of the framework of his system. He did not live his philosophy, though he lived exclusively for it. His philosophy was essentially for others, not for himself. We do not find with him the long years of labour which preceded the publication of Kant's 'Critiques,' nor the unrest and spiritual striving of Fichte's youthful years, nor the profound and many-sided studies in and through which the central idea of Hegel's system gradually crystallised, nor the religious background of Schleiermacher's thought, nor even that underlying conviction upon which Lotze's speculation rested from the beginning. We feel by contrast how all these thinkers aimed at expressing in their philosophical writings the most serious convictions which guided not only their thought but also their conduct, and that they conceived themselves eminently responsible

to their readers, and especially to their youthful hearers, for giving to them the deepest truth, a message which was sacred to them.

This is not the only position from which the highest philosophical problem, the formation of a reasoned creed, can be approached. The problem of philosophy, the unification of thought and knowledge, may be regarded like any other scientific problem or like an artistic performance. The interest in it may not be the highest, the religious interest, it may be purely metaphysical or artistic or scientific. This is notably the case where philosophical speculation is carried on as an interesting pursuit, but without that responsibility which, in the mind of every serious thinker, the teaching profession inevitably adds to the purely intellectual interest. Schopenhauer did not experience this personal responsibility of the teacher who has daily to meet and address a youthful audience. Thus, whilst Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and Schleiermacher took part, and were leaders in the great educational work of the nation, this consideration entirely disappears in Schopenhauer's writings. He however conceived the contrast differently, regarding himself as the devotee of pure truth and the professorial class as practising an immoral system of accommodation.

In the same degree as the personal element disappears, the literary and artistic element takes its place. The writings of Schopenhauer appeal primarily to an audience not under academical authority, whom they attract not by the moral force of their deliverance but by the excellence of their literary style. From this point of view Lotze is the only writer of the other class who can be compared

with him, if we except certain smaller productions of Schelling and Schleiermacher and the later popular writings and addresses of Fichte. He has, moreover, one point in common with Lotze: both had a large body of reasoned speculation immediately before them in which they could find suggestions varied and numerous. But the study and contemplation of this great material did not produce with Schopenhauer the same result as it did in the mind of Lotze, who, in the Leibnizian spirit, declared that "after such a long development of philosophical thought, in which every possible point of view had been discovered, forgotten, and discovered again, there was no longer any merit of originality but only that of accuracy." Schopenhauer was in this respect not so modern and so modest. He started in a romantic spirit and continued the idealistic tradition, believing that through some intuition, similar to that of the artist, an idea could be discovered which should unify thought and solve the highest philosophical problem. Unlike Lotze also he coined for his fundamental ideas definite terms through which they have become popular in subsequent literature. These terms are given in the title of Schopenhauer's first and greatest work: 'The World as Will and Idea.'

By putting the Will, the active principle, in the foreground, Schopenhauer gave expression to an idea which was not foreign to his forerunners — Kant, Fichte, and Schelling. In various important passages of their writings they led up to a conception for which Schopenhauer found the right word. Unconsciously he also anticipated a movement of thought which has since

grown stronger, and which in the present age has found a characteristic title.

46. The principle of Will.

Most of the philosophies of the latter part of the century may be termed voluntaristic, in opposition to the essentially intellectualistic philosophies of the earlier part of the century. In fixing upon the Will, or the active principle in human nature, as indicative of the true nature of all Reality, so far as it is accessible and intelligible to us, Schopenhauer took up the philosophical problem in the form in which he conceived that Kant had left it in his first 'Critique.' The problem defined there, which had received clearer and clearer expression since the time of Descartes, is the problem of "the Thing in itself,"— the X which represents the Real in opposition to the merely apparent or phenomenal nature of things. Whereas all the other followers of Kant tried to get over the dualism left in his system by getting rid of this unknowable Something, Schopenhauer sees the only possible step in advance in giving a direct answer to the question, What is it? And the answer is found by resorting to a method which is common to him with other and opposite thinkers; it is through introspection and by analogy that we arrive at this answer. Not the world of the senses nor that of the intellect, but our consciousness of an active principle in us, which we call the Will, gives us an indication of the source and essence of all Reality. In pointing to this he expresses with more emphasis and in a one-sided manner what others had urged before him. He at the same time reintroduces into philosophical thought

that dualism which the idealistic philosophy had tried to remove.

To Schopenhauer, the world as we know it rests on or contains two independent principles, the Will and the Intellect; and the title of his great work which appeared in the year 1819 is 'The World as Will and Idea.' The substance of this work consists mainly in an exposition of the relation in which these two principles stand to each other, and in manifold and very interesting illustrations drawn from a large field of observation.

Schopenhauer's main work was contemporary with the writings of Hegel and with the latest important publication of Schelling, but it remained unknown and neglected for nearly thirty years, though it impressed a few minds of the first order as a unique and extraordinary production. In one other important direction Schopenhauer's dualistic system coincided with, and assisted, the reaction which set in in the middle of the century, emphasising those points which the purely intellectual and logical systems had pushed into the background. In all these systems the transition from the abstract and unifying principle to the world of many things and of individual beings remained the great difficulty. Schopenhauer saw that this pointed necessarily to the existence of more than one principle.

47. Dualism of Will and Intellect.

The Will is indeed, in a general conception of the term, a uniting principle in the world, but there is on the other side a principle which works in the opposite direction—the principle of individuation,—and

this he conceives to be the Intellect. In this way the contingent and the many, as opposed to the necessary and the One, receives due attention in Schopenhauer's system. The entry of the Intellect into the activity and service of the Will as a means to its higher objectivation works an apparent disruption, and is the cause of the differentiation and diversity of things in the phenomenal world.

To the process of objectivation of the Will Schopenhauer thus adds in the higher forms of existence the principle of individuation. The original and underlying One, when and where it becomes self-conscious, sees and comprehends itself in the forms of space, time, and causality, as a world of many things and many individuals: and this process of individuation or differentiation ascends in the higher forms of existence through sensation, perception, the processes of abstraction, intuition, and reasoning, to an ultimate possible position in which the apparent or phenomenal diversity is gradually annulled or reunified, the One returning again into itself.

This whole process, which, however, is considered to be out of time, receives an ethical interpretation which is not a necessary consequence of the metaphysical premises of Schopenhauer's philosophy, but which marks in the history of philosophical thought the beginnings of that reaction which attained full force when the idealistic movement had exhausted itself. We have seen that the latter was essentially optimistic; it was sustained by an exalted belief and confidence in the powers of the human intellect to solve, in theory and practice, the ultimate problem of existence.

48. Pessimism.

In opposition to this optimistic spirit Schopenhauer introduces into philosophical thought the pessimistic view. The existence of Evil and Sin in the world impresses him more than the hopeful outlook, the promises and aspirations, so characteristic of Fichte's and Hegel's work. In this work he takes no part: he turns away to the opposite or pessimistic interpretation, he introduces a foreign element, that which had found expression in the philosophy and poetry of India. A knowledge of these had at that time been recently introduced through the study and translation of the great productions of Oriental literature to which the Romantic school, headed by Schlegel, had given much attention. Imbibing this spirit Schopenhauer looks upon the world-process as a process of evil, upon the assertion of the Will as the source of evil; and finds the redeeming process to consist in self-negation, in annihilation of the Will, in quietism, in asceticism, and in the passive virtues of sympathy, compassion, and renunciation. We may note here that it was likewise the problem of Sin and Evil in the world which Schelling approached in the last phase of his philosophy, and which prevented him from arriving at any satisfactory conclusion of his speculations. To the two questions which remained unanswered in Schelling's mind, the problem of the contingent and the problem of evil, Schopenhauer's philosophy professed to give an answer; but it was one that stood in opposition to the progressive spirit of the age.

The philosophy of Eduard von Hartmann has generally

49. Contrast between Schopenhauer and von Hartmann.

been brought into connection with that of Schopenhauer. In the opinion of German, and still more of foreign, historians of philosophy, he is to be classed amongst the great exponents of pessimism in modern thought. But though his earliest work, through which he attained a sudden celebrity hardly sustained in his later writings, gives a certain colour to this classification, the classification is more misleading than helpful. Von Hartmann was indeed influenced by Schopenhauer, and he, even more than the latter, upheld the opinion that an unbiassed examination of human life showed that the world contained more evil than good, more unhappiness and suffering than happiness and enjoyment. But as he, especially in his later writings, entirely opposes the eudæmonistic theory of morality, the inference he draws from this pessimistic view of the world and life does not lead him on to preach inaction, renunciation, and quietism, but rather the opposite — an energetic striving, a hopeful combat with evil. In this respect the doctrine of von Hartmann has only gradually become better understood. And in other respects he differs still more from Schopenhauer. He was well acquainted with modern German speculation, and his points of contact with Schelling, Hegel, and other prominent thinkers are quite as important as those with Schopenhauer; in fact, his philosophy may be regarded as a reconciliation of the truth contained in Hegel's with that contained in Schopenhauer's system. He fully understood the task which was implied in Schelling's later writings—the demand for a positive as complementary to a purely negative or formal

philosophy. He also clearly recognised and explained the dualism which, in spite of assertions to the contrary, lurked in the background of Hegel's as well as of Schopenhauer's system: the logical formalism which did not descend to reality and could not comprehend the contingent in the former system, the duality of the Will and the Intellect in the latter. According to von Hartmann, there must be an underlying spiritual unity of which the Will and the Intellect are merely attributes or manifestations. In defining this as the "Unconscious," he reminds us of the position taken up already by Fichte, which formed the starting-point of Schelling's speculation, that the first reality is the unity of subject and object prior to the appearance of Consciousness. Having arrived at this negative definition of the underlying ground or essence of reality, he proceeds to demonstrate its existence by resorting to an elaborate interpretation of physical as well as mental facts, of cosmical phenomena as well as individual experience. In all these regions, observation, the inductive study of nature and mind, show that there remains a hidden factor, an unknown principle which, as it does not present itself and rise into the clear light of consciousness and is accordingly undefinable, he characterises by the name of the "Unconscious." Still more than Schopenhauer, who in his later writings gathered much material from the accumulated knowledge of the natural sciences, does von Hartmann stand on the foundation of the latter, and, being later in time, he is able to make larger use of recent discoveries than either Schopenhauer or even Lotze was able or willing to do. There is

also no doubt that he anticipated many lines of thought which have been developed in the recent psychological literature of France and England, where the term "Subconscious" has served in many instances to denote what von Hartmann terms the "Unconscious."

From all this we gather that Hartmann aimed at a unification of thought and knowledge as a formal desideratum of the philosophic mind; but he does not confine the aim of philosophy to this purely formal or logical task. He has likewise a religious interest, and in this respect he is much more nearly related to the idealistic movement of thought in Germany than to the realistic or scientific. With the former he believes that it is the object of speculation to arrive at a reasoned creed, but he characteristically declines to admit that such a creed can rise to apodictic certainty. It is only a question of greater or less probability, such as is gained and increased by the processes of observation and inductive reasoning. But though he denies the existence of any absolute or final authority in matters of belief he does not accept a purely ethical creed. He does not think that a system of ethics can be built up without a religious foundation; with him this religious foundation is not that of an historical religion or revelation: it is metaphysical, and the distinct object of much of his later writings consisted in the construction of a metaphysical creed in which the valuable elements of existing historical religions, including Christianity, shall be brought together and metaphysically supported.

50. Religious interest in von Hartmann.

In a history of Philosophical Thought as distinguished from a History of Philosophy, it is hardly possible to

assign an important position to von Hartmann's speculation. The phenomenal success of his first great work was largely owing to expectations raised through the title. The educated mind of the time looked forward to the exposition of a philosophy built upon the inductive and especially the biological sciences, but which, at the same time, should admit the existence of an underlying spiritual, even a mystical, principle. As such it seemed destined to combat the materialistic doctrine which was not only unpoetical but was also felt to be growing stale. These expectations were hardly fulfilled, and the reading public did not pay the same, or even due, attention to the later works in which von Hartmann has gained an important place in the history of philosophical criticism. In fact, only after a lapse of many years was deserved appreciation bestowed upon these critical writings, in which a vast amount of historical knowledge is combined with great critical acumen and lucid exposition.

Von Hartmann was a solitary and secluded thinker, but the fundamental principle which he proclaimed was too negative, being neither original nor comprehensive enough to permit of expansion into a self-consistent edifice of thought; he stands outside of the general course of philosophical speculation, in opposition to nearly every other great thinker, an interesting curiosity rather than an incisive and propelling force in the progress of thought. He stands there as the last firm believer in the mission of metaphysics, in the older idealistic and romantic sense of the word. As such I have dealt with him here somewhat in advance of his chronological

position, for his own age, notably in France and in this country, had already given an entirely different direction to philosophy. For though von Hartmann stood himself under the influence of scientific research, his was not really a scientific philosophy, the scientific problem did not stand in the centre of his thought. The placing of it in that position was for the first time undertaken, not in Germany, but in this country and in France. The work was later on done likewise in Germany, as we shall have occasion to learn in the sequel of this chapter.

51. Positivism of Comte.

The thinker in whose system the scientific spirit gained for the first time the upper hand was Auguste Comte. But it would be a mistake to consider him as merely a representative of what in France is nowadays termed Positivism. With Comte Positivism meant essentially the reconstruction of society upon a new foundation, upon a foundation prepared and attained by the study of history as well as of science. Positivism, as at present understood by most of those who use the term in France, means simply the methods of the exact and natural sciences. The fact that the most important of Comte's writings, the 'Philosophie Positive,' was published as an independent work and separated from the 'Politique Positive,' has made it possible to eliminate, in the popular conception of Comtism, the most characteristic feature in the earliest and latest of his speculations. These deal with the practical application of his doctrine. With him the term Positivism is not confined, as it is in more recent times, to a

Philosophy of the Sciences and "The Philosophy of History." Though some chapters of the 'Philosophie Positive' will probably retain an important place in philosophical literature as being of lasting value, Comte was primarily, as little as Francis Bacon, a scientific thinker; his was not exclusively a philosophy of science. Scientific thought was for him merely a method, not an object in itself; it was a method by which the great social problems created by the French Revolution were to be brought nearer to solution.

52. His social aim.

I stated above that Comte was not led to philosophical speculation by a religious interest. This is correct only if we limit the religious interest to that problem which, as we have seen, interested the leaders of philosophical thought in Germany during the classical age of German poetry and speculation: the seventy years from 1770 to 1840. I defined it there as the problem of the relation of knowledge to faith, which was gradually transformed into the question of belief and unbelief. This problem did not trouble the mind of Comte, but if we take a different view of the religious problem and identify it with the question of the moral order and spiritual government of human society, then we must admit that this was exactly the problem which presented itself to Comte's mind at a very early period of his life; and this in consequence of the anarchy which prevailed in his country as a consequence of the great Revolution. In fact, it was the problem which the Revolution had set before the age as its most important task.

53. His religious interest.

We may at once contrast this with the historical

origin of the religious problem as it existed in Germany. The religious problem, so far as philosophical thought is concerned, was there, not the immediate, but the eventually inevitable outcome of the Protestant Reformation. The latter had made religious belief a concern, a duty, of the individual soul; and, in doing so, it had brought it into contact with Free Thought. After two hundred years this problem became more clearly defined. The question was, how to harmonise the essential truths of the Christian religion, which the Reformation had upheld and put in a new light, with the unfettered progress of free inquiry. The philosophical problem at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Germany was thus one that had been recognised long before, and was not created by, the great Revolution; it was the inevitable result of the Protestant spirit of free inquiry. Thus we may say that the central philosophical problem in Germany was a remoter result of the Reformation, that the philosophical problem in France was the proximate result of the Revolution.

54. Different from that in Germany.

Taking this for granted, we also see how little either of the two positions coincides with that which obtained in this country. The history of this country tells us neither of an abrupt spiritual, nor of an abrupt political revolution, such as respectively characterise fundamentally the progress of life and thought in Germany and France. Both the spiritual and the political changes took place here more gradually, nor did they, to the same extent, stir the whole nation as did the reforming movement in Northern Europe and the revolutionary in France. This explains also why

55. And in England.

Comte disliked the Protestant spirit, which he identified in Germany with the metaphysical and critical, in England with the aristocratic as opposed to the monarchical as well as to the democratic tendency. Believing in a general and fixed Order of Nature, the highest product of which was Mankind and its History, he never lost sight of, and latterly reasserted the necessity of, a definite social order and a supreme authority approaching almost to absolutism. He had great admiration for the theocratic system of the Middle Ages, and his reconstructed Order of Society contained an intellectual or scientific in the place of a religious priesthood. He had not the large Protestant view of individual liberty as it lived in the minds of the leading thinkers in Germany. The masses, he considered, could never take part in working out the principles of the highest and ruling order of things; such intellectual activity must be confined to a selected class. The work of the masses would be to apply, for the benefit of society, the truths understood and represented by a small number of thinkers. Thus he had even less appreciation for the metaphysical and critical school of thought than he had for the earlier theological, and in him we find that remarkable combination of the hierarchical (or Catholic) with the Positivist (or scientific) spirit which is still to be found among French thinkers of the day.

We see then how fundamentally different were the intellectual predispositions and surroundings in which Comte's philosophy grew up. The total absence of a critical foundation, such as German philosophy, since Kant's time, has considered to be indispensable, the

absence also of any unifying cosmic idea, have induced German historians either to disregard Comte's philosophy altogether or to deny it the title of a philosophical system. By many Comte's unifying principle is considered to be merely a method. This is correct to a large extent. Nevertheless this method is not merely that of the sciences or that of common-sense, although we find him reaffirming again and again the intimate connection of Positivism with both. The unifying tendency of his thought, which he never tires of extolling, is architectonic, an attempt to bring order and arrangement into human thought and knowledge; and the larger part of his first great work is occupied with establishing the hierarchy of the sciences, according to which one follows out of the other and the whole series ends in the new science of Sociology. As this deals with the highest product of nature, the society of human beings, it is also the highest among all the sciences, of which it is the consummation. Next to this order of the sciences there stands the well-known order in which he conceives of the development or evolution of human society in the course of history. In fact, Order or logical arrangement and Development make up the central and unifying thought in Comte's system. With this idea he desired to lift society out of the state of anarchy into which it had been plunged through an extreme application of the mistaken metaphysical or abstract spirit, which had resulted only in experimenting and floundering.

56. Unifying tendency in Comte.

Keeping always in view the rearrangement of society, the new social Order, Comte is well aware of the im-

possibility either of resorting to one rigid method of thought or of appealing to any absolute Truth. His belief in harmony and order does not preclude a great diversity of methods and the recognition of the relativity of all knowledge. Thus a large portion of his principal work is devoted to an analysis of the different methods which should govern the different sciences. He is more liberal than many contemporary and later thinkers in allowing for the different departments different methods of research.

Thus he assigns to the calculating methods the sciences of astronomy and mechanics; to the experimental methods the science of physics; to the formal methods the science of chemistry; and he especially opposes the one-sided employment of these abstract methods in the biological sciences: the latter have to recognise the appearance of a new principle, the principle of Life. He regards this as consisting in what in more modern terms would be called "adaptation to surrounding conditions," and he adopts de Blainville's definition of life as an uninterrupted process of composition and decomposition. He also emphasises the comparative method and the necessity of a rational classification. As regards the real value of mathematics, Comte's estimate seems to have been subject to uncertainty and change, for in the third volume he extols the mathematical as the type of the positive rational method; whereas by the time he had reached the last volume, having experienced the exclusiveness of contemporary mathematicians, he opposes the extreme control which the latter had usurped to themselves in France, and

ridicules some of their favourite methods of dealing with social problems, such as the calculus of probabilities. In sociology he recognises the historical method as that most adapted to its subject, and, from the study of the history of Mankind, he abstracts the general laws which he thinks govern human development.

In addition to the law of the three phases he recognises, both in the ascending scale of animated nature and in the progress of civilisation, the appearance and growth of the social as opposed to the egoistic instinct. He finds the first germs of this in the differentiation of sex, in the care for offspring, and conceives that the further progress of humanity towards the positive order of society will be brought about by the encouragement, through rational methods and intellectual supremacy, of what he later termed the "altruistic" or social virtues. Incidentally we may note a certain resemblance between Schopenhauer's and Comte's ideas of development, bearing always in mind that with the former such development is looked upon as being out of time, or purely logical; whereas with Comte it is the actual development or evolution of humanity in the course of history.

57. Point of contact with Schopenhauer.

With Schopenhauer the intellect comes in as a later attribute of the unthinking Will and acts as a differentiating, but ultimately as a reunifying, principle, inasmuch as it leads to the recognition of sympathy as the highest virtue. And Schopenhauer's system explains, as Comte's does not, how this sympathy or altruism originates. It has its origin in the fact that the different individual Wills are only objectivations,

apparent differentiations, of the one underlying Will, the active principle of all Reality. Schopenhauer arbitrarily conceived of the whole process in a pessimistic sense. Comte, following the optimism of some of his predecessors, takes a hopeful view of the future progress of humanity, although he ridicules Condorcet's doctrine of the unlimited Perfectibility of the human race and foreshadows an ultimate decline, inevitable for all, even the highest, creations of nature.[1]

Though the title of a system has been denied to Comte's philosophy, we must admit that he had before his mind the two supreme aims of all philosophical thinking: the unification of knowledge, and the formation of a reasoned creed. His conceptions of the unification are indeed peculiar. Unification means with him essentially order or arrangement. His unity is essentially that of harmony; it is not a unity of thought or method, it is one of tactics or organisation. And so far as the reasoned creed is concerned he, especially in his later writings, mitigates his opposition to theology by directing it against a religious doctrine which centres in a superhuman reality. He reintroduces the term "religion" into his scheme, but it is a religion of this

[1] "Il serait d'ailleurs évidemment oiseux de s'arrêter maintenant, en aucune manière, à la détermination prématurée du caractère extrême que devra prendre, dans un avenir très-lointain, le véritable esprit philosophique, toujours disposé à reconnaître, sans aucun vain désespoir, toute destinée clairement inévitable, quand l'âge du déclin deviendra prochain, afin d'en adoucir convenablement l'amertume naturelle, en y soutenant noblement la dignité humaine. Ce n'est point à ceux qui sortent à peine de l'enfance qu'il appartient déjà de préparer leur vieillesse: cette prétendue sagesse conviendrait certainement encore moins pour la vie collective que pour la vie individuelle." ('Cours de Philosophie Positive,' vol. vi. p. 850.)

world, of Humanity. Thus he finds a highest constructive principle, and, with this in mind, he undertakes to rewrite the whole of his philosophy, beginning with the social idea.

58. Parallel between Comte and Hegel.

This again reminds us of a similar twofold development in Hegel's writings. The 'Philosophie Positive' corresponds to Hegel's 'Phenomenology.' Both lead up to a highest idea, which is already foreshadowed in the beginning of the respective Works. The 'Politique Positive' corresponds to Hegel's system as given in the 'Logic' and the 'Encyclopædia.' We are also reminded that Kant intended in a similar way to duplicate the exposition of his doctrine.

In the later work Comte further recognises the necessity of dealing not only with the social principle, but also with its bearing on the life and conduct of the individual. Upon the foundation of sociology there must be built up a scheme of morality. In that work also Comte recognises, though he does not use the conventional language, the two main ethical problems: the question as to the essence of morality, and the question of obligation. The former is emphatically the altruistic principle, the living for others. As to the second, on the question how obligation is to be harmonised with the freedom of the individual, we are left in uncertainty. It seems that Comte was so impressed with the priority of the social order over individual interests, that he trusted to the existence of this order, to the influence of the emotions, and the effect of education, to insure its general recognition.

The later or systematic part of Comte's philosophy is

now little studied. Like other schemes of social reorganisation, in which French literature of the nineteenth century is especially rich, it has been laid aside. Only the positive spirit has spread and lives still in the literature of his country. Nevertheless the mind of Comte was prophetic, inasmuch as it marked in advance the direction which French thought would take and the problems which it would have to solve. It pushed the social problem into the centre of thought, a position which it still holds, and it raised if it left unsolved the problem, which is even more pressing to-day, how to found a purely ethical religion and how to guarantee and enforce the acceptance of its precepts.

Comte foresaw clearly that the final question would be as to the seat of authority in matters of belief—*i.e.*, as to the persuasive or compelling force of the ultimate convictions which should govern conduct. In fact he, in his later writings, laid great stress upon the establishment of a system through which what was considered the final truth and the highest moral principle could be enforced in the organisation of society. He devised a régime similar to that of the Roman Catholic Church, without the dogmatic substance of the Roman Catholic religion. It is perhaps not too much to say that this is exactly the problem which the educational government in modern France is trying to solve.

59. Solitary position of Comte.

Comte was a solitary thinker, like Schopenhauer and von Hartmann. He had few disciples, and his connection with earlier or contemporary thought was very slender. The first to introduce the historical spirit into sociology, he is, as he claims to be, quite original in

his philosophy of history. He expressly remarks that when elaborating his own scheme he purposely abstained from reading other philosophies of history such as those of Vico, Kant, Herder, and Hegel. Unlike von Hartmann, who spent the latter part of his life in studying and explaining the relation in which his own philosophy stood to other systems, Comte does not seem to have carefully studied any other philosophy. His historical sense did not prompt him to exhibit in detail his own speculation as the latest result of other and earlier courses of thought. In this way he is different from Schopenhauer, who distinctly attaches the fundamental conception in his speculations to the history of a definite philosophical problem which was brought out, but not solved, by Kant. Comte anticipates a complete reorganisation of thought and society as a result of his doctrine. In this respect he resembles both Schopenhauer and von Hartmann, especially the latter, who, however, differs from him inasmuch as he does not look for any sudden effect and acceptance of his teaching: whereas Comte, during the later years of his life, lived in this respect under a great illusion.

60. Herbert Spencer.

The philosophy of Comte leads us by an easy step to that of Herbert Spencer. The two thinkers are in popular literature frequently classed together: Spencer is sometimes considered to be a Positivist, and Comte an Evolutionist. Spencer himself objects to being placed in the same category with Comte, and Comte, though making free use of the term "evolution," did not really enter into the spirit of the doctrine in its modern form. The two doctrines however can be, to a large extent,

brought together; either affords support and enlargement to views contained in the other.

Spencer was a solitary and independent thinker, like the other three we have just been dealing with. He resembled Comte in having only a slender connection with contemporary philosophy. Only a few thinkers, such as Sir Wm. Hamilton, Mansel, and John Stuart Mill, seem to have influenced him. He took little or no interest in the opinions of other thinkers, nor any pains to understand them; in fact, he admitted himself that he never cared to read any book with the opening arguments of which he could not agree. Spencer, more clearly than Comte, defines the highest task of philosophy much in the way that I have adopted in this chapter. In fact, he has helped very materially to formulate and introduce the modern definition of philosophy. He considers its formal task to be unification of knowledge, and, in the introduction to his 'First Principles'—which forms the first part of his system of synthetic philosophy—he defines its main practical outcome as the reconciliation of religion and science.

As little as to Comte does it occur to Spencer that the exposition of any philosophical system should be preceded by a critical investigation of the means which are at the disposal of the human mind to solve its highest problems. The Kantian or critical spirit is foreign to both these thinkers: they are both dogmatic, inasmuch as they, without many preliminaries, state the position which they take up; in both cases the position is gained by a grand generalisation of an incomplete induction, and it is proved by examples and illustrations

drawn from a wide range of experience. Neither does a psychological analysis form an introduction to these philosophies, though psychology forms an important part in the large body of Spencer's speculation. As psychology and the theory of knowledge form the groundwork of all recent German philosophy, it is not to be wondered at that neither Comte nor Spencer has had much influence upon it.

61. Reconciliation of science and religion.

In the first part of 'First Principles,' Spencer takes up the problem of science and religion, dealing with the ultimate conception to which, as it seems to him, both are inevitably driven. This he terms the Absolute, and he shows how neither religion nor science can find an adequate expression or definition of this limiting idea, for both are essentially occupied with the relative. The Absolute exists for the religious as well as for the scientific mind, but it exists only as the opposite of the Relative, the Infinite only as the opposite of the Finite, the Unconditioned only as the opposite of the Conditioned. Nevertheless, this conception exists and cannot be dispelled; Spencer terms it the Unknowable. But he is not a thorough-going Agnostic, for he defines it also as the underlying Power of which the whole phenomenal world, including our own intellectual and emotional experiences, is merely the manifestation. Inasmuch as the latter are to us as real and important as the former, Spencer considers as equally admissible the religious or emotional and the scientific or intellectual view of the world and life. In this way he desires to reconcile them, but he denies that philosophy can do more than admit this twofold aspect, and he at

once proceeds to an exclusive discussion of the principles of scientific knowledge, of which he proposes to give the Rationale or ultimate unifying formula. Spencer has accordingly no room for a philosophy of religion. Philosophy is ultimately coincident with scientific knowledge, of which it is the complete unification.

This introduction to the system of synthetic philosophy reminds us of the Preface to the 'Microcosmus,' where Lotze also deals with the problem, how to reconcile the scientific with the emotional aspect. But there is a marked difference from the outset. Though not expressly stated by Spencer, the religious or emotional view of things does not include the ethical; whereas in Lotze's mind the latter, the idea of the Good, forms an essential, in fact the supreme, conception of the believing soul. With Spencer the ethical interest falls entirely into the region of science and philosophy, and forms an important branch of scientific and philosophical knowledge. With Lotze ethics is not a portion but the transcendent foundation of metaphysics.

62. Spencer and Lotze.

Both Lotze's and Spencer's attempts to reconcile the religious with the scientific view were put forward at a time when the thinking public in their respective countries was violently agitated by raging controversies: Germany by the Materialistic, England by the Darwinian controversy. It is, however, well to note that the virulence of attack came, in Germany, from the side of a popular philosophy which professed to be founded on the latest results of the mechanical and biological sciences, and was directed against traditional beliefs and the ruling philosophy which, on its part, professed to

support them. The leaders of this attack were Feuerbach, Moleschott, Büchner, and Carl Vogt. In this country, on the other side, the violent spirit came from the side of prominent exponents of the established beliefs; the discussion originating in the publication, about the same time, of two works of very different character but equally impressive by the definiteness of their respective doctrines. They were Mansel's "Bampton Lectures" on 'The Limits of Religious Thought,' and Darwin's 'Origin of Species.' We know that Lotze on his side took a leading part in the criticism of materialism; we also know that Spencer was greatly influenced by the ultimate conclusions drawn by Mansel from the philosophy of Sir Wm. Hamilton; further, that Darwin's startling hypothesis of natural selection furnished one of the most telling illustrations of the larger but vaguer theory of evolution which Spencer had then already clearly formulated for himself.

63. Formative ideas of Spencer's philosophy.

The principal ideas which contributed to the formation of Spencer's highest scientific generalisation, and which were at work in his mind before Darwin's classical treatise appeared, were partly suggested in the biological writings of von Baer; these had become known in this country through Huxley's translations. To these must be added the theory of environment and adaptation, and the conviction that psychical and social phenomena cannot be understood by the study of individuals alone, but point to the history of the race. When studying the phenomena of development Spencer recognised the importance of the nebular hypothesis of Kant and Laplace as an explanation of the genesis of the solar system.

The centre of Herbert Spencer's interest lies, nevertheless, in biology and sociology, and he brings in that solitary speculation taken from the inorganic world as an example of historical development on the cosmical scale. This bringing together of the largest cosmical phenomena with those in the restricted region of living things is peculiar to Spencer before Darwin's hypothesis brought greater precision into this latter region. The eye for far-reaching analogies, and the habit of regarding individual phenomena in their surroundings in space and their succession in time, form the two characteristic conceptions of Spencer's early speculations. On these he builds up his special scheme of evolution, the main points of which he developed in a series of separate essays to which he refers in his first systematic work. His philosophical development is thus quite different from that of Comte or from that of Mill, with whom he has not infrequently been classed owing to the leading interest in social questions common to both.

Comte's scientific knowledge was really limited to mechanics and astronomy, and he saw clearly, what only those familiar with mathematical reasoning sufficiently appreciate—viz., that the phenomena and processes of life and consciousness require an entirely different treatment from that which is applicable and sufficient when dealing with the purely mechanical processes of the cosmos and the lifeless world. The transition of scientific thought from lifeless things to living and conscious beings was never clearly defined in Spencer's philosophy, and forms one of the unsolved difficulties in any scheme of general evolution.

On the other side Spencer recognised, what Comte did not, the importance of the ideas of environment and adaptation put forward by some of Comte's contemporaries. Reference to these was to be found likewise in von Baer's writings.

In trying to solve the philosophical problem as he defined it, viz., the unification of knowledge, Spencer describes his special scheme of evolution in the following words: "The processes everywhere in antagonism, and everywhere gaining now a temporary and now a more or less permanent triumph the one over the other, we call Evolution and Dissolution. Evolution under its simplest and most general aspect is the integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion; while Dissolution is the absorption of motion and concomitant disintegration of matter."

He had before established two principles which he termed respectively the "indestructibility of matter" and the "continuity of motion." To these he added two other principles: the "persistence of force" and the "rhythm of motion." He then goes on to explain that his use of the term Evolution is not identical with other accepted meanings of the term. "While," he says, "we shall by Dissolution everywhere mean the process tacitly implied by its ordinary meaning — the absorption of motion and disintegration of matter—we shall everywhere mean by Evolution the process which is always an integration of matter and dissipation of motion, but which . . . is in most cases much more than this."

From this definition of his highest principle we see that the biologist Spencer, in trying to find the ultimate

unifying conception of scientific knowledge, resorts to a purely mechanical and geometrical conception. On the other side we have seen that the mathematician Comte, in trying to define the aspect from which biological and social phenomena are to be understood, distinctly discards the purely geometrical view as insufficient, and emphasises the necessity of starting with a consideration of the *ensemble* or "Together" of things. In this respect Comte had really a correcter view of the philosophical difficulty. For it is easy to trace in every and all, even the most complicated, phenomena purely geometrical relations and mechanical processes, whilst it has always been impossible to grasp through them the real essence of these phenomena; the consequence being that latterly even naturalistic thinkers have very generally found it necessary to attribute the unknown but peculiar principle of living and conscious things likewise to those of the lifeless world.

64. Contrast with Comte.

It would be a mistake to consider Spencer's evolutionary system in the same light as the apparently similar schemes of Schelling and Hegel. Spencer's philosophy does not deal with the origin, history, and end of things as a whole. It is neither a history of creation nor a history of the human mind. It does not deal with the entirety of things or the Absolute, in fact Spencer distinctly declares that such a general comprehension is impossible. It only deals with definite restricted and related regions of phenomena, and endeavours to show how the same succession and alternation of different and opposite processes exist everywhere, and are, as it were, the underlying mould into which all

65. Unlikeness of Spencer's Evolution to that of Schelling and Hegel.

change or evolution is cast. In this respect Spencer's formula, the alternation of Evolution and Dissolution, of condensation and separation, of integration and differentiation (segregation), of orderly arrangement and chaotic diffusion—or in whatever other terms the rhythmical process may be described—compares rather with the least successful of Hegel's efforts, viz., to show how the vaguer process of development as conceived by Schelling and himself might be understood as the successive application of a logical formula. Whereas both Schelling and Hegel believed in the gradual and persistent manifestation and realisation of an underlying spirit, of a something which possessed the highest intellectual and spiritual value and interest, Spencer declines altogether to form any conception of the Absolute, or of the significance of the world-process. He does not even decide which of the two alternating processes is the more important and lasting one. He is driven, through the contemplation of very varied but essentially limited regions of phenomena, to the conception of rhythmical and cyclical changes, of states which repeat and return into themselves. The idea of progress, therefore, in the higher sense of the word, as it vivified the writings of the idealistic philosophers, is absent in Spencer's philosophy. Nevertheless, he is able to gain upon the foundation of his 'First Principles' a position from which the trend of social evolution and the significance of morality can be understood. Society is moving in the direction of more and more perfect adjustment of its various parts and members through adaptation to external and internal circumstances; it is

moving in the direction of an equilibrium. This conception suffices for the useful discussion of a great variety of social phenomena as they present themselves in the present phase of civilisation. The idea also of a distant but final state of adjustment or equilibrium furnishes an ideal according to which our present conduct, both individually and socially, must be regulated. What other philosophies, notably that of Kant, look upon as an inherent law or revelation of the Absolute, the moral law, Spencer considers as the intellectual anticipation of that state of things which society is inevitably, though slowly, approaching, and the advent of which is to be accelerated (as in Comte's scheme) by the anticipated statement of this final result.

66. His ethical rule.

Just as the aim of scientific knowledge consists in prediction of phenomena, in anticipation and consequent control of events, so also the object and rule of moral conduct can only consist in consciously furthering that process of development which is clearly indicated by the study of social phenomena from the point of view of evolution and adaptation. The rule of what ought to be is to be found by scientifically comprehending that which is and has been.

67. Nature of the unification attained.

Looking now at Spencer's system from the point of view of the highest philosophical problem, the unification of thought and the reconciliation of science and religion, we may say that both problems came before his mind and that, in a certain sense, both were solved. The unification has been attained by introducing a definite formula, through the application of which to phenomena of very different regions a certain uniformity

of method or of philosophical treatment can be preserved. It is, accordingly, rather a unity of method than a unity of knowledge which we have gained, and it would be more correct to call the formal task of philosophy a unification of thought than a unification of knowledge.

Knowledge itself, *i.e.*, the ever extending mass of facts, phenomena, and processes which present themselves to the human mind, retain their multiplicity, their difference of aspects, and it is only a way of contemplating and arranging them according to some general scheme suggested by mechanical and geometrical relations that has been given to us. By it we arrive at a definite order of ideas, at a unifying Thought.

Spencer thus deals only with abstractions and regularities, what we call the laws of things and events, but not with the endless variety in which these regularities present themselves in the actual world. The contingent and the individual are notions with which Spencer does not deal. As Lotze would express it, Spencer only studies the world of fixed relations, the endless repetition of definite connections in space and time. The world of things, in its endless variety, in its numberless instances and examples, that which is of practical interest to us, receives little recognition, nor does the higher philosophical question as to the significance, the meaning and value, of this world receive more. In this respect Spencer is an Agnostic, a true man of science. He is a scientific philosopher; yet his philosophy is not at the same time a philosophy of the sciences, it is not a theory of knowledge such as, from different points of view, was contemplated by Kant in Germany and by

John Stuart Mill in this country or such as has been further developed by more recent thinkers, especially on the Continent.

If we may thus define the unification arrived at by Spencer as a unification of method or thought rather than as a unification of knowledge, we must further define it as a unification of scientific thought in which religious thought is left out of consideration. And this limitation of the range of Spencer's speculation becomes still more evident if we note how far Spencer has succeeded in solving the further problem, the reconciliation of science and religion. This is accomplished by eliminating religion, both as a psychological phenomenon and as a definite doctrine, altogether from the region of philosophical discussion. Both remain things lying outside the realm of the philosopher. Their existence is not denied, nor does Spencer assume towards them any polemical or aggressive attitude such as has been so characteristic of Continental materialism. His doctrine of slow change in the world of ideas, as well as in that of nature, prevents him from expecting any immediate effect or change in matters of opinion and belief. Having accordingly passed over the religious problem in the form in which it appeared as the central question in the idealistic philosophy of Germany, Spencer instead places at the centre of his speculation, as Comte did before him, the social problem. The greater part of his writings, the early as well as the latest, are occupied with this. His unifying principle of thought is finally put to the test in the construction of a social philosophy, such as I have dealt with in an earlier chapter.

68. The social problem central as with Comte.

Through the wide grasp of natural and social phenomena which characterises Spencer's writings, as well as through the limitation of his speculation to what he terms the Knowable, the spirit of Spencer's philosophy has entered into wide regions of modern thought and given rise to important criticisms and developments.[1] Though we may say that the greater

69. Criticisms and developments of Spencer.

[1] In this country the most important critical work is that of Prof. James Ward. It is entitled 'Naturalism and Agnosticism,' forming the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Aberdeen in the years 1896-98. It was published in 1899, and may be considered as forming a landmark in recent thought, marking the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. There is only one other philosophical work which can claim to have assisted to the same degree in revolutionising philosophical thought in this country during the last years of the period I am dealing with. This is Mr F. H. Bradley's 'Appearance and Reality' (referred to extensively, *supra*, vol. iii. pp. 27, 186, 431, 434, 533 *sqq.*) The first edition appeared in 1893, and two more editions were called for before the end of the century. Both works are largely influenced by Continental thought. That of Ward contains much which reminds one of Lotze, whereas Bradley, though certainly influenced by Lotze, refers with more sympathy to Hegel. But these two works, so different, have nevertheless jointly produced, what we may term, the modern British School of Philosophy, the originality and independence of which has not yet been duly recognised abroad. If the Lotzean position in philosophy may be considered as an important stepping-stone in modern thought, we may also say that it has been superseded by recent thought in this country, and this advance is due mainly to the growing influence of the two thinkers just mentioned. I shall have to refer again to both of them later on in this chapter. So far as Ward is concerned he had already gained the reputation of an original thinker, mainly through his Article on 'Psychology' in the Encyclop. Brit. (9th ed., 1886), followed by two further Treatises in the 10th and 11th ed. (referred to *supra*, vol. iii. p. 277). In the critical work the philosophies of Naturalism and Agnosticism, mainly identified with the names of Spencer and Huxley, are minutely analysed and found to be defective and unsatisfactory; a circumstance which does not seem to have escaped Huxley nor altogether even Spencer himself. (See the latter's Autobiography, vol. ii. p. 166 to end.) We are then led on to the beginnings of a constructive effort, the foundations of which are to be found in Ward's Psychology, with its insistence on the experience of the individual mind developed and augmented by intersubjective intercourse with other minds, forming, as it were, the whole continuous field of thought, knowledge, volition, and moral judgments, the unity of which is to be found ultimately in the continuity of mental life and in the duality with unity of the primordial experience of subject and object. The following passage

part of the philosophical interest of France and England has been till quite recently absorbed in this labour, it cannot be maintained that it has so far resulted in any systematisation comparable to that which is offered in the succeeding volumes of the 'Synthetic Philosophy.'[1]

Spencer shares with Hegel the merit of having brought, in a definite form, the idea of development before the mind of recent thinkers. It is also interesting to note that both were, directly or indirectly, influenced by that complex of ideas which had found in Schelling and his immediate disciples an original but vague and fluctuating expression. These ideas Hegel deepened and reformed through his earlier theological, historical, and logical studies. Spencer approached them in the more definite form which they had acquired in the writings of eminent physiologists of his day, notably

states very clearly the fundamental conception of Ward's philosophy: "First, we found experience used in a double sense: there is the experience, the living experience, of a given individual, filled with concrete events and shaped from first to last by the paramount end of self-conservation and self-realisation. There is also experience generally — Experience with a capital E, the common empirical knowledge of the race, the result entirely of intersubjective intercourse, systematised and formulated by means of abstract conceptions. Next, we found grounds for suspecting that dualism has arisen from misconception and ignorance as to the relation of these two senses of experience. Experience in the first sense being relegated to psychology, experience in the second remained as the sole business of natural science; and the one experience coming then to be regarded as exclusively subjective and the other as altogether objective, a clear line emerges between the two, and the dualism of Mind and Nature is the result. But now, in the third place, we have found that our primary, concrete experience invariably implies *both* subjective and objective factors, and seems to involve these, not as separable and independent elements, but as organically coöperant members of one whole. If they bear this character throughout, then logical distinction of these factors is possible but not their actual dismemberment; there is duality but no dualism." (Vol. ii. p. 152.)

[1] Certainly not within the period of this History.

of von Baer:[1] and he approached them with a mind trained in the mechanical principles of applied mathematics. Hegel's conception of development was thus that of the historical evolution of a spiritual content. Spencer's conception of development was that of the changes of an organism under the influence of internal and external mechanical forces. Hegel's disciples and readers gave him credit for having achieved more than he actually did; similarly Spencer's philosophy benefited by favourable external and internal circumstances which secured for it recognition from many different sides. Of these circumstances one was no doubt that the term Evolution formed a fortunate and more than adequate watchword for a new philosophy. Simultaneously also with the scheme of mechanical development indicated by this term there became known in this country Hegel's scheme of mental development. In many instances the two schemes were brought together, and the term Evolution was employed in a wider sense by writers and thinkers who were not prepared to accept the Darwinian theory of descent, and still less the lifeless mechanical formulæ of Spencer.[2] But more than by anything else did the philosophy of Evolution benefit by the recog-

[1] See *supra*, vol. i. p. 207 n.; vol. ii. p. 354 n.

[2] "Darwinism often recommends itself because confused with a doctrine of evolution which is different radically. Humanity is taken in that doctrine as a real being, or even as the one real being, and Humanity advances continuously. Its history is development and progress to a goal, because the type and character in which its reality consists is gradually brought more and more into fact. That which is strongest on the whole must therefore be good, and the ideas which come to prevail must therefore be true. This doctrine . . . has, I suppose, now for a century taken its place in the thought of Europe." (F. H. Bradley in 'Mind,' July 1911, reprinted in 'Essays on Truth and Reality,' 1914, p. 321.)

nition that Darwin's theory of natural selection could be fitted into the Spencerian scheme in which, together with Lamarckian adaptation, it formed such an important illustration of organic change. And at least in one large department, in that of biology, Darwinism supplied exactly that principle which Spencer's scheme was essentially in need of; it supplied, or was at least very largely credited with supplying, a principle of progress. Through it the term Evolution acquired the meaning of an advance from the lower to the higher, and partook of that peculiarity so characteristic of Hegel's principle, that it set no definable limit to the process of mental development.

70. Incompleteness of Spencer's Evolution.

But it soon became evident that the Spencerian scheme of evolution is incomplete. This incompleteness, though obvious from the beginning to a few penetrating critics, escaped general notice through the enormous array of actual facts marshalled before the minds of Spencer's readers. The want of transition from the general principles to their application in separate regions of knowledge, the fact that in each of these regions this application had to begin with the introduction of special factors or data which were, between the different regions, connected merely by vague analogies, was a defect which was early recognised. Beyond the reference to the nebular hypothesis of Laplace in cosmical physics and to the transformist view in geology introduced by Lyell, we find in Spencer's writings no attempt to deal with evolution in inorganic nature. This omission, though explained by Spencer as inevitable considering the magnitude of the task he set himself, is nevertheless unfortunate, for

it prevented him from clearly defining and accurately gauging the validity of the purely mechanical conceptions which he had expounded in his 'First Principles.' This task has since been performed by a large amount of penetrating criticism, and not least by the change which has come over scientific thought itself.

The main result of this may be stated in the thesis that all purely mechanical processes are reversible and, as Spencer himself stated, rhythmical, and in the long-run self-repeating. In consequence of this property—the property of all so-called conservative systems—mechanism, however complicated, is incapable of explaining that peculiarity of organic and mental life which is the main characteristic of progress, and which consists in something more than mere change or rearrangement. Now it was just this something more in which the mechanical scheme of Spencer was deficient, but which seemed to be supplied by the principles of natural selection and adaptation introduced into biology by Darwin and Lamarck. What thinkers of the older and idealistic schools had tried to define by various terms such as "vital force" (Stahl and Bichat), "purpose and finality" (Kant), "nisus formativus" (Blumenbach), "the Idea" (Hegel, Lotze, Claude Bernard), "inherent tendency" ('Zielstrebigkeit,' von Baer), seemed to be supplied by the conception of an inherent teleology of nature which found expression in an entirely novel vocabulary such as "natural selection," "adaptation," "survival of the fittest," "struggle for existence," &c., terms which received a purely causal or mechanical explanation on the foundation of two empirical facts

71. Non-mechanical phenomena.

peculiar to all living things, viz., automatic growth and multiplication beyond the means of subsistence (Malthus' principle), and variation (Darwin).

It was, however, gradually realised that all these terms involve a principle which cannot be mechanically defined, and that, moreover, the question of origins or genesis, of the beginning of things, had really been forgotten in the more fruitful and absorbing quest of genealogies. In this respect the French term "transformation" and the English term "descent" are more adequate than such terms as "origin" and "genesis."

If, on the one side, the Spencerian scheme of evolution was never adequately and fully applied to cosmical and lifeless phenomena, it was found on the other side that it could no more be applied to the higher stages of organic, mental, and social life without in each case introducing new factors and data, empirically collected. Whilst Spencer showed much ingenuity in preparing for every higher phase the necessary empirical foundation, and in collecting such elementary factors and data as lent themselves to the application of his general scheme, it also became evident that the whole of this process consisted in an atomism of thought, in an analytical process analogous to the atomic view of mechanical physics, and that the final consummation, as already indicated at the conclusion of 'First Principles,' was the conception of an ultimate equilibrium difficult to distinguish from the dead level of monotony and stagnation. In fact, the Spencerian idea of evolution proved to be only applicable to finite regions in which the ultimate equilibrium could again be disturbed

through the influence of other surrounding but equally finite spheres of existence. The question of the significance, the life and meaning of the whole, remained unanswered and unanswerable; coinciding, according to Spencer's own admission, with the unknowable ground of everything, the Absolute.

72. Defects of mechanical scheme of evolution recognised in all three countries.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century this defect of any and every purely mechanical scheme of evolution became more and more evident, and this through the independent labour of thinkers in all three countries, and as much through the movement of scientific as through that of philosophical thought. It is not too much to say that it has been a distinct aim of the latter to enlarge the conception of evolution so as to admit of a principle of progress. To express it in scientific language, the conception of a conservative system is not applicable either to the universe as a whole or to such finite portions of it as contain the phenomena of life and mind. Nevertheless, the naturalism and agnosticism in Spencer's thought have acted as a great stimulus to philosophical reasoning both in France and in this country, not to speak of America, in the intellectual development of which we are, in this Work, only indirectly interested.

73. T. H. Green.

The most original attempts to modify the evolutionary theories of Spencer and Darwin so as to make them more applicable to mental and especially moral and social phenomena, are to be found in the recent philosophical literature of France. In this country that school of thought which undertook to explain and, as T. H. Green put it, do over again the work which Hegel

had set himself to do in Germany, adopted many of the watchwords and canons which Spencer and Darwin had introduced into philosophical literature; but it has not so far succeeded in fixing upon any well-defined novel principle by which to characterise its speculations and make them generally intelligible to the thinking public. It is still only the watchwords of Spencer and Darwin on the one side, or of Hegel on the other, which are proclaimed in endless variations. French thought has in this respect been more original. But, before I deal with the important contributions of recent French philosophy to European thought, it is necessary to become acquainted with the latest and only comprehensive systematic attempt that, since the age of Lotze and von Hartmann, has been made in Germany: this is the system of Professor Wilhelm Wundt of Leipsic.

74. W. Wundt.

In time the important volumes in which Professor Wundt has gradually matured and unfolded his systematic view are almost contemporary with those of Spencer in England, but their respective systems were independently built up without, at least for a considerable time, any mutual influence. Although both thinkers may with some propriety be termed scientific philosophers, the part which science, in the narrower sense of the word, plays in the two philosophies is very different. As I stated above, Spencer gives us no philosophy of science. The work begun in England by Whewell and Mill, and continued by Stanley Jevons and others, was not taken up by Spencer at all. On the other side Wundt's earliest studies led him to attack those very problems involved in scientific thought which had

occupied Mill in England, and which in Germany had at the time been taken up by the Neo-Kantians. The result has been that the earlier volumes of Wundt's publications contain the most complete analysis of scientific method yet produced. They cannot be disregarded by any one who at the present day desires to deal with the subject. Wundt is in this respect a much more important successor of Mill than Mill's countryman, Spencer.

75. His approach to philosophy contrasted with Spencer's.

Further, though both Spencer and Wundt came from scientific to philosophical studies, the order in which they assimilated scientific ideas was not the same. Spencer was originally a practical engineer, with a knowledge of mathematics and dynamics going little beyond the practical formulæ then habitually used in dealing with problems of engineering and construction. The great change which, about that time, was being introduced into abstract dynamics through the labours of Stokes, Thomson and Tait, and Clerk Maxwell, had not yet made itself felt in practical engineering. Spencer's dynamical notions were thus the traditional ones belonging to the older school, and it does not appear that he ever realised that to a scientific thinker at the end of the century they would appear hopelessly vague, inadequate, and incomplete. Unconnected with his occupation as an engineer, which he presently relinquished, was his interest in social questions, and it was from this side rather than from the purely scientific side that he approached the great philosophical, which became for him a social, problem. He approached it through the study of biology and of organic forms by

means of purely mechanical, but essentially inadequate, conceptions.

On the other side Wundt's scientific studies began with that branch of physiology which had received special attention in the school of Johannes Müller: the physiology of the sense-organs and of the processes of sensation and perception.

His earliest contribution to this branch of physiology belongs to a period which witnessed the publication of two standard works of a very different character: Helmholtz's 'Physiological Optics,' followed by his 'Physiological Acoustics,' and Fechner's 'Elements of Psycho-physics.' For a considerable time Wundt's labours moved in the new region of research opened out by these two epoch-making publications, but he soon felt the necessity of studying the principles of exact reasoning contained in the application of mathematics to physical phenomena. In his treatise on the 'Axioms of Exact Science,' he dealt with a subject prepared by Kant, cultivated by the Neo-Kantians, and to which attention was attracted by the growing interest taken in Schopenhauer's writings. It was, however, essentially through his development of psycho-physical methods that he defined his attitude towards philosophical problems.

If Fechner may be termed the father of psycho-physics, it is really Wundt to whom the great enlargement and firm establishment of this branch of research is mainly due. But here we may notice a great difference between the scientific spirit which animated Spencer and that which permeates all Wundt's writings. The former soon fastened upon a definite mechanical

formula which was for him the unifying principle of thought, under the guidance of which he collected and marshalled an enormous mass of empirical knowledge. In doing this he took little notice of what others had done before him. His knowledge of the history of Philosophy was extremely superficial.

76. Wundt a true representative of "Wissenschaft."

On the other side Wundt is a true representative of the German ideal of "Wissenschaft," which denotes science and erudition combined. Wundt is untiring in the study, appreciation, and criticism of earlier and contemporary thinkers; and one of his earliest and chief achievements is his great Treatise on 'Logic,' in which the nature, the limits, and the different forms of scientific reasoning are exhaustively analysed. This and his early researches in the borderland of physiology and psychology impressed upon him the inadequacy of the abstract principles of the exact sciences for dealing with mental phenomena. It was especially the criticism of the conceptions of substance and causality which prevented him from falling into and maintaining that one-sided confidence in purely mechanical reasoning which characterises the whole of Spencer's philosophy. He himself has given us an account of the enlargement of his views which drew after it a correcter and fuller appreciation of philosophical and psychological problems, as distinguished from those of exact science.

"If I were asked," Wundt says, "wherein the psychological value of experimental observation consisted, and still consists, for me, I should say that it has produced and more and more confirmed an entirely new view of the nature and connection of psychical

processes. When I first approached psychological problems I shared the general prejudice natural to physiologists, that the formation of sense-perceptions is merely the work of the physiological properties of our sense-organs. I learnt for the first time when studying the performance of the visual sense (especially as regards space-perception) to understand that act of 'creative synthesis' which gradually became for me a guide at the hand of which I could also gain a psychological comprehension of the development of the higher functions of imagination and intellect; for this the older psychology gave us no assistance. When I then approached the investigation of the time-relations in the sequence of our ideas a new insight was afforded me into the development of the functions of the will (viz., through the influence of preparation and tension upon the shortening of physiological time) . . . an insight likewise into the close connection of all such psychical functions as were separated through artificial abstractions and terms such as 'representing,' 'feeling,' and 'willing'; in one word, an insight into the indivisibility and the inner similarity of mental life in all its stages."[1]

This passage is characteristic of Wundt's philosophy and differentiates it from that of Kant on one side, from that of Spencer on the other. Kant had recognised the synthetic function of the intellect, and had fixed upon the process of apperception as the centre of this mental synthesis. Wundt goes a step further, and defines it as a creative act which produces something more than a

77. "Creative Synthesis."

[1] See 'Philosophische Studien,' 1894, pp. 122-124; also the first section in the second volume of Wundt's 'Kleine Schriften,' 1911.

mere summation of separate elements or factors, and in this way he introduces into the mental process a feature unknown to Spencer and, as we saw above, wanting in his scheme of evolution. Wundt adopts Kant's term 'apperception,' but for him apperception is the first conscious exhibition of an active principle, which he identifies with the Will, and ultimately defines as the special characteristic of mental life. Something analogous to this principle he traces, though less and less perceptibly existing, even when we descend into the lower regions of animal life. The first main characteristic of this special factor is that it produces not only something new, but something which is continually on the increase; that it is a true principle of growth and development, not of mere rearrangement, of concentration and dissolution. There is, however, so far as I know, no evidence that the insufficiency of Spencer's special conception of development assisted Wundt in introducing into his scheme this enlarging feature.

The conception of this "creative synthesis," of Activity as the central characteristic of mental life and development, goes, with Wundt, hand in hand with the second doctrine peculiar to his philosophy. This doctrine is developed in his criticism of the ideas of substance and causality. It distinguishes his philosophy from the older ontology and metaphysics which, in modern times, have found their classical expression in the system of Spinoza. The conception of substance is not applicable, according to Wundt, to mental phenomena, *i.e.*, to the phenomena which we know through introspection. These are purely processes following each other in the sequence of time,

and connected by the idea of causality or its reverse, finality, accordingly as we connect the sequent with its antecedent, or the latter with the former. As distinguished from this, causality in the outer physical world is merely the rearrangement in space of something which in quantity is supposed to be unalterable; which we call Substance, and picture to ourselves in some form or other such as matter, its ultimate particles, or in more recent times Energy. This rearrangement we assume to be continuous, and it is subject to the principle of conservation or equivalence.

These modern theories of conservation of matter or energy, or, in general, of Substance, are not applicable to mental processes, which are, on the other side, subject to the principle of the growth or increase of mental energy. From this point of view Wundt denies the usefulness and validity of the conception of Substance as applied to mental phenomena. The traditional notion of a soul as a spiritual thing has thus no place in his philosophy, which, as such, stands in marked opposition to the philosophy of Lotze, for whom the conception of the universal substance is identical with that of the underlying reality, of the spiritual ground of everything.

78. Rejection of the term Substance as applied to mind.

Wundt is, next to Spencer, the most recent thinker who has ventured upon a systematic comprehension of his philosophical ideas. His definition of philosophy as expressive of the inherent tendency of thought towards unity falls in with the general drift of modern speculation, but nevertheless it differs both from the definition of Herbart and Lotze on one side and from that of Spencer on the other. Further, he recognises, as did

both Lotze and Spencer, the necessity of a reconciliation of the two great regions of thought which in modern times have so frequently come into conflict, the scientific and the religious. But here also his line of reasoning differs both from that of Lotze and from that of Spencer. His position is an independent one, and was probably arrived at, not in the beginning but gradually, in the course of the development of his philosophical ideas.

In contrast with Spencer's formula the unifying tendency of thought is not expressed as the unification of knowledge. Wundt does not consider it sufficient to trace an ever-recurring scheme or method of thought through the different regions of actual existence. True to the central conception of his psychology, which looks upon the mind as an active propelling principle, he notifies in his 'Theory of Knowledge' the inherent tendency of thought to go beyond the facts and data supplied by experience. The formation of ideas by which experience is transcended, reminds us of similar views contained in the philosophy of Kant. Both the suggestiveness of experience and its incompleteness stimulate the activity of the intellect to complete and supplement the lines of reasoning which start and must always start from given facts and data. Wundt shows how in its simplest and most abstract nature this tendency of thought is exemplified by mathematical reasoning which, starting from number and measure, forms transcendent conceptions, such as the Infinite, and ventures further into the region of the imaginary. In this way Wundt defines this transcendency of thought as of a twofold nature: he distinguishes between a real

and an imaginary transcendency of thought. In the former, existing and useful trains of reasoning are simply carried further, but essentially on the same lines; in the latter they are supplemented by new conceptions, which cannot be adequately represented in reality, but are, nevertheless, useful as ministering to the unifying activity of the intellect.

The two main transcendent ideas are, according to Wundt, the cosmological idea and the psychological idea: the idea of the World and the idea of the Soul. To avoid the one-sidedness inherent in both, in materialism on the one hand and in spiritualism on the other—systems of thought which are based upon an exclusive application of one or the other of these two ideas—the mind is forced to combine both in a third idea which Wundt terms the ontological. His previous enunciation of material substance and of mental activity permits him to bring both ideas together in the ontological conception of a totality of willing or active beings. The world must be conceived either as a material unity or as a mental unity. Which of the two we elect is to some extent a matter of subjective choice: for Wundt it is the idea of a universal collective Will of which the separate wills are only manifestations. This idea of an Infinite Collective Will Wundt identifies with the Divine principle, and in this way he approaches a conception of a Divine Order not unlike that of Fichte's earlier speculation, but distinguished from it as being a process of development. The imaginary transcendency of this conception renders further definition impossible.

79. Idea of Infinite Collective Will.

Thus the idea of Personality, so important in Lotze's

philosophy, does not enter into the highest conception of Wundt's speculation, but he is led on to an investigation of the historical manifestations of the collective Will in the history of human culture and civilisation. Its first and earliest conscious manifestation is to be found in language. The latter is the source of myths, and these the beginning of religion on the one side, of custom and morality on the other. The gradual evolution of individual minds, with their individual interests and conflicts, is thus a manifestation or outcome of the life and development of the collective mind. In this way Wundt gives special expression to the idea of Humanity, which plays such an important part in the classical literature and philosophy of Germany and in a different manner in the Positivism of Comte in France.

There is no doubt that Wundt's peculiar conception of an actuality, of a willing process, as a special principle distinguished from the conception of substance, is extremely fruitful in dealing with historical and ethical questions. Not less fruitful is his conception of growth and expansion as characteristic of mental as distinguished from purely physical energy. By a combination of these two fundamental conceptions he views the collective Will neither as a mere sum of individual Wills, nor as a finished and perfected existence. It is something more than the sum of its parts: the principle of "creative synthesis" comes here into evidence. Also, it is an ideal which is being gradually realised by the combined effort of the individual Wills. This ideal affords a foundation for ethical development and for a definite though changing expression of moral precepts. This view confirms

Wundt in his tendency—manifested already in his earlier writings—to consider individual mental life in its social and living environment and also in its historical development. Although psychology forms the entrance to his philosophy, his psychology is not limited to that of the individual mind, but is enlarged by the psychology of the collective mind. To this subject Wundt has devoted the latter years of his laborious researches and ever extending studies. He thus shares, though in an independent spirit and with a special object in view, the tendency of modern speculation: to look for the explanation and definition of existing forms of knowledge and belief in their genesis or historical becoming. His philosophy is therefore distinctly evolutionary, and, as such, marks an advance upon the pre-evolutionary philosophy of Lotze. From this point of view we have also to understand the position which Wundt takes up to the religious question.

He has neither put forth a philosophy of religion, such as Schleiermacher and Lotze have given us from different points of view, nor a religious philosophy such as was developed in the later writings of Fichte and in those of the right wing of the Hegelian school. His interest in the subject was not that which originally led him to philosophise, as it led most of the great Continental thinkers in modern times; neither was the philosophic impulse in his case connected with the social problem as it was in the case of Comte in France and of most philosophers in this country. His original interest was purely scientific; but as he was early led beyond a mere intellectualism to a study of the active and emotional side of

human nature, so his scientific interest led him to a study, and necessitated a comprehension, of the mental creations belonging to those regions. But we do not find that equal appreciation for the religious and emotional and for the scientific and rational aspect of things which is from the beginning characteristic of Lotze's position. We are thus left in some uncertainty as to the value and importance which Wundt attaches to any system of religious beliefs or to a theological treatment of them.

With Lotze some fundamental conviction of a religious nature formed the beginning and governing idea of the whole of his speculation. With Wundt certain religious conceptions, which are, as always, imported into his speculation from the region of existing beliefs, make their appearance at the end of his more systematic works. They are there treated sympathetically; but, coming, as it were, from outside and at the end of elaborate trains of reasoning, they appear more as an impartial tribute to historically important phenomena of mental life than as a fundamental conviction for which the whole of the speculation was undertaken.

80. Recognition of religious conceptions.

The spiritual content which actuated the idealistic and romantic development of German thought as a propelling force does not appear in the beginnings and in the groundwork of Wundt's philosophy. As a purely scientific thinker he was, however, in the course of his mental development, bound to recognise and appreciate it. He thus stands, so far as the religious problem is concerned, half-way between what has been termed the dualism of Lotze and the agnosticism of Spencer, at once

an opponent, with the former, of the shallow materialism and, with the latter, of the socialism of the age.

With an appreciation of Professor Wundt's important labours in the direction of systematisation of thought we might properly close this chapter. During the last twenty years of the century no comprehensive and original system of philosophy has made its appearance. Wundt's work has in this respect been compared by German writers to the work of Aristotle in antiquity: concluding for a period the systematic effort of thought and giving at the same time such a comprehensive critical view of contemporary speculation and contemporary problems that great originality as well as much erudition will be required from any one who would succeed in finding and establishing a new departure in systematic philosophy. The foundation of any new system will have to be laid both much deeper and much broader than in the past. Accordingly, the work which has been done since, in all the three countries, is, if not devoid of originality, yet on the whole fragmentary and preparatory. No one has ventured upon a new and comprehensive summation of these labours. Nevertheless, some progress has been made towards systematisation; but this progress stands still under the culminating sign of one dominant idea which led Spencer as well as Wundt, the idea of Evolution.

The peculiar aspect given to this idea through Spencer has been more stimulating to French than to German thought. The latter took it more directly from Darwin, or from the earlier and more comprehensive conception of development which, since the time of

Leibniz, had leavened most of the important systems of philosophy as well as the historical studies and general literature of the country.

To French thinkers neither the German nor the Spencerian notion of Evolution or development appeared generally satisfactory and conclusive. The logic of the former was too metaphysical and abstract to satisfy the demand for lucid expression so characteristic of the French mind. On the other side the great defect of Spencer's system, that it really contained no principle of progress, was early recognised by several prominent thinkers, and various corrective and enlarging attempts have been put forward: independently, as it seems, though not very far removed from ideas which are, in a more systematic form, contained in Wundt's writings. Even so far as the mere philosophical vocabulary is concerned, we find in the latter anticipations of titles and watchwords which have since attained a certain popularity and have become directive of philosophical thought.

In addition to this independent evolutionism, we find in French thought two other characteristics. Positivism, though not in the special sense in which it was understood by Comte, is, as it were, an abiding feature. Alongside of it we find prominently developed a tendency of thought which in the popular philosophic mind will always be identified with the name of Schopenhauer, who, in the title of his earliest great work, put the active principle or the Will into the foreground of his metaphysics. Though not in this abstract manner, this principle, which is known to us through introspection as an

independent attribute of reality to which all growth, progress, life, thought, and action are ultimately due, has become a leading idea both in German and in French philosophy, and has latterly found original expression likewise in English philosophical literature. This prominent line of reasoning in recent European thought has coined for itself a whole array of new terms, such as "Voluntarism" (Paulsen), "Actualism" with its principle of the *Idées-forces* (Fouillée), "Creative Synthesis" with its principle of the growth of mental energy (Wundt), "Creative Evolution" with the principle of *Élan vital* (Henri Bergson), "Pragmatism" (William James), and "Activism" (Rudolf Eucken).

As I stated just now, this philosophy of the Will must always remind us of Schopenhauer. Its germs may, however, be traced to the independent speculations of Fichte in Germany and of Maine de Biran in France, from which thinkers it has directly descended respectively to Rudolf Eucken and to Alfred Fouillée and Secrétan, as later representatives of German and French thought.

81. Actualism in French thought: Fouillée.

It is notably to M. Fouillée that we are indebted for a comprehensive exposition of this actualism, and for an attempt not only to show its application to the great problems of psychology, metaphysics, ethics, and sociology, but also to effect through it a reconciliation of the two main currents in modern French thought, the Idealist (intellectualistic) on the one side and the Positivist (scientific) on the other. He has thus laboured in the direction of a unification of thought. M. Fouillée combines in his philosophical reasoning all the best

traits of modern French thought: an appreciation of the ideology of Plato, the study of which—as of the whole of ancient philosophy—was stimulated and cultivated in the eclectic school of Victor Cousin; an equal appreciation for the genuine teaching of Positivism, enlarged by the evolutionary conceptions of Darwin, Lamarck, and Spencer. To these, the main subjects of his earlier studies, he has added a thorough knowledge of the original works of Kant as also of the Neo-Kantian movement and of the writings of Lotze. With such a large material to work on, his endeavour lies in the direction of conciliating opposed tendencies of thought, leaving aside the more extreme developments which these several tendencies have led to. Though he opposes what he terms the Idealist movement with its modern doctrines, such as those of discontinuity and contingency, the heaven of ideas of Plato still illuminates the whole of his thinking, which aims at bringing these ideas down to the surface of this earth. Though he disputes the one-sided mechanism, automatism, and agnosticism of Spencer, Huxley, and others, he stands firmly on an enlarged positivist basis and shares with Comte and Spencer the interest which they took in the great social question. For the central and leading principle he has coined the term Idées-forces, a term which conveys a more definite notion in the French language than it does in its German and English renderings. To him Ideas—which term he uses in the Cartesian sense, as meaning any mental presentation—are active forces, and as such the counterpart in the inner world of mechanical motion in the outer world; for

he seems to adhere to a complete correspondence of the psychical and physical, unlike Wundt, who does not consider that a complete parallelism is either a tenable or a useful conception. His main idea rests thus upon an attempt to bring what he considers the characteristic features of the physical and mental—motion on the one side, ideas on the other—together under the unifying conception of force; whereas in Wundt's system the distinction of substance and process, of physical and psychical causality, forms a leading conception.

82. J. M. Guyau.

Influenced by Fouillée, the suggestive writings of Jean Marie Guyau contain an attempt to employ an enlarged conception of Life as a definition of the progressive principle in history and society, and to supersede with it the traditional views both in ethics and religion. In this respect he goes further than Fouillée, who does not take up to these traditional mental agencies the same radical position. But Guyau, whose career was prematurely ended, has, less than other prominent recent thinkers in France, given a systematic development to his central idea. His writings are, nevertheless, as we have had occasion to see in earlier chapters, original and important in the history of modern thought.

83. H. Bergson.

The most important of modern thinkers in France is M. Henri Bergson. His earlier works, much appreciated in his own country, remained little known outside of it. Lately, however, his recent volume, with the suggestive title 'Évolution Créatrice,' has made him everywhere known as a thinker whose original views require and deserve patient study to be fully grasped and appreciated. His earlier smaller works, as well as his contributions to

several Reviews, contain interesting speculations on the notion of Time and Memory, which he opposes as the characteristic feature of mental life in its continual change to the spatial expansion and rigidity of the phenomena of the outer world. It seems that his real position in philosophical thought was not clearly understood through his earlier writings. Against the Positivists he maintained strenuously a belief in the possibility and necessity of metaphysics; in his later work he has clearly shown that he belongs to the Evolutionist movement of thought, cherishing the desire of introducing into the mechanical view of development a principle of progress. It is, however, not easy to arrive at any clear conception of his central idea and its workings. The attention which it has aroused not only in French but also in German and English philosophical literature will lead, through criticism and discussion, to a better understanding.

84. R. Eucken.

It is equally difficult to bring into a focus the teaching of Rudolf Eucken, whose writings, as well as his academic teaching, have apparently gained a very marked influence in German thought and literature. That he defines his philosophy as "Activism" shows that he belongs to that tendency of modern thought which I am at present dealing with. The fact that he refers back to Fichte proves that he inherits with him that spiritual content which, as I have shown, both the idealistic and the romantic schools of German philosophy tried to rationalise.

In a much more definite form, making it acceptable to a much larger circle of thinking persons in many countries, does this recent tendency of thought appear in

85. W. James.

the writings of the American philosopher, William James. He has brought together under the name of Pragmatism certain trains of reasoning peculiar to himself, but suggested likewise by contemporary writers in America and, to a lesser degree, in this country. For the understanding, diffusion, and acceptance of the teachings of this most recent school of philosophical thought, it has been of great value that it has concentrated its efforts upon the solution of a purely logical question, and that it gives this solution in a few simple words. The problem is the old question: What is truth? The answer: Truth is that which works. William James himself frankly admits that the new term Pragmatism, which was evolved in a conversation of his with a friend, is to a large extent a new name for Ideas which are not new. And similarly, in addition to a few striking and original logical dissertations, a great deal of the propaganda of the Pragmatists lies in the pains they are taking to show how in modern, but still more in ancient, philosophy the fundamental conception of their creed is variously anticipated: an argument which tells as much against the originality as it does for the universality of their central doctrine.

86. Relative absence of system.

These latest developments of philosophic thought, which reach into the first decade of the twentieth century, and so do not come into the scheme of this History, do not advance to a complete systematic treatment such as we meet with in the works of Herbert Spencer and of Professor Wundt. Among the more recent thinkers it is only M. Fouillée who has demonstrated the value of his central idea by dealing with some of the standard

problems of philosophy and of the burning questions of the day. Among these he has specially dealt with the psychological, the ethical, and the sociological problems. The other recent doctrines may contain valuable principles capable of systematic treatment, and affording help in solving the two supreme philosophical problems: the formal one of a unification of knowledge or thought, and the more substantial one of furnishing a reasoned creed which should afford a reconciliation of the scientific and the religious aspects. It is quite evident that they all move under the sign of Evolution: also that they feel the necessity of enlarging and deepening the Spencerian conception of Evolution by the importation of some principle of progress. But, though the system of Wundt does clearly supply the latter, it does not seem as if his special conception of development has proved to be generally acceptable.

The end of the nineteenth century thus found itself confronted with the problem which existed in the beginning: the problem of reason and faith or of science and religion. Though this supreme and unsolved problem does not appear in the same light as it did to thinkers in the beginning of the century, the need of a solution is now more generally felt. The easy solutions given by French thinkers during the revolutionary period are now nowhere acceptable. The problem has been fully realised in this country also, where it had hardly presented itself at all a hundred years ago. It is to a large extent through having recognised the deep importance of this problem that German philosophy has received so much attention and gained so much influence outside

of its native country. On the other side, it is precisely where it had met with such an easy solution, in France itself, that this supreme problem is now most seriously pondered over by leading thinkers. Of this we need not take further notice in this connection, as it was fully dealt with at the end of the foregoing chapter.

I have had so frequently to notice the fragmentary and inconclusive character of philosophic thought at the end of our period that I cannot conclude without briefly noticing the indications—particularly in British thought—of the advent of a new spirit. The indications I refer to point to a decided change in the position which the philosophic mind is likely to take up in the near future, with the object of again attaining to a greater unity and harmony of thought, liberating itself from the fetters of too much criticism and acquiring that self-confidence which is indispensable to any constructive effort. This was only faintly traceable or perhaps completely hidden to the external view at the end of our period. Since that time, however, the tendencies inherent in recent thought have become clearer, and in so far as they bear upon the subject of this chapter—the unification of Knowledge and the unity of Thought—I will attempt briefly to point them out. In doing so, I shall confine myself to a few leading thinkers, dispensing with a survey of the extensive literature in which similar tendencies are manifest, and this for two reasons.

First, because this literature is mainly interested in special problems, employing highly technical terms, and has in consequence not yet entered into the general body of thought. Secondly, because my knowledge of this

important and extensive literature is even more fragmentary than the literature itself. In order not to part from my readers without giving them some idea of the tendencies of recent thought, I must briefly recapitulate what has been shown more in detail in preceding chapters.

The highest aim of philosophy has always been to search for unity of thought. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Kant had firmly established in the minds of his followers the conviction that this unity can only be found in the unity of consciousness—*i.e.*, of the inner life; but he had still left the possibility of another unity in the "Thing in Itself," the *caput mortuum* of external reality. The immediate followers of Kant, in what they considered the true spirit of his teaching, consistently destroyed this phantom, and sought for unity and harmony in the inner world, confining themselves finally to the world of thought—*i.e.*, of logical thought. This movement culminated in Hegel.

Quite independent of this, which is usually termed the Idealistic movement, the natural sciences approached unity of thought from the other side—*i.e.*, from the side of the external or material world, concerning the ultimate reality of which they entertained no doubt. Their researches, which were not conducted with the object of establishing a reasoned creed, but simply in order to gain natural knowledge, led, nevertheless, to a surprising though partial unification of such knowledge, and when the endeavours of the Idealistic school failed, some thinkers, trained in the methods of the natural sciences, and impressed with the increasing simplification of their

principles, quite spontaneously conceived the idea that by following out their line of reasoning a solution of the philosophical problem could be attained where and when Idealism had failed. In fact, they thought that circumspection—*i.e.*, looking outside and around—would be more helpful than introspection. There is also no doubt that idealistic thinkers had, in an unwarranted manner, made tacit and surreptitious use of notions which belong exclusively to the material sciences. The naturalistic school of thought worked in the commencement mainly with the conception of Life as the highest unifying principle in nature, and when the older formula of a "vital force" could not be logically defined it was driven to a purely mechanical construction of reality. This line of reasoning found its consummation in the system of Herbert Spencer. In this system the naturalistic train of thought came to a limit as the idealistic had apparently come to a limit a generation earlier in the system of Hegel.

In parenthesis it may be noted that on the idealistic side Schopenhauer alone had not discarded the "Thing in Itself," but had incorporated it in his dualistic system by defining it as the Will in analogy with the active principle of the human mind; on the other side, Comte had not reduced biology to mechanism, but had maintained that the living creation could only be understood by the *vue d'ensemble*—*i.e.*, by resorting to a mental principle.

This inroad of naturalism into what we may term the philosophy of mind did not contaminate British thought to the same extent. Though by Hartley a mechanical

process of 'vibration' was assumed as the elementary motion in brain and nerves, this hypothetical physiology did not exclude the reference to a psychical association of mental processes. All philosophy of mind in this country, including that of James and J. S. Mill, may be termed introspective; the term "mental chemistry" was indeed used, but the elements in this chemistry were not material things but ideas. The assistance of biology proper, *i.e.*, of the physiology of the senses and the brain, came to be imported from the Continent into English psychology, notably by Bain and Maudsley, and has, since their time, been further developed through Spencer and Lewes, and to some extent also under the foreign influence of Wundt. In opposition to the latter, however, Bain himself raised his voice in one of his latest deliverances.[1]

87. Return to the introspective method.

Now it is one of the principal features of recent philosophy in this country that it has re-established again in its supreme place the introspective method. This was very marked in Prof. James Ward's first article on "Psychology" (1886) mentioned in an earlier chapter.[2] In this new departure the traditional bent of the British mind has again asserted itself. A continuity is established with the introspective line of thought which started with Locke and was carried on through Berkeley, Hume, and the Scottish School, down to J. S. Mill. But in distinction from them the new departure urged the necessity of looking at mental life as a whole, of breaking with the atomising processes of the "faculty" and "association"-psychology, of studying the continuum of

[1] See *supra*, vol. ii. p. 527. [2] Ib., vol. iii. p. 277.

sensory and motor presentations, and of considering the emotional and volitional incidents as having the same reality as those of the senses and the intellect. The result was that the psychology of the latter had to go hand in hand with that of the former. The continuity, as well as the greater complexity of the field of consciousness, was brought out still more prominently and convincingly by the same thinker in the second volume of his Gifford Lectures referred to already.[1] We learn there that unity of thought and knowledge depends ultimately upon the continuity and unity of consciousness. The apparent dualism of an inner and outer world, to destroy which Kant led the way in his "unity of apperception," but restored again in his "Thing in Itself," is superseded in Ward's fundamental thesis that conscious mental life begins with the felt unity in duality of subject and object. Through it there arises within the individual consciousness by the active and selective process of attention, and by intercourse with other minds, the image of an outer world. This is not opposed to, but forms a portion of, the entire world of consciousness, but it acquires for practical purposes a seemingly independent existence, a reality of its own, supplying the material for orderly logical and scientific thought. All that we know, or can know, is comprised in the circumference of our individual consciousness enlarged through intersubjective intercourse into the greater sphere of general experience common to many minds. But if we, according to this view, do away with the common-sense aspect of things, according to which

[1] See *ante*, p. 156.

there are two realities, the outer world and the inner world; if we absorb, as it were, the outer world in the inner world, and make it a portion of our inner experience; we do not, in doing so, destroy the irremovable conviction that these two worlds present to us a different sort of reality. For things in the outer world are more obtrusive, those of the inner world perhaps more important. The former are better defined, the latter more identified with our individual interests; the former seem to have more tangible reality, the latter more value. Thus, whilst getting rid of the opposition of internal and external, we do not explain the difference of greater and less reality or of appearance and reality.

Almost simultaneously with the new psychology, of which James Ward is the leading exponent in this country, another thinker, starting from quite different beginnings, took up the problem just referred to. This is Mr F. H. Bradley, who, in his 'Appearance and Reality' (1893), fixed the attention of British thought upon a metaphysical question in a way which no other thinker has done before or since. His object was "to stimulate enquiry and doubt." This work may be looked upon as a treatise of "First principles," and is, as such, an introduction to the idealistic school of thought in the same way as Herbert Spencer's 'First Principles' aimed at laying the foundations of a consistent naturalistic system. The method adopted by Mr Bradley, a peculiar kind of reflection, was original in the history of British philosophy, but is more or less familiar to students of Lotze in Germany, who himself had adopted it under the influence

both of Hegel and Herbart. It may be defined in general as an attempt to answer the many questions which arise as to the meaning of those abstract terms, such as "reality," "appearance," "experience," &c., which we continually use in ordinary as well as in scientific and philosophical reasoning. It is akin to the dialectic of Hegel's Logic as well as to the *Bearbeitung der Erfahrungsbegriffe* of Herbart. It introduces, *inter alia*, the idea of "degrees" of reality in order to solve the problem mentioned above, and aims at fixing our thoughts upon the problem of the ultimate or highest reality, which is termed the Absolute. There is no attempt to solve logical and metaphysical questions by recourse to mechanical analogies, and it is accordingly purely introspective. In approaching the problem of the unity or harmony of thought and knowledge, it urges not so much the internal unity of consciousness as the necessity for the human mind of orderly or systematic unity. The totality of things is conceived as a system, special points and features being ultimately intelligible only by looking at the whole. Without using the exact term, the work is really a treatise on the "synoptic" aspect of reality.

Although we find in recent philosophical literature in this country the two schools of thought of which Ward and Bradley may be considered the leaders frequently treated as separate or opposed, they are at one in urging an idealistic view of the world and Life, and in employing the introspective method, though in the one case this is more distinctly psychological, in the other more distinctly logical. But in their latest respective de-

liverances, as also in the discussions carried on mainly in the Aristotelian Society, the representatives of the two schools seem to be coming nearer together, each having learned something from the other. It is significant that the relation of psychology and logic forms also one of the burning questions of philosophical thought in Germany.

CHAPTER XII.

THE RATIONALE OF PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT.

I.

1. Mathematics and Metaphysics.

To the popular mind the science of Mathematics on the one side and that of Metaphysics on the other stand in marked contrast. The former represents, as it were, the most certain, the latter the most uncertain, form of Knowledge which the human mind is possessed of. It is, however, worth noting that nevertheless these two forms of Knowledge have, according to the popular opinion, one quality in common, neither of them seems capable of any real progress. The absolute fixity of the fundamental principles of the one makes a real advance seemingly as impossible as the absolute uncertainty of the principles of the other.

In the concluding chapter of the first section of this History I tried to show how, so far as Mathematics are concerned, the popular view is erroneous; no science has advanced and changed during the nineteenth century more than that of mathematics. In the present chapter, which will conclude the second section of this History, I shall endeavour similarly to refute the second opinion,

2. Both progressive.

and to show how, in spite of the varying aspects which the philosophical problem has presented to us in the foregoing chapters, there has nevertheless gone on a very definite underlying advance in the philosophical Thought of the period. This chapter will accordingly aim at expounding the rationale of philosophical thought. For this purpose I shall have to answer two definite questions. The first will refer to the main influence through which this change and this advance have been brought about; the second will refer to a general tendency of thought which the detailed expositions in the earlier chapters have enabled us to discover in recent philosophical discussions.

I will at once answer the first question by saying that the main influence through which philosophical thought has undergone what we may term a fundamental change must be traced back to the progress of science itself and its manifold applications in practical life: it is, in fact, the working of the scientific spirit, extending beyond the limits of its special subject. This special subject itself we may define as the advancement of natural Knowledge in theory and practice.

3. Influence of science.

It may also be convenient, whilst postponing an answer to the second question, to state provisionally that the advance of philosophical thought has been prepared under the influence of the critical spirit through a process which may be divided into two distinct stages. Criticism in philosophy first destroyed the older metaphysical notions by applying, wherever possible, the methods and principles which had proved so efficient in the region of scientific research, and it then turned

4. And of criticism.

its attention to these methods themselves and showed their essential inadequacy for philosophical purposes, thus preparing the way for a different treatment. A conviction that this is necessary constitutes perhaps the only feature common to all the more important philosophical writings of the present age, and will, if it succeeds in finding clear and definite expression, constitute a real advance in philosophical thought. That such a new position must be gained was already clearly before the mind of some of the great thinkers in the beginning of the century, but their attempts though eminently suggestive were premature, and could not stand against the rising tide of naturalistic thought which flooded the whole of philosophical literature in the middle of the century.

5. Scientific methods.

Dealing now somewhat more closely with the first phase in the change of modern thought, I must remind my readers that most of the pioneers of modern philosophy were thinkers impressed by the new scientific methods. Some of them occupy even a foremost place in the history of science itself. Among the latter Descartes and Leibniz stand out prominently as representatives and inventors in the most advanced regions of mathematical thought. Others, such as Bacon and Spinoza, recommended scientific methods—the former the experimental, the latter the mathematical—for the purposes of philosophical inquiry.

Locke proposed to analyse the processes of "human understanding" by following the lead of the natural sciences and investigating origins, dealing with ideas as the elements of thought and knowledge. This led to

a genuine new departure, while the mathematical method of Descartes and Leibniz degenerated with Christian Wolff into mere external form.

The only constructive thinker of first importance who was not overawed by the mathematical method, for which he had indeed no real appreciation, was Bishop Berkeley, and it is worth noting that his contribution to philosophical thought was not truly appreciated in its originality till late in the nineteenth century.

Special scientific formulæ, such as the Newtonian law of gravitation or the atomistic theory of chemistry, were, in many cases, taken as models—the former by Hume in putting forward the laws of association; the latter by the British School of Psychology in succession to Hartley. Hartley himself had sought to connect these laws with physiological processes in the brain. Kant's earlier works are full of quasi-mathematical reasoning; but, unlike Newton, he exaggerated the importance of gravitation as a fundamental principle, as did Laplace; and he did not understand the Newtonian laws of Motion which were clearly set out by his contemporary d'Alembert in France.

6. Scientific principles at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In the beginning of the century there existed only a very small number of strictly-defined scientific principles. The laws of attraction and repulsion and those of atomic grouping and combination stand out prominently; to these were added, about that time, the principle of polarity and that of vital forces—the former through the sciences of magnetism and electricity, the latter through the biological sciences.

These two conceptions, familiar in earlier times, ac-

quired special importance through French mathematicians and naturalists. They were eagerly seized by the school of philosophers which centred in Schelling and termed its doctrine the philosophy of Nature. As we have seen, this school reacted harmfully upon the progress of science itself, though some of its members, like Lamarck, Oken, and Treviranus, anticipated later important developments; and von Baer, unlike Liebig, appreciated its deeper-lying truth.

When the convertibility of heat and mechanical motion was established, and mechanical forces took the place of vital forces in biology, when the vaguely expressed principle of the conservation of force was added to the equally vaguely expressed principle of the conservation of matter, physiologists trained in the school of Liebig attempted to build up a system of philosophy upon the basis of these conceptions. This was the well-known and popular philosophy of *Kraft und Stoff*. It contained really nothing new, but spread ideas which had been expressed in a better style and in choicer language by the French Encyclopædists into circles in Germany to which both French philosophy and that of their own country was either foreign or unintelligible.

7. "Force and Matter."

If we read the current histories of philosophy of the nineteenth century, nearly all written by German scholars, we are unduly impressed by another contemporary movement of thought, the one just referred to being mostly neglected and not counted a philosophy at all. So different is the history of philosophy from that of philosophical thought which I have attempted to write.

In those histories, the naturalistic tendency is usually disregarded, and in many instances it is made to appear as if the idealistic systems alone deserved the name of philosophy. A prominent example of the attitude is the well-known work of Kuno Fischer, for whom modern philosophy is wellnigh identical with Idealism of the Hegelian type. This monumental History, though a work of genius, is nevertheless misleading, for it puts into the foreground or fills almost the entire picture with a movement of thought which was not international, and has become so only to a moderate extent at a later period.

8. "Idealism."

The international movement of European Thought during the nineteenth century was dominated by the development of scientific ideas in all the three countries alike. Idealism, as a philosophical doctrine, was in the general movement only an episode, though an important and suggestive one. Its real meaning and value is only now beginning to be justly appreciated. One of the reasons why for a time the Idealistic Systems were discarded may be found in the fact that they did not rest on a sufficiently broad basis of experience, such as the natural sciences had prepared for themselves. That this was necessary was recognised by some of the most abstract thinkers, such as Fichte and Hegel: they handed over the performance of this important task to their disciples and followers; in their latest works these two thinkers sought for the necessary proofs of their abstract generalisations respectively in the data of the individual and in those of the collective human consciousness—*i.e.*, in psychological and historical facts. Hence the immediate outcome of Idealistic Thought was not a

9. An episode in the general movement.

general acceptance of the higher metaphysical principles, but a reversion to psychological, historical, and anthropological studies. In this direction the second half of the nineteenth century accumulated an enormous mass of material which foremost thinkers of the present day aim at utilising for the purpose of working out the programme of earlier Idealism. It is now being gradually admitted that no one indicated this programme more clearly and comprehensively than Hegel himself. That he failed to impress lastingly the philosophical mind may be traced, among other causes, to two main defects in the process by which he tried to carry out his main principle and to substantiate the inherent truth of his fundamental conception. This fundamental conception is that of the ultimate Reality as Mind or Spirit.

10. Ambiguity of Hegel's *Geist*.

As I have pointed out on former occasions, the German word *Geist* has several meanings. The very attempt to translate it into the English language reveals the uncertainty of the conception, the context of Hegel's own exposition requiring us sometimes to use the word Mind, sometimes Spirit, sometimes Consciousness. Had Hegel entered upon a more careful psychological account of what is meant by this term he would have been able to guard his followers from putting too narrow a definition upon his fundamental principle; had he, *e.g.*, continually kept before his readers his earlier expression that the Absolute is Subject, no doubt could have arisen as to his position regarding the question of the Personality of the Absolute or the Divine Spirit, and his philosophy could not have been identified with Pantheism. Had he, on the other side, sufficiently guarded his readers against identifying the term Mind or Spirit with that very small portion of Reality which each of us terms his individual self; had he emphasised that he meant the larger consciousness which embraces everything; he would have made it impossible for Feuerbach to put a purely anthropological or materialistic interpretation on his philosophy. There is no doubt that in speaking of the Mind or Spirit, Hegel had every one of the different meanings of the term *Geist* before him; the narrower meaning of the individual human self-consciousness, as well as the objective mind and the larger meaning implied by the Leibnizian *Monad* as an individual mirror of the whole universe.

But these meanings are not kept sufficiently distinct and their mutual relations explained and defined, and indeed, if such definition is at all possible, it was not at the time so urgently needed as it has become since, for Hegel's hearers and readers possessed, to a large extent, an unconscious knowledge of what was meant. They lived on the reminiscences of the Classical and Romantic age, with its high aspirations, its brilliant creations, and its great achievements. It was a generation full of hope, aspiration, and confidence which Hegel addressed, and the term *Geist* when uttered called forth an immediate response from any attentive hearer or sympathetic reader. What Hegel professed to give, many young minds were in search of, and eager to receive without much critical questioning. This questioning

belonged to a later period, to a generation out of touch with the aspirations of an earlier age, and in whom the reminiscences had faded away.

11. Similar ambiguity of the term Evolution.

It will not be without help to my readers if I remind them how, in our day, certain terms equally undefinable have come to govern a large part of our thinking: how, *e.g.*, the term "evolution" is now indiscriminately used and supposed to convey a distinct meaning—how it is looked upon by many as a master-key which opens the door of every secret chamber; as a watchword which will allow us to pass every difficulty and emerge safely from the labyrinth of perplexity and doubt. Yet if we look into the matter somewhat more closely, the term "evolution" has been defined by its greatest champion only in the narrowest, purely mechanical sense. Students of Hegel's philosophy may here interpose, and remind us that Hegel himself felt the necessity of defining more exactly what he meant by the term Absolute, that he, in fact adopted a special method, suggested by Fichte—the dialectic method. Unfortunately, however, this method did little more than emphasise a purely logical formula, which was even more empty than the later mechanical formula adopted by Spencer. The whole of Hegel's philosophy seemed then to many to be merely an arrangement of an enormous mass of historical and psychological facts according to some dry formula, setting them in a soulless and ever-repeated rhythmical movement. This it is that Mr Bradley has so well stigmatised as a "ballet of bloodless categories."

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that both formulas of

development,—the logical of Hegel and the mechanical of Spencer,—have given to their followers abundant occupation. Starting in both cases with the object of illustrating and verifying an abstract canon of thought, their eyes have been arrested by the incomparably greater interest which the region of facts presented to them, and, held by this interest, they have gradually forgotten the dry formula which started them on their journey. Hence the great accession to actual knowledge of historical and physical facts which resulted in both cases. Yet, with this accumulation of new knowledge, the philosophical problem was not solved. There still remained the question: What do we mean when we speak of Mind or of the Absolute? Similarly, the modern doctrine of Evolution leaves unanswered the question: What is it that evolves? What, *e.g.*, is the real essence of life and progress?

12. The philosophical problem as left by Hegel and Spencer not solved by their successors.

So far as Hegel is concerned, the principal merit of his philosophy in the history of modern Thought seems to be that he formulated two definite problems,—the problem of defining the Absolute or Ultimate Reality, and the further problem of finding an intellectual pathway by which to reach it. The first he provisionally solved by describing the Reality as Spirit or Mind; the second by his dialectical method. And the modern idealistic movement of Thought started in this country by taking up these problems as defined by Hegel, trying to do his work over again with the help of the deeper insight that had been gained through science and history on the one side, through logical and psychological studies on the other.

This movement, however, belongs to a later period. A whole generation intervened between the death of Hegel and the beginning of Hegelian studies in this country. During that period Hegel was forgotten and neglected in his own country: it was the period during which the scientific spirit gained the upper hand and usurped the name of philosophy—moving about in the new region of thought in the same uncritical manner in which Metaphysics had deported themselves before the time of Kant. The Critical Spirit was only then beginning to examine the principles and methods of Science in the same way as Kant had, two generations earlier, examined the principles and methods of Metaphysics. We may term this period that intervened between the earlier and the later idealistic school of thought, the "period of transition."

13. The period of transition.

The labours of this period, so far as scientific thought is concerned, are marked by their growing international character; at the end of the period science had become cosmopolitan. Not so philosophy. Each of the three countries in which we are mainly interested prepared in its own way that change of ideas which marks the essential intellectual difference between the beginning and the end of the century. We may identify the work of each country respectively with the names of Lotze in Germany, Comte in France, Mill and the Utilitarians in England.

Popularly, the best-known types of philosophical thought in the three countries are Materialism and Pessimism in Germany, Positivism and social philosophy in France, Naturalism and Agnosticism in England.

All these terms, if they were not invented, at least became current during this period. But they convey only a superficial idea of the underlying motives which directed the thought of the period. The most characteristic feature is probably to be found in a general disruption of thought, in the rise everywhere of antagonistic schools with sharply marked contrasts leading to violent controversies. The thought of this period is accordingly dualistic; the older faith in the existence of some supreme governing principle in the world of Thought or Reality is gradually disappearing, or is supported only by an undue emphasis laid upon one side of truth, with a complete disregard for the other. And the systems of philosophy which became current during that period may likewise be characterised as dualistic in opposition to the monism of Hegel. Thus we have in Schopenhauer's philosophy the two unreconciled principles of Will and Intellect; in Comte those of Egoism and Altruism; and in Spencer those of the Knowable and the Unknowable. But behind and below these more prominent popular and aggressive systems we have the deeper-going currents of thought which are slowly preparing a new era. The writings of the thinkers who performed this silent and unobtrusive work are popularly less known, but it is to them that students of history must revert in order to understand the present endeavour towards a more reassuring and hopeful position. This underlying current of preparatory work is represented in Germany mainly by Lotze and some of the Neo-Kantians; in France by Renouvier; in this country by T. H. Green and Henry

Sidgwick. None of these thinkers, with perhaps the exception of Lotze, have received much attention outside of their own country, and Lotze himself, though he for a time kept the philosophical interest from completely dying out at the Universities, has, even at the present moment, hardly received that attention in his own country which his writings deserve. The reason is to be found mainly in this, that he is, since Leibniz, the only thinker who had an equal knowledge of the sciences of Nature and of those of Mind; that he kept the principles of both distinctly apart; and that accordingly, in the popular estimation, the dualistic character of his writings and his extreme cautiousness made him appear inconclusive. To this must be added the further characteristic that he had no genuine historical interest, and little appreciation for formal logic,—two provinces of research which had received special attention among Hegel's followers as well as among his opponents; and these at the time made up almost the entire philosophical public. His sudden death in the year 1881 prevented him from putting the final touches to the systematic statement of his views, though it is doubtful whether the third volume of the 'System' would have given us more than what we find less systematically stated in the 'Microcosmus.'

14. Lotze's view concerning philosophical thought.

Nevertheless, Lotze has introduced, or at least prepared, a new view of the position of Philosophy and of philosophical thought; that which is becoming more and more acceptable to the modern mind, that also which has been adopted in this History and explained in the

general Introduction. According to this view, Philosophy proper or Metaphysics gives no new knowledge, but is merely an attempt to reconcile opinions gained by very different processes of thought and observation; by the rigid methods of science on the one side and the demands of practical life on the other.

This critical or judicial attitude of philosophy was prepared by Locke and Hume in this country and clearly stated by Kant; but the great change which the latter introduced, together with the new world of creative mental activity in the region of poetry and art, gave, in Germany, a renewed impetus to constructive thought, and pushed aside for a generation the continuance of the critical work and judicial sifting which Kant had initiated. From this point of view Lotze is the true heir of the Kantian bequest; but in several directions he extended the foundation of the Kantian argument and gave it a freer movement.

Replying to Hume's doubts, Kant had taken up the position that, whatever force these may have, the human mind is undoubtedly in possession of experience and scientific knowledge, and that our philosophy of the mind must contain an explanation of this phenomenon; further, the human mind is also in possession of a definite moral law, and this fact must also throw light on its constitution. Lotze defines the same position somewhat more fully; on the one side, he says, we have the region of facts and scientific conception, on the other we have an equally real world of moral, æsthetical, and religious demand and belief. The two regions play an equal part in human

life, human history, and human culture, and require to be equally recognised. He terms these, the World of Things and the World of Values.

A conviction, he holds, must be arrived at which permits us to harmonise these two realms of thought, to remove the many apparent contradictions and difficulties. It is also clear that he considered that the modern mind possesses already, in a theistic view of the world and life, such a conviction; he is, as he says, old-fashioned enough to believe in the existence of Religion, and he does not disguise his belief that the ultimate unifying thought is a concern of the personal character, and that philosophy can do no more than defend the position most clearly expressed in Christian doctrine against the many objections and doubts which inevitably spring up through the progress of scientific thought and the practical experience of life.

The unique situation of Lotze with regard to the natural and the mental sciences is not limited to an acquaintance with the results of these two great departments of Knowledge as they existed in his time. Such a knowledge has been the property of other thinkers before and after him; but, since the time of Leibniz, not one of them had gone through an equally severe training on both sides, a training which we may, following the popular usage, call a mathematical and classical training; no one has, since the time of Leibniz, been able to reason with the same assurance on the lines of the exact as well as on those of the historical sciences. This means that Lotze grasped the principles and methods of the mathematical and natural sciences just

as firmly as those of philosophical and historical criticism.

Perhaps the only other thinker, in recent times, who was equally qualified by his training, knowledge, and sympathies to hold the balance evenly between the scientific and religious interests of the age, was Fechner; but his general philosophical views were too little systematic to impress his contemporaries. Behind both him and Lotze there stood, however, an influence greater and more powerful than that of either: this was the influence of Goethe, which in philosophy made itself felt mainly through Schelling. From this source Fechner inherited the poetical and mystical features of his scientific as well as of his religious and his humorous writings, but he was also much impressed by the promising methods of exact research, which led him safely out of the labyrinth of the *Natur-Philosophie*. Lotze, on his part, had none of the mysticism and poetry of Fechner, but he had also less reverence for the mathematical formula, the power as well as the limitations of which he estimated correctly. He was also quite averse from those shallow compromises between the scientific and the religious aspects so common and popular in this country, such as found a well-meant expression, *e.g.*, in the Bridgewater Treatises and in some more recent apologies of Theistic Thought, which, though seemingly helpful for the moment, lose their meaning with every new aspect revealed by the progress of natural research and historical criticism.

Some of his earlier writings were devoted to the extension of what he termed the mechanical sciences,

and to the expulsion of the current conception of a vital force; but he did not adopt the shallow views of the materialists, nor those of later pessimists, nor was he overawed by Darwinism. His position is defined by his version of a truth stated already by Leibniz—that mechanism is an all-pervading but a subordinate principle of Reality: thus, neither the 'Force and Matter' of Büchner, nor the 'Will' of Schopenhauer, nor the 'Unconscious' of Hartmann, nor 'Natural Selection,' led him astray.

It may appear strange to my readers that I give such a prominent place to a thinker who is so little popularly known; indeed, the philosophy which he represents refrains on principle from indulging in easy watchwords or marketable phrases; it is more an attitude of mind and a habit of thought which he cultivates; the study of his writings may appropriately serve as an introduction to philosophy preparatory to the formation of a comprehensive reasoned creed. And apart from the episode of the idealistic systems which intervened between Kant and Lotze, this is really the position of philosophical thought initiated by Locke and Hume in this country and by Leibniz abroad, and clearly defined by Kant.

15. Critical attitude of later thought.

Instead of starting with some self-evident principle, some definition of method or some highest conception of the essence of Reality, of the truly Real, as Descartes and Spinoza did, and as the idealists in Germany attempted to do, the philosophy I am now referring to is contemplative and critical rather than constructive. It tries to understand the great bodies of Thought and Knowledge which are already in existence, aims at grasping them as

a whole, finding their rationale, and penetrating to the frequently hidden principles which they unconsciously employ. Such an attitude of thought implies, however, a mode of procedure which was not congenial to Lotze's mind, and which was just what was supplied by that school of thought for which he had but scant appreciation. This school of thought was represented most prominently in this country, though its antecedents may be traced to various Continental thinkers of the very first order. It may be defined as the study of origins, and this in two directions—viz., historically and psychologically. Its watchword is Development or Evolution. It traces the genesis of things in Nature and the growth of ideas in the human mind. It does so not without a tacit assumption that the truth and value of any fact or idea depends on its history. Lotze opposes this view by saying that validity is not dependent upon historical but on logical evidence; it must be substantial, carrying its own credentials. Thus we may say that Lotze's philosophy is pre-evolutionary.

16. Study of Origins.

With the fuller recognition of this idea of development we enter a new phase of nineteenth century thought; and it is significant that this era was heralded by a scientific version of this principle, and that it gave to philosophy in this country a distinctly naturalistic bias. This naturalistic bias had been prepared already by the Association-psychology of Mill and Bain; Bain, as well as Spencer and Huxley, was much influenced by the independent physiological researches of the Continental school, headed by von Baer and Johannes Müller. The exponents of Naturalism in England never

17. Naturalistic bias of English philosophy.

indulged in the extreme version of Feuerbach and the popular materialists in Germany; nevertheless they provoked a desire on the part of an opposite school of thought to give a more idealistic expression to the current idea of development, now become popular under the term Evolution.

This idealistic interpretation of the principle of development, the search for origins and the genesis of things, they found fully alive in the historical studies of German and French scholars, and much of this was seen to have been stimulated by the idealistic school of thought of which Hegel stood out as the last and greatest representative.

18. Reaction under the influence of Hegel.

The central philosophy of Hegel thus became a subject in the studies of this school. It gave an answer to a question which, on closer scrutiny, was found to be ignored in the naturalistic conception, for it became evident that in that conception neither the subject nor the object of the process was defined or at all intelligible. For the purposes of natural science, of the scientific connection of things and events in time and space, the statement of a process was sufficient, but the philosophical mind desires to go a step further: What is the beginning and the end of this process? What is the power that started it, and what is its end and aim? To these questions the Evolutional system of Hegel gave a definite answer. The power underlying all, or the Absolute, is, according to Hegel, Spirit or Mind, and the purpose of the process which can be traced in the ascending stages of thought is self-realisation.

Thinkers in this country set themselves accordingly to

find out in what manner and to what extent Hegel had been able to substantiate this, his leading conception. It is clear that this task involved a great many separate problems, and that these problems were not altogether identical with those formulated by Hegel's disciples and followers in Germany. There, if we disregard the negative side of the movement, the influence of Hegel showed itself in two very different directions.

They were represented by the school of historical research in which the history of philosophy and, in general, the history of ideas, played a prominent part; and, distinct from this, by a revival of the study of logic, by a criticism of Hegel's dialectic from within and a return to the Kantian position. In this country the studies of Hegel's doctrine took a different direction: they were mainly prompted by an ethical interest, a conviction that the growing influence of Utilitarianism tended to destroy the spiritual side of morality, reducing ethics to a sort of Calculus which took little or no notice of the emotional element in human nature. This was indeed felt by some of the Utilitarians themselves: in different ways by Mill and the followers of Comte in this country.

But the leaders of what has been termed Transcendentalism felt the necessity of meeting the rising tide of the naturalistic and negative thought, and of utilising the results gained by scientific thought, in some better way than the older apologetic literature had done. A new intellectual basis had to be found. James Martineau and T. H. Green both worked with this object in view, but only the latter succeeded in arousing sufficient

interest among the younger generation, mainly at the Universities of Oxford and Glasgow, where Wallace, the Cairds, and later, F. H. Bradley, produced standard works, all of which professed to be expressions of the spirit, not the letter, of Hegel's philosophy.

19. H. Sidgwick's Ethics.

Quite independently of this movement, a new era of thought was prepared by Henry Sidgwick's epoch-making criticism of ethical theories. The revival of the study of Berkeley's writings through Campbell Fraser in Edinburgh tended likewise in the direction of a spiritual philosophy, at present represented by some of the leading thinkers in this country. At this period philosophical thought in all the three countries was much occupied in destroying the older metaphysic, the place of which was in general taken by what is called Theory of Knowledge, a critical investigation of the fundamental principles or categories of thought in the sense of Kant. At this problem the Neo-Kantians in Germany, Edward Caird in this country, and Renouvier in France, worked independently, not without the hope on the part of some of them that a new metaphysic might arise out of their investigations: such was indeed, according to some of his interpreters, the implied aim of Kant himself. Lotze alone put Metaphysics at the entrance of his systematic work, his aim being not to decide as to the limits of human reason, but rather to fix the meaning of the abstract terms or categories of thought in and through which language expresses the ideal content of the human mind; a deep-lying conviction of an essentially ethical character.

20. Theory of Knowledge.

An independent line of research was struck out by

Wundt in Germany and consistently followed up. What had been recommended since the time of Francis Bacon in England, and attempted in a fragmentary manner by various thinkers, was here done with perfection and completeness. Without, as it appears, any preconceived notion as to the final result, Wundt approached the phenomena of Mind from the outside, and with the approved methods of the experimental and exact sciences, taking up what Fechner had termed the psycho-physical problem: this led him on to a critical examination of the principles of exact reasoning, and, in the sequel, to that remarkable discovery of the essential difference between psychical and physical phenomena of which he has given such a penetrating account.

21. Wundt.

The outcome may be shortly expressed as the growth of mental as compared with the mere preservation of physical energy. This produced a change and widening in Wundt's philosophical horizon, and his speculation assumed a distinctly idealistic character: his studies moved more and more away from the psycho-physical field of research, in which he will always stand out as the most prominent and leading figure. The conception of the growth and expansion of mental energy would necessarily lead to historical studies, to the wide region of objective mental life, of which language, custom, religious rites and systems form the documentary evidence, what is termed in Germany *Völker-Psychologie*. Yet, what had happened to Lotze repeated itself to some extent in Wundt's philosophical reputation. One-sided Materialists had hailed in the young Lotze, as they did later in the younger Wundt, the champion of their own

cause, and had ridiculed his Metaphysics. The idealistic turn in Wundt's mind, when revealed, found as little favour in that quarter; but there is no doubt that his development is strikingly representative of the change of thought which took place, not only in Germany but in other countries, during the nineteenth century, preparatory to the new Idealism of the future.

Another line of thought which helped in the same direction was just that which to many unthinking persons would seem to point in the opposite direction. This is what Huxley termed the "Agnosticism of the age."

22. Agnosticism.

Though the term is novel, the truth it implies is old, being represented in earlier nineteenth century thought by the Kantian limitation imposed on human reasoning, and in this country by the position taken up by James Mill.

Mansel's 'Bampton Lectures' and Herbert Spencer's 'First Principles' (Part I.) drove it home to the popular mind. But probably the most impressive line of reasoning is to be found in the strictly logical analysis of the scientific terms "Matter" and "Force." This was effected in the domain of mathematical physics; independently by Thomson and Tait in England, Lotze and Wundt in Germany, and Renouvier in France.

For philosophical purposes a simple definition at the opening of Kirchhoff's Lectures on "Mechanics" marks an epoch, and was largely quoted by philosophical naturalists in Germany, though Kirchhoff, as little as Thomson and Tait, was aware that his definition marked a turning-point not only in scientific but also in philo-

sophic reasoning. This became more evident and more popularly known through the writings of Mach in Germany, of Clerk Maxwell, Clifford, and Karl Pearson in England. The manner also in which Tait in his popular Lectures and his polemics treated the notions of "Matter" and "Force," showing that both could be dispensed with in mechanical science, which could be built up with the measurable quantities of time, space, velocity, and inertia (capacity of motion), demonstrated the futility of building up a satisfactory philosophy upon the materialistic basis of *Kraft und Stoff*. However, the process of gradually eliminating the notions of "Vital Force," of "Force" and of "Matter" and "Substance" in the popular sense from the strict notation of science, had not only a negative, it had also a positive result: it led to various attempts to say what the mind really means by the discarded terms "Force" and "Substance," a process of criticism after the manner of Lotze. It gradually became clear that these terms, as well as the term "Life," imply something non-mechanical, denoting some psychical experience.

23. Inadequacy of mechanical ideas.

The fact that none of the expounders of the mechanical or naturalistic philosophy could dispense with one or more of these terms was a proof that some other than mechanical notions had to be covertly or surreptitiously introduced in order to build up a reasoned creed. Thus Herbert Spencer termed the underlying reality the Unknowable Power, and the mechanical principle which pervades the region of knowable things, Force; and Haeckel introduces the term "Substance." These three terms are intelligible to the human mind only through

an inner experience: "Power" and "Force" have a sense only through experiences of conscious mental effort; and "Substance" is merely an objective term for what we, in our conscious subjective life, are aware of as the "continuum of presentations," Kant's unity of apperception, or the "Together" of sensations and ideas.

In the latter sense Lotze made use of the conception of a Universal Substance as the underlying spiritual bond which maintains order and intercourse between the mechanically separated elements of the physical world.

To express it quite generally, the logical consequence of the growing conviction that in the outer mechanical or physical world nothing could be found which corresponded to such terms as "Force," "Substance," or "Life," was to give to philosophic thought a movement towards the region of our inward experience. This movement was, to begin with, logical, but necessarily became ultimately psychological. And this is exactly the turn which marks two of the most prominent schools of philosophy at the present day.

24. Positivism and the social aim.

Another school of thought, moving to some extent on similar lines, originated in France, and, following Comte, termed itself Positivism. This worked in the same direction, though to a large extent unconsciously, for neither psychology nor ethics nor the theory of Knowledge was, to begin with, contained in its programme. It strengthened, however, if it did not actually introduce, a new interest in philosophical literature,—an interest which, for various reasons, dominates philosophical thought at the present day. This is the sociological

interest. If, in the Middle Ages, philosophy could be termed the "handmaid of Theology," one might almost be tempted to say that at the present moment it is the "handmaid of social science." For the present argument, however, it is important to point out how Positivism, in the hands of Comte and his disciples, involved two psychological problems. First, it pointed to Altruism as the essentially human as opposed to Egoism as the essentially animal element in human nature. Secondly, it insisted upon some form of social "Together" as the primary fact of social life, in opposition to the view that individuals form the constituting elements of society. And Comte himself gave expression to the deeper psychological truth that the study of concrete nature, as distinguished from the study of abstract notions, must be imbued with the *esprit d'ensemble*, the synoptic view of things, a truth which has found expression in modern psychological doctrine which starts, not with isolated sensations and their aggregates, but with the *continuum* in time and space of mental states.

II.

25. Reversal of the positions of Naturalism and Idealism.

At the beginning of this chapter I stated that, in the history of Thought, the most prominent feature of the change which took place during the nineteenth century was probably the ascendancy attained by the scientific interest which, for a time, seemed almost to vanquish the philosophical interest, escaping also the destructive influence of criticism. In the popular estimation, this

feature is expressed as the rise of Naturalism, followed by Materialism and Industrialism. We have now seen how this spreading tide of naturalistic thought showed, towards the end of the century, signs of going down, giving way to a counter current which promises to be idealistic and spiritual. Should this promise be fulfilled, as seems to be an increasing hope in all the three countries, the historian of Thought will be entitled to take an opposite view, and to look upon the whole process as a development of Idealism, in the course of which Naturalism, with its concomitant features, formed only an episode.

This view can, at present, only be maintained by showing not merely how the principles of Naturalism, Positivism, and Materialism have failed to justify themselves before the scrutiny which the critical spirit has applied to them, but emphatically also by showing where the positive beginnings of a new phase of Idealism are to be found.

26. New phase of Idealism.

Before tracing more clearly the renewal of this hopeful and promising spirit which seems to be gaining ground in the region of philosophy, we must point to another episode which occupies a prominent place in the development of philosophical speculation, and which has had, next to Naturalism, the most marked influence on general literature and on the popular mind, especially in Germany. This is the appearance of Pessimism. The pessimistic phase of thought showed itself in poetry and literature before it was recognised that it had received a philosophical setting in the now celebrated system of Schopenhauer. This phase of thought is by no means

27. The episode of Pessimism.

equally represented in the three countries, though the wave of Pessimism which spread through the Continental literature of Europe in the second quarter of the century found, or imagined it found, a living voice in one side of Byron's poetry; so much so that a prominent historian of the earlier part of the nineteenth century, namely Gervinus, has devoted a lengthy chapter to the subject.

As we are at present occupied with the real advance which philosophic thought can register during the century, and neither with its aberrations in the form of pessimism nor with its practical decline through the mood of sceptical indifference, it would hardly be necessary to refer to Schopenhauer or his follower von Hartmann, were it not for the fact that the respective fundamental principles of their systems, quite apart from their practical applications, mark a distinct enrichment both of philosophical thought and of philosophical language. This showed itself when once the ethical side-issues of their speculations were pushed into the background, and trained thinkers were induced to penetrate to the deeper foundations of their thought.

The very titles of Schopenhauer's and von Hartmann's principal works, 'The World as Will and Intellect' of the former, 'The Philosophy of the Unconscious' of the latter, not only attracted popular attention, but indicated problems which had received insufficient attention in the ruling schools. If the spirit of dismay which filled many younger minds in Germany after the failure of the revolutionary movement in politics and of the idealistic in speculation, found its philosophical justification in the pessimism of Schopenhauer,

another and opposite tendency in philosophy which emphasised the importance of the active principle in the human mind had to recognise—sometimes unwillingly—that Schopenhauer had, thirty years earlier, come forward with a bold solution of Kant's unsolved enigma by stating that the "Thing in Itself" is Will. Critics were not slow, however, to point out that both the "active principle" of Schopenhauer and the Unconscious of v. Hartmann could be traced back to the philosophy of Fichte and Schelling.

The names of Schopenhauer and v. Hartmann are both identified with distinct philosophical problems. The same cannot be said of another brilliant writer who was much influenced by Schopenhauer, whose writings have had a still greater popular success, but whose philosophical importance seems limited to his being the champion not of quietism and the negation of the Will, but of its forceful self-assertion. This is Friedrich Nietzsche, who has in his own personality placed before thoughtful minds an interesting psychological problem.

28. Fr. Nietzsche.

One can hardly avoid contrasting with this philosophy which moves in brilliant aphorisms and concentrates itself in an enigmatic personality, equally devoid of consistency and logic, the dignified flow of thought, the uneventful lives and unobtrusive personalities of some of the foremost leaders of the thought of the period. To one of these we must now return if we wish to understand a very large part of the philosophical labours of the latter part of the century. It was Lotze who, during the period of apparently the smallest philosophical productivity, did much to introduce two habits of

29. Contrast with other thinkers.

reasoning which have since his time imperceptibly influenced speculative minds both in Germany and in this country: the two works in which he has done this are his 'Microcosmus' (completed in 1864) and his 'Logik' (1874).

Few German or English contemporary thinkers of the first order could be named in whom we cannot trace the influence of the painstaking analysis contained in Lotze's 'Logik': it has helped them to clarify their own ideas and to fix their own positions, not infrequently in marked antagonism. Notably he has, as one of the first, brought out the main points which have to be settled before philosophical speculation can really begin. In this way he has taken up in a broader spirit and with ampler means what Kant attempted a century earlier. Thus he has assisted in reviving the study of Kant's 'Critique,' which had already served as a guide to those who, for various reasons, took little or no notice of Lotze's own writings. Such are, *e.g.*, Renouvier in France, Green, Caird, and Martineau in England.

To put only a few of the cardinal initial questions before my readers, it will suffice to ask: Is philosophical thought to be based on psychology or on logic? What is the relation of metaphysics and ethics? Such questions are discussed in Lotze's works, and, as it may seem to many, imperfectly or insufficiently answered. The very fact that he seems himself to hesitate in giving decided answers, in fixing and still more in carrying out his programme, constitutes that peculiar trait in his writings which has become so suggestive and helpful to some, so puzzling and even repellent to others. To

some he has afforded a clue, whilst he has driven away others to seek their salvation elsewhere.

What Lotze has done for Logic and Metaphysics but has left undone for Ethics was to a large extent supplied by Henry Sidgwick in his 'Methods of Ethics'; and the importance of this work, the study of which is indispensable as an introduction to the moral philosophy of the age, stands out, at the moment, even more prominently than that of the 'System' of Lotze. The latter has been followed by the elaborate and original treatises of Brentano and Husserl (to mention only two foremost representatives) in Germany, of Bradley and Bosanquet in this country. French thinkers will more readily go back to Renouvier's 'Essais de Critique Générale,' now again republished. On the other side the lesson contained in the 'Microcosmus' has not yet been fully recognised in recent philosophic thought. To this I must now direct the attention of my readers.

30. The lesson of the 'Microcosmus.'

It is the first attempt to take a comprehensive and synoptic view of the world and life from an introspective and anthropological standpoint. Whereas nearly all philosophies before Lotze started from some definite metaphysical or methodical principle, and aimed at constructing systems and gaining a unity of thought by applying such principles in many directions, Lotze spreads out before his readers in orderly arrangement the great world of facts with the reflections suggested by them, and finally attempts to bring them together and connect them in a few finishing strokes which constitute the main features of his philosophical creed.

The task of philosophy becomes, from this point of

view, not the construction of a system by starting from some highest truth and following this down in its various manifestations, using it as a master-key by which to gain access to the many regions of science, life, and history; it rests rather upon the conviction, enormously strengthened by the later doctrine of evolution, that the different regions of human thought and activity, such as the body of scientific knowledge, the practical systems of morality, law, and society, and, above all, the religious faiths of the world, are existing facts, systems in which certain hidden truths have been established slowly and gradually and through the combined labour of many minds during long ages.

The construction of a system of philosophy on such a broad inductive basis, the attempt to lay bare the hidden truths contained in those manifold cultural systems elaborated consciously or unconsciously by the efforts of the human mind; to show their harmonies as well as their discords, and if possible to dissolve the latter; will seem to many an impossible and premature attempt. And so it has actually appeared to the generation which followed Lotze in philosophy; as, a generation earlier, a similar endeavour had appeared premature to those naturalists who read and laid aside Humboldt's 'Kosmos.'

31. Comparison with Humboldt's 'Kosmos.'

This comparative failure of two world-pictures which, in the course of the nineteenth century, were drawn by two intellectual artists neither of whom would profess to have discovered any fundamentally new scientific or philosophical principle has, in both cases, led to a dissipation and disintegration in the thought

of the age: in science to extreme specialisation, in philosophy, to a discussion of separate logical, metaphysical, and ethical problems, such as have occupied us in the preceding volumes. Nobody nowadays would venture to rewrite either the 'Kosmos' or the 'Microcosmus'; the field in either case seems too large, the material too overwhelming. And yet the process of unification of thought has in neither case been arrested. Let us for a moment try to understand by what means this process has been or can be successfully carried on.

32. Unification of thought not arrested by failure.

And first, let us look at scientific thought. Whilst the range of facts and phenomena has enormously increased, a few highest principles or generalisations, such as have occupied our attention during the first section of this work, representing the uniformities termed natural laws, have suggested themselves to the human intellect—they have enabled naturalists to put into order and describe in more or less simple terms the otherwise bewildering variety of facts and events which surrounds us. The comparative unity or system of nature arrived at in this way is a purely logical one, which through application and actual verification, through calculation and prediction of unknown facts and future events, has received the impress of reality, leading our thoughts and regulating our conduct in the outer world. The success attained in this region of thought and knowledge has been so great that natural philosophers have attempted to construct systems of philosophy by elevating one or two among the accepted leading principles to the supreme position as expressions of the innermost essence of things. Such principles are, notably, the

Newtonian law of attraction, or action at a distance, which governed much scientific thought in the earlier part of the century, and appears again in a modified form in Herbert Spencer's system; Büchner's principles of *Kraft und Stoff;* the principle of Energy in the writings of Ostwald and others; the principle of descent and evolution, and Haeckel's Law of Substance.

A feature common to all these principles and their elaboration is that they deal with things and events which exist or have existed somewhere in space, and, as such, must somehow partake of the nature of space, being subject to geometrical rule and order. Two difficulties, however, arise which stand in the way of the completion of this world-picture, which we may term, with Humboldt, the physical description of the Universe.

The first difficulty is that in stating ever so completely the uniformities and regularities of natural facts and events we are dealing only with an abstraction, a lifeless mechanism. In the actual world itself this ever-repeated order exists only in innumerable living examples, in occurrences which might, so far as we know, also be quite different. For the actual order—what we may term the collocation—of things the laws of nature give us no explanation. Now, if this scientific or mechanical order of things in space and time is only an abstraction, the question arises: Where does this abstraction, as a matter of fact, exist?

33. The scientific order an abstraction.

An attempt to answer this question raises a second difficulty, for it introduces us to another world, which we may term the inner as contrasted with the outer

34. Contrast with the inner world.

world—the world of thought as distinguished from the world of things, or generally, the mental as opposed to the material world. In a physical picture of the universe this other world must have a definite location. In trying to fix this we are driven to the conclusion that this inner world occupies, though existing in numerous specimens, only an infinitesimally small extent, so small that from the cosmic point of view it seems a negligible quantity.

Limiting ourselves, however, to our terrestrial world, what we term Mind seems to exist in no geometrical place, and nevertheless it seems to exist, in some form or other, over a very extended area—in other words, what we term the Mind or the Soul exists individually at no points which can be geometrically fixed; and yet, as the social mind, it exists somehow over the whole civilised portion of our globe. Such an existence, which is, as it were, nowhere and yet everywhere, escapes the first condition of exact scientific treatment. What has been termed scientific or exact psychology is occupied with purely external physical phenomena, which are in some vaguely apprehended manner connected with what we term mental phenomena; or it attempts to describe the latter by vague analogies of spatial occurrences, which in no other department of exact science would be considered satisfactory or permissible.

The naturalist imports into his world-picture, through language and thought, features which do not really belong to it. He, in fact, transcends the limits of possible observation and presentation by the physical senses, and this foreign element breaks up hopelessly the continuity

and destroys the unity of his picture. He commits what Aristotle termed a *μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος*. This is being more and more recognised at the present day by natural philosophers of the first order.

This growing conviction constitutes one of the real advances in philosophical thought in the course of the nineteenth century. But though not so clearly understood as it is at the present time, it has, in a less definite form, been present to the minds of thinkers ever since the time of Plato in antiquity, and many efforts have been made to get out of this impasse. A successful beginning to find a way out of it was made in this country by Locke, and has been continued ever since, latterly also by prominent thinkers abroad; it may be termed the introspective method.

Without entering into details it will suffice to point out that this method depends upon the recognition of the fact that whatever the phenomena of the outer world may be, they have, for us human beings, existence only in so far as they, in some way or other, enter into our consciousness in the form of what Locke and his followers termed Ideas, more recent thinkers, Presentations, or, perhaps even more correctly, Experience. For this school of thought the universe is known only to the extent that it is, as it were, mirrored in human consciousness. A unification of thought and knowledge would thus depend upon an exploration and description of the whole field of consciousness.

35. Introspection the way to unification.

Now the fact that at the time of life at which any thinker starts upon this search or exploration he is aware and fully convinced that the field he is exploring

by his inner sense exists in numerous other instances in the minds of his fellow-men, has long before forced upon him the conviction that he is not dealing with a purely individual and personal phenomenon, but with one which, being common to so many, is practically to be regarded as external and common to them all. And yet there is no doubt that the field of his consciousness was at one time in his life a purely subjective experience, and that it developed out of this during infancy, and acquired a dual aspect: first, the external aspect, in which he, the thinker himself, shrinks into a small area (his physical body or external self); and secondly, the internal or introspective aspect to which everything, including actual things and persons surrounding us, are only experiences of individual consciousness.

36. Study of facts of consciousness.

Earlier thinkers who started upon the line indicated by Locke did not trouble themselves to investigate, or did so very imperfectly, how the individual mind or consciousness develops out of the chaotic state into the daylight of clear sight and reason with its distinctions of subject and object, of consciousness and self-consciousness, of the self and other selves. In the nineteenth century, however, the facts of consciousness and their psychical history formed a recurring subject of discussion, beginning with Fichte's 'Thatsachen des Bewussteins' and Schleiermacher's 'Psychologie,' down to Ward's 'Psychology,' Bergson's 'Données Immédiates de la Conscience,' and Dilthey's 'Beschreibende Psychologie.'[1]

[1] In addition to the writings mentioned in the text of this and the foregoing chapter I refer my readers to the following:—

Croom Robertson, "How we come by our Knowledge" (1877), reprinted in 'Philosophical Remains,' ed. Bain & Whittaker, 1894, pp. 63-74.

W. Dilthey, 'Vom Ursprung unseres Glaubens an die Realität der Aussenwelt, Sitzungsberichte, Berlin Academy,' 1890, pp. 977-1022.

E. Mach, 'Die Analyse der Empfindungen,' 1st ed., 1886, and several enlarged editions.

G. F. Stout, 'Analytic Psychology,' 2 vols., 1902.

F. H. Bradley, 'Essays on Truth and Reality,' 1914.

Now although this line of thought indicates a real advance in psychological and logical research, it is not this alone or principally that interests us in this connection; it is that this introspective view affords a more hopeful prospect of carrying out that unification of thought which is the main object of philosophy, that mediating and harmonising task which was indicated in the Preface to Lotze's 'Microcosmus' and forms the fundamental conception upon which the whole of this History has been written. This conception was clearly indicated in the general Introduction (vol. i. p. 71 *sqq.*) According to this, philosophy occupies an intermediate position between the scientific and the religious view of the world, or, to express it in other words, between that world which we term external, physical, and objective, and that other world which we popularly oppose to it as the internal, mental, or subjective world.

37. Possible reconciliation of the scientific and religious views.

The difficulty of effecting this mediation or unification of the two regions of thought, if we adopt the naturalistic position, we found to lie in the circumstance that we could not define the second or subjective world in objective terms, that we could not, roughly speaking, find a geometrical location for it in the circumference of spatial existence; and the very fact that we are unable to do so has led to the seeming contrast or opposition in which the two worlds stand to each other,

to the use of such terms as subjective and objective, inner and outer, mental and physical. It has been found impossible to throw a bridge across the apparent chasm which divides these two worlds. But from the introspective point of view this opposition disappears, the outer world is for us comprised in the whole circumference of consciousness, and so is likewise the inner world. Both exist, not on different planes, but on the same plane; and, in fact, the experiences belonging to the two different orders which we distinguish in actual life and emphasise in science are continually intermingled. It is only by a lengthy process of education in our infancy and early childhood that we learn to separate the totality of our experience into two more or less distinct regions, that the continuum of presentations or consciousness is divided into two continua, the stream of thought into two streams which we with difficulty keep apart. In scientific research this differentiation is carried to an extreme, and is known as the elimination from our observations of the subjective factor. Only in mathematical reasoning, and then probably only through the help of geometrical location, is this separation carried out to perfection. Some minds, even of a high order, are quite incapable of carrying out this mental operation so indispensable in scientific research.

38. The Synoptic view.

In the foregoing chapters of this section we have had repeated and, as we progressed, more frequent opportunities of showing how recent philosophical thought is revealing a distinct tendency to take what I have termed the "Synoptic view," to look at things as a whole and not in their isolation or in their parts. This tendency is clearly marked not only in philosophical but also in scientific thought. It underlies quite as much the world-picture drawn by Humboldt as it does the views of Lamarck and Darwin as to environment in space and succession in time, and the attempt of Lotze to look at the universe from the microcosmic or anthropological point of view. It showed itself in the most abstract of all sciences, in modern mathematics, which opposed line and plane geometry to the point geometry of Descartes; the theory of groups and arrangements to that of mere quantity.

In psychology, the older theory of sensations, the doctrine of separate faculties or of the association of ideas, has been superseded by the conception of the continuum of presentations or experience and the stream of thought. In biology and still more in sociology the *vue d'ensemble* of Comte has come to the front, and even where the search for biological or sociological units has been prominent, these units have been found to possess a complexity of structure without which neither the phenomena of physical nor those of social life could be explained. The older processes of dissecting and atomising with the aim of putting together again the combined processes of analysis and subsequent synthesis, have been found eminently useful for practical purposes, but essentially deficient in explaining things real. Naturalists as well as artists have emphasised the necessity of sight as opposed to thought. And even in practical life the synoptic view has become more and more indispensable through the enormous changes in the commercial

and industrial world, where the comprehensive grasp of details in a single mind has in many cases been quite as important as the highest professional knowledge of the expert or the inventor. Huge industrial enterprises grow up like organisms under the combining genius of great organisers, who themselves boast of no actual originality in discovery or invention, and they not infrequently collapse as suddenly with the departure of the leading mind, just as a living organism collapses when the indescribable spirit of life has left it.

39. Why the atomising process is inadequate.

The reason why the atomising process is inadequate seems to be twofold. First, the actual arrangement of separate things, be they physical particles or mental ideas, if once broken up cannot be again restored as it was found and seen in its actual existence; something is lost which cannot be regained. And further, the process of analysis, of finding the ultimate constituent elements, is endless: as space is infinitely divisible, so also the elements out of which things natural are compounded seem to be out of reach. The lane through which we walk in the attempt to reach the last constituent elements of things natural has —contrary to a popular saying—no end, it never turns, and the point which we choose for retracing our steps is purely arbitrary, fixed by the knowledge of the moment. The analytic process is irreversible. The point at which we start to synthesise or put together is purely arbitrary, fixed by our knowledge or rather our ignorance, and the product of such synthesis is accordingly artificial, not natural: the world of things, images of thought or practical constructions, is accordingly artificial; these are neither natural nor artistic.

Now if this process of looking at things as a whole and not in their isolation has become the order of the day even in special researches, as can be proved not only by the references to foregoing chapters but also, still more convincingly, by glancing, if only cursorily, at recent philosophical writings, it surely must recommend itself also in dealing with the totality of things as revealed to us through consciousness. And this looking at wholes is our mental attitude when we take the introspective view.[1] For introspection includes likewise the circumspection to which in the Introduction to this section we found it convenient to oppose it. For whilst the circumspective process or the external view could find no place in its field of vision for the inner or mental world, the introspective view on the other side comprises the whole of the outer world as a large and prominent portion within the field of its vision, in the form of definite sensations and the whole train of ideas connected with them. The unity which we are in search of in philosophical thought certainly

[1] "At any moment my actual experience, however relational its contents, is in the end non-relational. No analysis into relations and terms can ever exhaust its nature or fail in the end to belie its essence. What analysis leaves for ever outstanding is no mere residue, but is a vital condition of the analysis itself. Everything which is got out into the form of an object implies still the felt background against which the object comes, and, further, the whole experience of both feeling and object is a non-relational immediately felt unity. The entire relational consciousness, in short, is experienced as falling within a direct awareness. This direct awareness is itself non-relational. It escapes from all attempts to exhibit it by analysis as one or more elements in a relational scheme, or as that scheme itself. . . . And immediate experience not only escapes, but it serves as the basis on which the analysis is made. . . . Everything, therefore, no matter how objective and how relational, is experienced only in feeling, and, so far as it is experienced, still depends upon feeling."—(F. H. Bradley, 'Essays on Truth and Reality,' 1914, p. 176.)

exists as the felt continuity of consciousness, of what Kant termed the "unity of apperception." We are thus led back again to that revolution of thought which Kant, more than a century ago, compared to the Copernican revolution in astronomy. The comparison implied in Kant's words suggests a picture by which I may hope to make the position more comprehensible to my readers.

40. Illustration of the right attitude by a picture.

Suppose that on a clear but perfectly dark night we glance at the starry firmament with that wonder which Kant expressed in one of the most majestic passages of his writings: suppose that we are so lost in admiration that we forget entirely our own existence and presence. We may assume that this was the state of mind which, thousands of years ago, led the first astronomers to their observations. What probably arrested their attention in this firmament of the Heavens was the fixed stars, their constellations and their regular movement. Next to them the moon, the planets, and the sun, in their changing positions among the unchangeable and ever-recurring constellations of the fixed stars. In course of time these prominent objects in the firmament were found to present certain constant features which were described by what are termed Kepler's Laws of Planetary Motion, and brought together by Galileo and Newton in the science of physical or gravitational astronomy. At a much later and comparatively recent stage of astronomical research other phenomena of the Heavens, such as the Nebulæ, the Meteorites, or the more proximate meteorological phenomena in cloudland, were added to physical astronomy. Still more recently the invention of the spectroscope created a new science of

Astro-physics; and the mechanical theory of heat, the electro-magnetic theory of light, and the discovery of radium added many new chapters to the science of the Heavens. And we may confidently look forward to a continual extension of the science of the physical firmament, to new and quite unexpected discoveries, be it through direct observation or, what is perhaps more likely, through theory and calculation verified by subsequent observation. What still may appear as the limitless void of the dark blue Heavens will, we are sure, reveal to the searching eye and the thinking mind of star-gazers new worlds and new phenomena, and to this progress of science it appears impossible to assign any limit.

Let us now, for a moment, look upon the field of consciousness of any individual mind as, in the years of infancy and childhood, it rises out of the chaotic state of what we may term mere feeling or awareness and acquires the marks of order and arrangement through definite sensations, through emotions and desires. Let us, in fact, picture to ourselves the first stages in the development of the adult mind in possession of a clear view which may be compared to that which characterised the glance of the first observant and thinking star-gazers. Like them, the young mind will fasten upon the recurrent complex of sensations which it is taught to consider as the outer world, as distinguished from the background of consciousness in which this is embedded or has its seat, as the constellations of the stars have their seat in the firmament of the Heavens. We may now, in fact, speak of the firmament of the soul. How the

41. Regions in the firmament of the soul.

definite picture of external persons and things rises with ever greater clearness out of the totality and continuum of inner experience is a problem for genetic psychology.

Various beginnings of a solution of this problem are to be found in philosophical writings, ever since the time of Locke and Berkeley. By many psychological inquirers different stages of this prehistoric development of the individual consciousness have been traced. Such accounts, it must be admitted, can never be anything more than conjectural; yet they are not more so than the genealogical trees in recent biology, or the attempts to discover and fix the stages of civilisation, the growth of language and ideas, in prehistoric times and among primitive peoples. Such a genetic psychology would have to fix what may be termed the primordial data of consciousness, such as change and unrest, impulse and desire, attention, memory, and oblivion, intersubjective intercourse, words, signs, and language, &c. It would have to work in a manner analogous to that of gravitational astronomy, dealing with mental (as the other does with physical) agencies or forces which, in the fully developed adult mind, are still at play.

But as little as the modern astronomer can content himself with physical astronomy,—having now to resort to other means in order to explore what to earlier ages was the supposed void of space, the background of the firmament,—as little can the psychologist content himself with an exploration and analysis of that cluster of sensations which is distinctly traceable, which we have

learnt to consider as the outer world. This we have in common with other persons whose existence we had, as it were, to discover in our infancy, and who have taught us through signs and language to assign to our own self a modest and retiring position among men and things. The explorer of the firmament of the soul will have to recognise as equally real those regions in the field of consciousness which are less fixed, more changing, containing experiences which do not recur with similar regularity, and which, in consequence, we do not externalise; which we share with other minds in vague forms not lending themselves to exact definition. Such exact definition—this term being employed as it is when we speak of the definition of an object under the microscope or the telescope—is dependent on location in space. We may indeed perhaps be right in maintaining that all definite and clear knowledge depends ultimately upon the spatial nature of the constellations or complexes of our sensations; that even logic, with its laws of identity and contradiction, rests upon spatial distinction; and that through this qualification, what in the field of consciousness partakes, and only so far as it partakes, of the spatial property, is capable of rising into the clear daylight of exact thought. Such a view seems implied, if not emphatically stated, by Kant when he maintained that any knowledge was only so far scientific as it partook of mathematics. The whole edifice of this exact knowledge, as it has been built up through generations of thinking minds and as it is largely imparted to each of us individually through intersubjective communion with others, includes and rests upon a conception of

42. The definite contrasted with the vague.

to which we belong as very [illegible] of our physical bodies; and the latter appear, if viewed from this new vantage-ground of reality, as the envelopes into which the whole of our primordial mental firmament has shrunk and, as it were, fled out of vision.

Continuing now on the lines indicated by the analogy with physical astronomy, we may be tempted to look upon the universe contained in space as an interpretation or construction of a certain portion of our primordial self, of our original field of consciousness, of, as it were, the fixed and wandering luminaries in the firmament of our soul. And this interpretation or construction has introduced into our minds a notion of reality and of knowledge quite different from, more precise and useful than, the original spectacle, the continuum of sensations, emotions, and desires, and our simple awareness of their fleeting nature.

Now, in the same way as gravitational astronomy, of which the science of Kinematics is, as it were, the logical framework, forms the model of all other exact knowledge, occupying the top place in the hierarchy of the sciences, so we may say that the construction of the geometrical world of physical reality, together with logical thought, forms the pattern upon which we are always tempted to model an exploration of the larger field of consciousness, of the background of the firmament of the soul, in which the original data of our physical universe are embedded. This larger background afforded by the picture of the physical universe. At such an interpretation the human mind has been, consciously or unconsciously, labouring ever since the dawn of civilisation, and the result is embodied in the poetical and religious view of the world and life.

In taking the outer world which, from this point of view, is a construction carried out with the help of others in the early years of our childhood, as the model according to which to construct an interpretation of the larger—in fact of the whole—field of consciousness, we follow the actual lines of development which our mind has undergone in preparing us for the work of this life. For it is only through and after that earlier unconscious and inevitable construction that the notions of self and not-self, of subject and object, of our own person as differentiated from but co-ordinated with other persons, have entered our mind and enormously extended our original mental horizon or firmament. Looking around us, beholding definite things in the outer world, and being impressed, through language, with the conviction that other persons have what we, rightly or wrongly, learn to consider as pictures of these things within their own minds, we are led to consider these outer things to be the cause of the sensations which we experience ourselves, and only in so far as we can correlate our inner experiences with external things do we consider them to be real and not mere fancies; for, *inter alia*, we can then

point them out to our fellow-men and make them the objects of a common knowledge and understanding. In fact, externality has become the criterion of reality, of that most impressive reality which we have learnt to superimpose upon the original reality of sensations or experiences contained in the field of our primordial consciousness.

The firmament of our soul, out of which the complex of definite physical sensations has been selected or abstracted and externalised, contains many other experiences which are to us quite as important as the former, and we are continually haunted by the desire to gain for them the same, or even a higher, degree of reality than that which attaches to the external world or visible universe. Out of this desire arises, in some minds, the conviction that this less definite region of our mental firmament has no lesser but rather a greater reality than the other; and this conviction, when forced to find expression, constructs what we may term the larger or spiritual universe of which the physical universe is merely, as it were, one portion or aspect.

44. From the less definite region the spiritual world is constructed.

45. Of this the physical universe is merely a portion.

To use the terminology of Lotze, we may say that the human mind in the course of its mental development constructs in every individual person, with the assistance of others, in the beginning of life, the outer World of Things, and that subsequently, through the co-operation and successive labours of the more highly gifted minds, the World of Values, of Truth, Beauty, and Goodness, is constructed, giving support not only to the data of this work-a-day world but likewise to the conceptions of what we term the Ideal World. How either of these

constructions is carried out: the genesis of the sensuous world within the consciousness of the child on the one side, and on the other side the genesis of the spiritual world within the consciousness of the adult mind,—all this is a subject for psychological and historical studies. These studies form the occupation of some of the foremost minds of the present time.

But it cannot be my object to enter more fully into this region of philosophic thought, which is now being explored by prominent thinkers on the Continent and with eminent originality by thinkers in this country; for to do so would be to step beyond the limits which I have assigned to the present section of this History as well as of the period which it comprises. It cannot be denied that the last years of that period, and still more the beginning of the present century, exhibit to the historian of thought as one of its most striking features a revival of philosophical interest, and that this is nowhere more living and promising than in the provinces of introspective psychology and of ethical, including religious, philosophy. But we are living in what Niebuhr termed a "preparing" age, in which the abundance of original and suggestive work is quite as striking as its controversial character and its inconclusiveness. Great questions, such as that of "Psychologism" in Germany, of "Intellectualism" in this country, and of the foundation of morality in France, are being approached by independent thinkers from various sides; but all these problems with their numerous subdivisions are still *sub judice*, and we look in vain for a final and generally acceptable summing-up and

verdict. It is, therefore, only of tendencies of thought that I can here report, and I must refrain from quoting from the overwhelming abundance of writings—with which I am only partially acquainted—any authoritative statements; nor could I be sure if I did so that I should express faithfully the meaning and purport of passages which I might select from all sides.

Allowing, however, that there are to be found a few general tendencies in recent thought which distinguish it from that of the preceding age, I will now apply them with the intention of showing how the present section of our History requires to be followed and demands its completion by a study of that large body of thought which is buried in the poetical, artistic, and religious literature of the whole period, of that literature which does not profess to be either scientific or philosophical, which does not follow any definite method, but which is the spontaneous deliverance of individual minds. And before doing so let us define again in a few words what these tendencies are.

46. The present Section of this History leads to a study of poetical and religious thought.

47. Recent tendencies restated.

First we have what I have termed the "synoptic" tendency of thought, the endeavour to reach a *vue d'ensemble*, a *Gesammtanschauung;* and this quite as much when we have to deal with the totality of things as when we confine ourselves to specially selected regions of research. This synoptic view is complementary to, and has succeeded, the combined methods of analysis and synthesis which were introduced into philosophic thought under the influence of the natural and exact sciences in the earlier part of the nineteenth century; and here it is well to note that the latter themselves

have, mainly under the influence of Darwinism, gathered renewed strength and vastly extended outlook by similar comprehensive methods.

Secondly, this synoptic view has been nowhere more fruitful than when applied to psychological research. The view introduced by Locke and gradually developed by Berkeley, Hume, and Kant, that all our knowledge of the external world is made up of "ideas," now more correctly termed "presentations," found a forcible but extreme expression in an "Analysis of Sensations," and led through criticism to the recognition that such an analysis (including a subsequent synthesis) neglected to search for the original connection, the "Together" of these elements of cognition in consciousness. The synoptic view is not content with an analysis and synthesis of Sensations, but emphasises the continuum of these sensations or presentations within consciousness, and advances a step further by including in this continuum not only the sensational but also the emotional and volitional elements. Together with the former they cover the field of consciousness, forming the more or less continuous background or firmament of the soul.

This led, thirdly, to a comprehensive introspective view of the totality of our world of cognition within the all-embracing field of consciousness. The human mind in its early years constructs, with the aid of other minds, the well-ordered and sufficiently stable image of the outer world, gaining through and in this a definite location for its own self as well as an instrument for the specifically intellectual and practical work of this life.

And, lastly, the complex of original sensations or

experiences which forms the material for this construction or interpretation of finite reality forms only a portion of the comprehensive field of consciousness, provoking the desire to arrive at a larger construction or interpretation which would give to the emotional and volitional background in which the finite world is, as it were, embedded, an impress of reality equal or superior to that of the external world.

For poetical, artistic, and religious minds this larger circumference, this background or firmament of the soul, forms the greater reality, in which the narrower but more definite reality of external things and persons has its setting; and it demands a higher and wider interpretation. Such minds have always existed; they have not only for themselves, but also for others, through the creations of art and the symbolic use of language in poetry, succeeded in communicating the result of their discoveries in the unexplored regions of our mental firmament. The main advance in philosophical thought in the course of the nineteenth century and beyond has lain in the direction of psychologically understanding that this region of artistic creation and religious thought has an independent existence, that it can draw upon a fund of mental experience quite as real and inexhaustible as that which is being successfully explored by scientific thought.

A History of Thought will accordingly not be complete without tracing with equal diligence and with equal sympathy, in the spontaneous literature and the artistic creations of the period, the inventions of the poetical and the manifestations of the religious thought

of the age. In this wide region of thought we shall not only find the beginnings of many trains of reasoning which have proved fruitful and useful in the narrower but more definite provinces of scientific thought, but we shall also find that higher interpretation of reality—*i.e.*, of the field of human consciousness, which, looking upon scientific thought and natural knowledge as the means of understanding better and establishing more firmly the realities of this life and this world, leads on to a higher view. To this view the elaboration and construction of a small portion of the field of human consciousness, for the purposes of this life, is symbolical of the larger and higher interpretation of the totality of things which we find in religious faith and life. Further, the ultimate reality is not to be reached by thought, but must be felt, lived, and experienced; and where human language and human ideas fail, creation in Art and living Events must come to our aid. The entrance into this life, the thought and work in this world, have only become possible to us individually through the aid of others. This indicates that a personal influence is required wherever an entrance into reality is to be attained.

48. The ultimate reality.

The most comprehensive and expressive word which human language has coined to denote the fulness of personal life and activity is Love. Not only in the far away consummation of things, but in human Life as it is—

> "Love alone leads us
> Upward and on."

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